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VINDICATION

OF THE

TRUE DEITY of our BLESSED SAVIOUR;

In Answer to a Pamphlet, Intituled,

An Humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ, &c.

The PREFACE.

EVERY judicious and serious Christian, to whom the Interest of the Gospel, and the Glory of its blessed Author is valuable and dear, must needs resent it as the Reproach and Infelicity of the Age wherein we live, that while the whole of Revealed Religion is run down on the one Hand by Infidels, (under the Name of Deists) some of its most important Articles are no less violently assaulted on the other, by such as pretend to the Faith of Christians. I know indeed our late Unitarians highly value themselves upon their numerous Tracts (with which the Press has of late Years swarm'd) as the breaking out of some glorious Light after a long Night of Darkness; and are ready to equalize their Attempt of overthrowing the Scheme of those they call Trinitarians, to that of our first Reformers, who oppos'd the Corruptions of Popery. But I must profess, upon a diligent and impartial View of their Writings, I am confirm'd in the Opinion, that they have (whatever their Authors might intend) much more promoted the Interest of Infidelity and Deism, than that of Christianity. I shall not at present dispute the Point with them, why they engross this Title of Unitarians to themselves, when the Unity of the divine Nature is not the Matter in Dispute between them and us. Unless they could shew us, That that Distinction, which we suppose to be between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is inconsistent with any such Unity.

I foresee indeed they will be ready to enquire, Wherein I suppose that Distinction to lie, or what are the particular Grounds of it? But as to that, I am not asham'd to profess my Ignorance. I am contented to believe there is such a Distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as is a sufficient Foundation for the distinct Things that are in Scripture attributed to them, and yet such as does not imply the Multiplication of the undivided divine Essence and Nature; tho' I cannot assign, or conceive the particular Grounds of the Distinction it self. For such a Distinction may be very possible (for any Thing my Reason suggests to the contrary) in an infinite Being, notwithstanding the Unity of it, as is not to be found in any finite Beings, that have a separate Existence. And I think 'tis far more safe, and expresses a more becoming Reverence for divine Revelation to admit of such an Article (tho' there be much in the Manner of the Thing unsearchable to us) than to offer a continual Violence to the plain and frequent Declarations of the Holy Scriptures concerning the Deity of the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And I think there is just Reason to say, That our late Unitarians have manag'd this Cause in a Manner that tends very little to the Honour of those sacred Writings, which are the Standard and Test of our Religion. For what can more effectually lessen their Authority with the People, than for our Adversaries at every Turn to call in Question, whether this or that particular Text be authentick and uncorrupted? Nay, sometimes to raise Objections against entire Books that belong to the sacred Canon. And must it not needs weaken our Opinion of their divine Inspiration, to suppose that the Pen-men of them have, in Matters of the highest Moment and Consequence, (as particularly, when they ascribe the Creation to our Lord Jesus) us'd such Expressions as need all imaginable Subtleties of Criticism to expound them to another Sense, and reconcile them with what our Opinions suppose to be the Truth? Nay, how hard is it to preserve any Veneration for those Writings as divinely inspir'd, in which our Adversaries suppose so many Passages out of the Old Testament, concerning the great Jehovah, apply'd to our blessed Saviour in the New, meerly by way of Allusion and Accommodation, when yet they appear to any impartial Reader produc'd as direct Proof of what the Apostles attribute to him? So that 'tis high Time for our Unitarians to apply themselves to the Stopping the Progress of that Infidelity, which themselves have sown the Seeds of, by thus unsettling the Minds of so many in the Christian Faith, thro' their over-eager Opposition to such important Articles of it, as the Deity and Incarnation of our blessed Saviour. But yet I must, upon second Thoughts, tell them, That if they write against Infidels and Deists at no better Rate than the late Author of the Scandal and Folly of the Cross remov'd, (See the 4th Collect of Unit. Tracts) it were much better they should forbear intermeddling in that Dispute. For that Author has notoriously betray'd the Christian Cause he had undertaken to defend; and can find no Way so proper to support the Credit of it with Infidels, as by giving up all its peculiar Doctrines that he thought might disgust and shock them. He is for making an easy Composition with them, and provided they will allow him a few Matters of Fact,

(on which he'll put a Construction too as agreeable to their Relish as possible) he'll throw up all those Articles of Faith to them, that have been hitherto accounted the peculiar Discoveries of divine Revelation. For in his Preface he undertakes to give the Deists an Account of the true Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, by which they are to judge of it, and not by the jarring Opinions of the several Christians they converse with. And those he has reduced to this narrow Compass, "That there is a God, and an eternal Life (ratified and confirmed by the Death and Resurrection of Christ) and that we must be entirely good Men, if we hope to be Partakers of it." Nay, he tells them, "Revelation was proposed to no other End than to give sufficient Proofs of an eternal Life." And what modern Infidel or Deist will dispute any one of his three Principles with him? Nay, how unreasonable were it in the Deists, when he goes so far to oblige them, if they should not meet him half way, and believe with him, that our blessed Saviour died and rose again to confirm that Doctrine of eternal Life, which is their own Creed as well as ours? They may, it seems, be good Christians upon their Belief of these three Articles, tho' they believe not one Word of that State of Corruption and Guilt into which Mankind is fallen, or of the Incarnation of the Son of God, or of his dying in our Place and Stead, as a Sacrifice of Atonement to the Justice of God, or of his Intercession in Heaven in Vertue of such a truly expiatory Sacrifice, or of our Justification by the free Grace of God, thro' the Redemption that is in him, or of the Necessity of the renewing Grace of the Holy Spirit, in order to our Regeneration, and our continued Progress in Holiness; such Doctrines as these (that have been hitherto thought the Principles of Revealed Religion) that Author seems very willing to discard, on Pretence of recommending it to the Deists, and facilitating their Belief of it. In short, he requires them to take no new Doctrines into their Creed, in order to their becoming Christians, but only some new Matters of Fact that tend to confirm the Dictates of natural Light. To this Purpose he tells them again, at Pag. 20. "That the Christian Religion, properly, is nothing else but Natural Religion, whose Light Sin had almost extinguish'd. And God to give it its first Splendor, yields up Christ to Death, which vindicates us from the Slavery of Sin." So that Christ died to confirm no peculiar Doctrines of his own, but only those Dictates or Principles of Natural Religion that Sin had almost extinguish'd. Such as the three fore-mention'd Dictates, which he makes the fundamental Truths of the Gospel, and with which our modern Deists will easily agree with him, in ranking them among their Oracles of Reason. So that his main Labour with the Deists, is to reconcile them to this Matter of Fact, that Christ died on the Cross. And accordingly, he is very careful to take away from the Cross it self, whatever might be a Stumbling-block to them. To that Purpose, he assigns four Reasons of the Death of Christ: "The First is, To attest the Truth of this Doctrine concerning another Life, and seal it with his Blood. The Second, That he must die, in order to his being rais'd again, whereby God confirms the Truth of this Doctrine he taught concerning another Life. The Third is, That he might leave his Disciples an Example of suffering for this Truth. The Fourth is, That his thus dying to attest the Doctrine of eternal Life, by persuading Men of the Truth of it, might bring them to a good Life, and so free them from Sin. And this (he tells us) is all that's meant by Christ's becoming a Ransom or Price of Redemption, his giving up himself for us, that he might redeem us from Iniquity, &c. his reconciling us to God by his Blood, his bearing our Sins in his own Body, &c." These are all the Reasons that Author is pleas'd to assign of Christ's Death and Sufferings. But what then shall we make of all those numerous Expressions of Scripture that represent our blessed Saviour's Death under the Notion of a Sacrifice, and speak of the Expiation of our Sins by his Blood, &c? And this in Allusion to those expiatory Sacrifices offer'd under the Old Testament, in order to the appeasing of divine Justice. (For in this Notion of expiatory Sacrifices, viz. That they were not meer Rites of Application to the Mercy of God, but offer'd to appease his vindictive Justice, both Jews and Pagans were agreed). As to this, the Author tells us, "That God, in Condescension to this Ignorance and Weakness, and in order to put an End to all these Sacrifices, declares, That he has accepted the Death of his Son, (permitted for the four Reasons above-mentioned) as the only Sacrifice that could please him, and procure the Remission of Sin; meaning thereby only this, (as he immediately explains himself) that Christ's Death was an Act highly pleasing to him, as Phineas's Act of Zeal was, by which he is said to have made Atonement for the Children of Israel, Numb. xxv. 13". But all this while, there is not one Word of God's declaring in the Death and Sufferings of his Son, his Righteousness in the Punishment of Sin. Not one Word of Substitution of Christ's Death in the Stead of ours, for demonstrating the Demerit of Sin, vindicating the Honour of God's violated Law, that threaten'd Death as the Wages of it, and rendering the Exercise of God's Mercy in the Pardon of Sin consistent with the Glory of his Holiness and Justice, by such an Example of his Severity against it. So that the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction is dropt. His Sacrifice is but metaphorical; and all the Variety of Expressions in which 'tis represented in the Holy Scriptures, are but pompous Allusions, which at the Bottom signify no such Thing as Christ's Death being a valuable Consideration offer'd to the injur'd Justice of God, for the Impunity of all believing and penitent Sinners. And thus to reconcile the Infidels to the Cross of Christ, he discards the main End and Design of his Sufferings on it. And assigns no other Reasons of his Death, but what the Death of any of his Apostles and Martyrs would have been as capable to attain and serve, if God had but pleas'd to send them first to preach this Doctrine of eternal Life, and when they had dy'd, to attest the Truth of it, had rais'd them again.

But, blessed be God, the Christian Religion needs not such treacherous Defenders as these. Nor can we receive Deists into the Christian Church upon such easy Terms as their believing one or two Matters of Fact, while they deny not only all the other peculiar Doctrines of the Gospel, but even that great Mystery of Godliness, God manifested in the Flesh. Such Proselytes to the Christian Church would be no better than the most dangerous secret Enemies under the Disguise of Friends.

And as the Unitarians are coming over to the Deists in Point of Doctrine, so they are affecting a Conformity to them in one of the worst Practices. For if (as the ingenious Dr. Nichols tells us) (a) "The Latitudinarian Principle of joining in Communion with People of all Religions in their several Devotions, and complying with whatever Religion is establish'd, be the very Soul of Deism". I am sure our late Unitarians are come a good way towards it, when they have so frankly of late profess'd, that they can join in the Worship of those they call Trinitarians, even tho' they know that such do avowedly give divine Worship in the most express Terms to our blessed Saviour, to whom they no way believe it to be due (b). But whatever they think of it, no serious Christian can think such palpable Dissimulation with God and Men to be excusable.

I have enlarg'd the more on these Matters, to let the Author of the Paper I have undertaken to answer, see, What a Party of Men he is pleas'd to list himself among; and whither their Dissent in the Christian Church from the Point here controverted, is like to lead them. And as I cannot be so uncharitable, as to think that he would be willing to join with such Writers as these, in so palpable a Design of undermining the Christian Religion, so I would not altogether despair of the

(a) See Conference with a Theist, Part II. p. 81, 82, 83, 84, &c. (b) See the Paper in the III^d Collect. of Unit. Tracts, entitled, The Scripturalist's Christian Condescension, consider'd.

(b) See the Paper in the III^d Collect. of Unit. Tracts, entitled, Succession.

Success of this Attempt to recover him from his Error, if he would impartially weigh what is here offer'd to his Consideration. I am sure he will here find, that I have not only fairly represented his Arguments, but treated him with a Mildness and Temper that becomes so excellent a Cause, which needs not the Passions of Men for the Defence of it. And indeed, my Respect and affectionate Tenderneſs for the supposed Author (the Perverſion of whose valuable Abilities to ſo ill a Purpose I heartily lament) were ſufficient to reſtrain me from that Severity of Style, which his unreaſonable Confidence, and his insulting Language in ſome Paſſages of his Book, would not only have prompted one to, but perhaps in ſome meaſure juſtify'd. I remembred the Apoſtle's Rule, of inſtructing with Meekneſs ſuch as oppoſe themſelves, if, peradventure, God may give them Repentance to the Acknowledgment of the Truth, 2 Tim. ii. 25. I have not therefore treated him as an Enemy. Much leſs have I had any Hand in his publick Proſecution on the Account of the Book I have undertaken to answer (as ſome have very unjuſtly reported). How far the Author acts from Conſcience (tho' erroneous and miſguided) in his preſent Oppoſition to this important Truth, I leave to God's Judgment and his own. But I cannot excuſe his continuing ſo long in the Communion of a Chriſtian Church, in which he could not but know that divine Worſhip was avowedly paid to that bleſſed Saviour, to whom it ſeems he did not in his Conſcience think it to be due. And if he thought his preſent Doctrines to be true, and a Truth of ſo great Importance, he ſhould in all Reaſon have more early and openly declar'd it, and not have contented himſelf with inſinuating it only in a few occaſional dark and ambiguous Terms. Divine Truth ſeeks not ſuch Diſguiſes, nor is it any great Argument of Sincerity, or of a good Cauſe, to uſe them. But whatever Effect this Answer may have upon himſelf, (for I am not inſenſible how difficult it is to remove thoſe Prejudices that are deeply rooted, and eſpecially where a Man's open Eſpouſal of an Opinion engages his Reputation in the Defence of what he has once aſſerted): Yet I hope it may be of ſome uſe to eſtabliſh ſincere Chriſtians in the Faith of this grand Article of God maniſeſted in the Fleſh, and to remove the Doubts of thoſe (if there be any ſuch among us) whom his Paper may have ſtagger'd. And 'tis for this End that I thought it abſolutely neceſſary, not to confine my ſelf to the bare Answering of the Author's Paper, without laying before the Reader a ſew at leaſt of thoſe numerous Arguments for our Saviour's Divinity, which the Scriptures abound with, and which our Author (with what Ingenuity and Candor, I leave himſelf to judge) was pleaſed wholly to over-look. And 'tis that chiefly has drawn out this Answer to ſo great a Length, and ſo long retarded the Publication of it. But I thought it far better to go once for all to the bottom of this Controverſy, by a thorough Examination of all the Author's Objections againſt our Doctrines, and comparing them with the Arguments on the other ſide, than to content my ſelf with a few haſty and ſlight Remarks on them. And as I thought my ſelf under ſome particular Obligation to engage in this Diſpute, (tho' otherwiſe extremely averſe to it, leſt ſo excellent a Cauſe ſhould ſuffer by being in ſo weak Hands) ſo it encourag'd me the more, when I conſider'd, that the Author has fairly refer'd the Deciſion of this Controverſy to the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and has, I think, gone beyond any of our late Unitarians, in producing the moſt plauſible Objections againſt the ſupreme Deity of our Lord Jeſus, that a ſubtle Wit can draw from thence. But I muſt ſubjoin, that if any Reply be made to theſe Papers, in which the Arguments I have offer'd are not repreſented and examin'd with that Fairneſs and Candor, with which I have treated the Author's moſt plauſible Reaſonings on this Subject, but only flurried at with a few ſuperficial Daſhes of ſuch a ſcornful unhallowed Wit, as appears every where in the Pamphlets of our late Unitarians, I ſhall not think my ſelf any way concern'd in it. For I take this Subject to be of that vaſt Moment and Conſequence, that it ought to be argued with the greateſt Seriousneſs and Gravity, and with the profoundeſt Humility that a due Senſe of our own Ignorance, and Deference to divine Revelation, can inſpire us with: And thoſe are very unfit to intermeddle with, or be regarded in this Debate, who dare to handle it with a prophane Irreverence and insolent Buffoonry. I ſhall only add, that I have leſt manifold Arguments for the ſupreme Deity of Chriſt from the Scriptures wholly untouch'd, becauſe I was willing to fix on, and vindicate thoſe only, againſt which the Author's Objections were levell'd. So that 'tis not from the leaſt Diſtruſt of their Strength that they are here omitted, but only to prevent this Answer from ſwelling to too great a Bulk, which is already enlarged far beyond my firſt Intention. May he that is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, give us his Holy Spirit to guide us into all neceſſary Truth, that we may grow in Grace, and in the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, To whom be Glory both now and for ever, Amen! 1 Pet. iii. 18.

J. B.



A VINDICATION OF THE

TRUE DEITY of our BLESSED SAVIOUR, &c.



THE Doctrine of our blessed Saviour's Divinity has been so fully reveal'd in the Holy Scriptures, so universally receiv'd in the Christian Church, and is so apparently interwoven with the whole Scheme of our Holy Religion, that there needs no Apology to be made for a seasonable Defence of it, when 'tis so openly attack'd, and with so unusual a Confidence. It wou'd be rather most inexcusable not to contend for this part of the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints, when the Honour of our blessed Lord, the Peace of his Church, and the Salvation of Souls, are so greatly endanger'd by the violent Opposition made to this important Truth.

I shall at present consider a Pamphlet wrote on this Subject, entitled, *An humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ, or a short Argument concerning his Deity and Glory according to the Scriptures.*

I shall not enlarge on what is obvious to every one's Observation, viz. How little the Title agrees with the Strain of the Book. For few that read it with an unprejudic'd Mind can think that the Author has made his Enquiry with due Humility, when they consider that he has in his Paper manifestly overlook'd the clearest Proofs of the essential Deity of Christ in the Holy Scriptures, and only put together such Passages as he thinks make against it, and yet on that very partial Representation of the Arguments on one side, has pronounc'd against the received Doctrine of the Christian Church with as much Confidence, as if he had clearly answer'd all the Arguments alledg'd on the other.

Nor is it any great Argument of the Author's Candour and Sincerity to entitle his Paper, *An Argument concerning the Deity and Glory of Christ*, when the whole Design of it is to divest him of the Glory of that true Deity which the Christian Church ascribes to him, and to degrade him to the Rank of a meer dignified Creature. But we must forgive him that he was willing, for avoiding popular Odium, to cover an *Heterodox* Book with an *Orthodox* Title.

That I may therefore do some Justice to this important Subject by setting it in its true Light, it will be requisite not only to answer what the Author has alledg'd against the true Deity of Christ, but to suggest some few at least of those manifold Proofs of it, which the Holy Scriptures so abundantly furnish us with; the due Consideration whereof will in a great Measure take off the Force of his main Objections against it.

To state the Question aright, we must briefly consider, what kind of Deity the Christian Church ascribes

to our blessed Saviour, and what our Author is willing to grant him.

What the Christian Church believes concerning the Deity of Christ, presupposes the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, viz. That tho' there is but *One God*, One divine and infinitely perfect Being, yet that this *One God*, is some way *Three* as well as *One*; That he is *Father*, *Word* (or *Son*) and *Spirit*. That the Perfections of the one undivided Nature of God are as truly ascribed to the *Word* and the *Holy Spirit* as to the *Father*; and yet that the *Word* and the *Holy Spirit* are by peculiar relative Properties, and by a different manner of Subsistence and Operation, distinguish'd from the *Father*; some things being ascrib'd in Scripture to the *One* that are not to the *Other*.

Now, tho' the Holy Scriptures reveal to us such a Trinity in the Unity of the divine Nature; (as particularly by requiring us to be Baptiz'd in the Name of the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Spirit* (a); By ordering our being bless'd in the Name of each of these sacred Three (b). (See also 1 John v. 7.). Yet how this *One God* is *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit*, they have neither fully reveal'd, nor are we probably in this imperfect State capable clearly to apprehend. We do indeed see some Resemblance of a Trinity in Unity in created Beings themselves. We see the same *Sun* to be the distinct Fountain of *Motion*, *Light*, and *Heat*. We see the same *Souls* of *Brutes*, to have distinct Powers of *Vital Motion*, *Sense*, and *Appetite*. We can discern in our own *Souls* a clear Distinction between our *Vital Power*, *Understanding*, and *Will*. Nay, we see in *Corporeal Beings* themselves, a threefold Dimension of *Length*, and *Breadth*, and *Depth*. Now that manifest Distinction in Created Beings which we find to be so entirely consistent with their Unity, gives us just Ground to conclude, That 'tis very possible, and no way contradictory to any solid Principles of Reason, that there may be a much greater Distinction in an infinite Being fully consistent with the Unity thereof. And therefore, if the Scriptures assert such a Distinction in the Divine Nature; if they distinctly ascribe not only to the *Father*, but to the *Word* and *Holy Spirit*, the peculiar Titles, Perfections and Operations of the Divine Nature, and require us to pay Divine Homage to each of these Sacred Three; we ought to entertain with Humility and Reverence, what the blessed God has thus discover'd concerning his own infinite Nature, without any curious Enquiries beyond the Line of divine Revelation, How these Sacred Three are distinguish'd from each other, and yet are *One True God*.

For we do believe several particular Perfections of the divine Nature, tho' our Understandings are in-

(a) Matth. 28.

(b) 2 Cor. 13. 13.

volv'd in the like Difficulties, how to form any clear distinct Ideas of them, or solve all the Objections rais'd against them. We firmly believe the same God to be *Eternal*, tho' no Man can define to us what *Eternity* is, and how 'tis distinguish'd from, and yet co-exists with the *successive Duration* of temporary Beings. We believe the *Immensity* of God, tho' we cannot clearly conceive, How an undivided Being can be every where present, without something analogous to the *Extension* of corporeal Beings. And we believe the divine *Prescience*, tho' no Man can explain, How the contingent Actions of free Agents can be certainly fore-known by the divine Understanding, nor answer all the subtle Arguments that may be rais'd against it. Nay, we that meet with so many things in our selves, and in the minutest Creatures round about us, that are beyond our reach to comprehend, should not at all wonder that in such a Declaration as the great God gives of his own infinite Nature, there should be some things to us *unsearchable*: It would rather be strange if it were otherwise.

Now this Paper which I design to examine, only opposing the *Deity* of one of those Sacred *Three*, I shall apply my self to the Defence of that.

As to the Author's Opinion, he does not seem very clear in stating the Question relating to the *Deity* of our blessed Saviour.

For one while he proposes it, "*Whether Christ be the God of Gods, or above all Gods? For this (he tells us) is the highest and most glorious Title given to God in the Old Testament, when it is designed to make the most magnificent Mention of his peerless Greatness and Glory.*"

But foreseeing perhaps that Christ, who is over Angels, whom he tells us the Scripture's call Gods, may be therefore stiled according to his own Hypothesis, *God of Gods*; he seems willing to shift the Question, and reduce it to this, *Whether Jesus Christ has any God over him, who has greater Authority and greater Ability than himself, or no?*

Now this State of the Question is unfair, and liable to just Exception. For *Jesus Christ* is a complex Subject, which (according to the avowed Faith of the Christian Church) includes in it, both his *divine Person* (on the Account whereof he is called the *Word*, and the *only Begotten of the Father*) his *humane Nature*, and his *Office of Mediator*. Now in some of these respects 'tis true that *Jesus Christ* has a God over him; in others, 'tis not. So that his bare proving, That in some respects (as particularly that in reference to his *human Nature*, or to his *mediatory Office*) he has a God over him, will by no means prove, that he is not the *God of Gods*, or *Supreme God*, as he is the *Word*, and the *only Begotten of the Father*.

The true State then of the Question between him and us is, Whether Christ, as the *Word* and *only Begotten of the Father*, be only a *Created Finite Being*, tho' raised to eminent subordinate Authority over all other Creatures, or be a *Being of infinite Perfections*; Whether under this Character and Consideration he be *God* in a proper Sense, as that denotes a *Being of infinite Perfections*? Or be *God* only in a figurative Sense, as that Word imports a most dignify'd Creature, or (in our Author's Language) a *Being in Subordinate Power*? And 'tis evident, That our Author allows him to be no otherwise *God* than in this figurative improper Sense: For he denies any of those *Infinite Perfections* to belong to him, which are the Properties of the *divine Nature*. So that our blessed Saviour is no more with him than a *Creature* rais'd to the highest Authority over his Fellow-Creatures; or, as he speaks, *The chief of Subordinate Powers*.

My Business then is to shew, That the Scriptures represent that *Word* that was made *Flesh*, that *only Begotten Son of the Father* that came into the World, and was *Partaker of our Flesh and Blood*, to be the most *High God* in the proper Sense of the Word, viz. *A Being of infinite Perfections*, and not a *Creature and Finite Being*, who is only call'd *God* on the Account of his eminent

Dignity and Authority over his Fellow-Creatures.

Now this I shall endeavour to prove from the peculiar *Titles* of the *supream God*, (or infinitely perfect Being) that are given to our blessed Saviour, from the *divine Worship* due to him; from the *incommunicable Works and Perfections* of God ascrib'd to him. And under each of these *Heads* I shall have Occasion to examine and answer what the *Author* has alledg'd to the contrary. I begin with,

I. The Argument drawn from the peculiar *Titles* of the *Supream God*, (or the infinitely perfect Being) which are given to our blessed Saviour.

As to this, our Author tells us, "*It is not deny'd by the Arrians and Socinians that the blessed Jesus has the Title of God ascribed to him sometimes in the Scriptures. But the Question is, In what Sense? And having told us, That the Word God in Scripture sometimes signifies the Supream Being, sometimes Persons invested with subordinate Power, as Angels or Magistrates, he concludes, That the bare Character of God determines nothing in this Case, because it belongs both to the supream and subordinate Beings in Power and Authority.*" And therefore proposes the Question, *Whether Jesus Christ be God of Gods, or above all Gods?* Which he supposes the peculiar Character of the *supream Being*.

In Answer to this, We do not pretend that the bare Title of *God* given to our Saviour is a demonstrative Proof of his being the most High God, for the Reason he alledges, that *Angels and Magistrates* are also called *Gods*. But we must distinguish between that Title being given in a proper Sense, and in a figurative (and by a *Catachresis*.) And 'tis apparent that where that Title is given to *Creatures*, 'tis either given in the Plural Number (as to *Angels and Magistrates*;) or if given in the Singular Number, 'tis in such a particular Sense, and under such Circumstances and Limitations as plainly shew 'tis apply'd only in a figurative Sense; as in the Instance the Author gives of *Moses being a God to Aaron and Pharaoh*. Tho' as to the former, *Exod. iv. 16.* 'tis only said *Moses* should be to *Aaron* instead of *God*; which plainly shews in how improper a Sense the Word is us'd. And this explains what is said of *Moses being a God to Pharaoh*, viz. That he should represent *God's* Authority in commanding, and exert his Power in punishing *Pharaoh*. So the *Devil* is called the *God of this World*, not only on the Account of his usurped Dominion, but because he was worship'd by the idolatrous World.

Now when we argue for the Divinity of Christ from this Title of *God*, we not only insist upon its being frequently given to him, (which it is not to any created Being, these few being the most plausible Instances that can be alledg'd) but from its being given without any Limitation, or any Circumstances that should lead us to a figurative Sense of the Words; nay, on the contrary, in a Manner that leads us to take the Title in its true and proper Sense.

There is no Appearance of any such Limitation and figurative Sense, when our blessed Saviour is call'd *Immanuel*, or *God with us*, *God manifested in the Flesh*; when he has the Title of *Κύριος* or *Lord*, (which in the Septuagint answers to that of *Jehovah*) given him throughout the whole New Testament; when he is call'd the true *God*, 1 *John* v. 20. (For that that Title belongs to him, appears not only from the ordinary grammatical Construction of the Words, but from its Conjunction with that other Title of *eternal Life*, which in the Beginning of that Epistle, *ch. i. v. 2.* is given to *Christ* as distinguish'd from the *Father*.) When he is call'd the *Great God*, *Tit. ii. 13.* (For that that Title belongs to our Saviour is evident from hence, That the glorious Appearance there mention'd never is attributed to the *Father*, but always to our blessed *Lord*.) But especially when so many Things spoken of the great *Jehovah* in the Old Testament are so manifestly applied to our blessed Saviour in the New. See among many other Instances such as these; *Isa. xxviii. 16.* *Jer. ii. 32.* compar'd with *Rom. x. 11, 12, 13, 14.* So *Eph. iv. 8.* compar'd

par'd with *Psal.* lxxviii. 18. *1 Cor.* x. 9. compar'd with *Numb.* xxi. 6. So *Rev.* i. 8, 11. and xxii. 13. compar'd with *Isa.* xlv. 6. And many other such Passages, some of which I shall have Occasion to speak of.

But to bring this Matter to a shorter Issue; If it appear that such Titles as are peculiar to the *Supream God*, and incommunicable to any finite Being, how dignify'd soever, are given to our blessed Saviour in the Holy Scriptures, the Argument from such Titles will hold good to prove his being the *Supream God*. Our Author seems to allow, that if *Christ* were called the *God of Gods*, or a *God above all Gods*, it would prove his Divinity in the proper Sense of the Word. Now the Proof is as cogent from any other Titles that are equally appropriated to the *Supream Being*, and incommunicable to any finite created Being.

As to such incommunicable Titles, I shall only insist on those two given to our blessed Saviour, that of *God over all blessed for evermore*, and that of *Lord of Lords*.

First, I would argue from that glorious Title ascrib'd to our blessed Saviour, of *God over all blessed for evermore*.

The Apostle *Paul*, speaking of the *Jews*, saith of them, *Whose are the Fathers, of whom, as concerning the Flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for evermore, Amen.* *Rom.* ix. 5.

To make the Force of this Argument appear, it will be only requisite,

I. To shew that this Title is here given to our blessed Saviour.

II. That 'tis the peculiar incommunicable Title of the *supream God*.

I. It will be requisite to shew, That this Title is here given to our blessed Saviour.

And 'tis the more needful to clear this, because tho' *Socinus* himself freely gives up this Point, yet I find our late Unitarians generally chuse rather to evade this Text, by telling us, that these last Words in the Text are not a Description of our blessed Saviour, but only a Doxology to the Father, and therefore should be render'd thus, *Of whom as concerning the Flesh, Christ came, God who is over all be blessed for evermore, Amen.*

Nay, some late Unitarians have presumed to tell us, 'tis probable the Word *God* was not originally in the Text. But this Pretence of theirs is so fully confuted by the late Bishop of *Worcester*, in his *Vindication of the Trinity*, p. 154, 155, &c. and by Dr. *Whitby* in his *Paraphrase* on this Passage, p. 48, 49, that I shall refer the Reader to those learned Authors for entire Satisfaction in that Point. I shall only add, that the Unitarians pretend their turning the Words into an Ecphonema and Doxology, is countenanced by the Addition of *Amen*, which they tell us there was no Occasion for, if the Words were intended as a Description of our Lord *Jesus*.

But the Vanity of this Evasion will appear if we consider the following Particulars.

1. That (as *Socinus* himself well observes) when the Word *Ευλογητός* or *Blessed* is intended by way of Doxology, it ought to be put before the Person to whom 'tis applied, not after him. So that if the Apostle had intended the Words for a Doxology, they should have run thus, *Ευλογητός ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς Ἀμήν.*

But I may further add, that *Ευλογητός* is never put for *Ευλογητός ἔσται*, but where the Sense is imperfect and defective without supplying the Verb; whereas there is no Ellipsis or Imperfection at all as the Words lye in the Original: So that the supplying any such Verb has these two intolerable Faults in it; the one, that 'tis altogether unnecessary, the Sense being compleat without it; the other, that the supplying any such Verb quite alters the Sense and Purport of the Words as they are in the Original, turning them to another Subject, without any ground for it. Nay, I may justly add, the Words *ὁ ὢν* in the Original are absolutely necessary and useful; if we understand the Passage as a Description of our blessed Saviour; whereas they are not only useless if we understand them as a Doxology, but dangerous, as tending to misguide us to interpret

of *Christ* what the Apostle, according to our Adversaries, intended only of the Father. The Reader must excuse such Criticisms, when our Adversaries use all imaginable Subtilty to wrest such plain Texts from us. We are in this Case forc'd to fight them at their own Weapons. But further,

2. That the Apostle intended not this for a Doxology, appears, because he is always wont in his Doxologies to mention the Benefits conferr'd on such on whose Account he offers them. But this he had no Occasion for here: Not only because these Privileges he mentions as appertaining to the *Jews*, and particularly that of *Christ's* carnal Descent from them, were Privileges separable from Salvation, but because he here considers the *Jews* as like to lose all the Advantage of them through their own wretched Infidelity, and on that Account expresses his extreme Sorrow of Heart for them, v. 2. So that he here mentions *Christ's* coming, not as matter of Joy to them, but like to turn to the Aggravation of their Guilt and Misery.

3. There was very just Occasion for the Apostle to add these Words as a Description of our blessed Saviour.

It was very fit that when the Apostle, among other eminent Privileges appertaining to the *Jews*, mentions this, *That of them Christ came as concerning the Flesh*, that he should enhance the Privilege by considering the Dignity of the Person that came, and his Superiority to those of whom he came. Especially when we consider, That the Apostle so carefully limits what he had said of *Christ's* coming of them, That 'twas only [*κατὰ σάρκα*] as concerning the Flesh. Whereby he plainly intimates, there was something to be consider'd in him more than that *Flesh* or human Nature he deriv'd by his Descent from them. And what it was he represents to them in this glorious Title, *who is over all God blessed for evermore*. And 'tis observable that every thing in that Title is oppos'd to their false Opinion of him, they thought him a meer Man; the Apostle tells them, He was God: They thought him inferior to the Fathers; the Apostle stiles him, *God over all*: They accounted him accus'd; the Apostle stiles him, *Blessed for evermore*.

I shall only add, That the Addition of *Amen* is no Proof at all of the Words being a formal Doxology; not an Assertion, because 'tis elsewhere added upon the mention of this Title, where there is only an Assertion, no formal Doxology. 'Tis so in this very Epistle, chap. i. v. 25. *They served and worshiped the Creature more than the Creator, who is God blessed for evermore, Amen.*

But as to the Author, I need the less insist on this, because in Discourse on this Subject he own'd these Words as a Description of our blessed Saviour, but expounded them of his being the Chief of those subordinate Powers that are call'd Gods in Scripture.

I come therefore,

II. To shew, That this of *God over all, blessed for evermore*, is the incommunicable Title of the God of Gods, or the Supreme God. And this will sufficiently appear, if we consider,

1. This Title is no where else in Scripture given to any created Being, or subordinate Power, but always to the supreme God.

I cannot find that this Title of *God Blessed, or Blessed for evermore*, occurs oftner than four times in the New Testament. (For as to the word *Blessed*, apply'd to God, *1 Tim.* i. 11. and *1 Tim.* vi. 15. 'tis not in the Original *Ευλογητός*, but *μακάριος* or Happy. However 'tis there also appropriated to the most High God). And in every one of those Places 'tis manifestly apply'd to the most High God. 'Tis so in the Question propos'd by the High-Priest to our Saviour, *Art thou Christ the Son of the Blessed?* 'Tis so in *Rom.* i. 25. (of which more anon.) 'Tis so *2 Cor.* xi. 31. — Where the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ* is describ'd in Expressions plainly parallel to those here us'd concerning our Saviour, *ὁ ὢν Εὐλογητός εἰς αἰῶνας, who is blessed for evermore*. And I hope the peculiar Addition, *over all*, cannot be thought any Diminution

minution of this illustrious Character: For that is also else-where given to the Father, *Eph. vi.* I may therefore here justly challenge our Adversaries to produce any other Place where this Title is given to any Creature, how dignify'd soever. And if they cannot, How unreasonable is it to suppose this the Character of a Creature here, which is every where else appropriated to the most High God? Nay, 'tis observable, that where any Creatures are in the New Testament called *Blessed*, the word is not *Ευλογητες*, but *Ευλογημενοι*. See *Luke i. 42.* where 'tis apply'd to the *Blessed Virgin*, and to the *Fruit of her Womb*, the *Man Christ Jesus*. Nor is that Observation of Dr. Hammond groundless (as Monsieur Le Clerc would represent it) concerning the ordinary Custom of the Jews, to add to the Name of God this Title of *Blessed* for evermore. And had the Apostle believ'd our Saviour to be no more than a dignify'd Creature, he could not have put a greater Stumbling-block before the Jews to harden them in their Infidelity, than by giving him a Title and Character which they had always appropriated to the great *Jehovah*. For he might be sure they would take these Words to be an Ascription of Divinity to him in the most strict and proper Sense. So that the Apostle could not have spoken more unwarily and dangerously to the Prejudice of the Christian Cause, had he been of the Opinion of our late Unitarians; but nothing could have been added more seasonably and justly, according to the received Doctrine of the Christian Church. But,

2. This Argument is the stronger, if we consider, That this Character is given to the most High God as distinguish'd from all Creatures whatsoever.

'Tis so in that foremention'd Place, *Rom. i. 25.* where the Apostle charges the Gentiles with *worshipping and serving the Creature more than* (or rather beside, *παρα*) *the Creator, who is God blessed for evermore, Amen.* The Creatures the Gentiles serv'd were many of them such Demons and deceased Heroes, as they suppos'd to be subordinate Powers, but rais'd to the Dignity of Gods: From all these the Apostle distinguishes the true God the Creator of the World by this Title of *God blessed for evermore, q. d. That God, to whom alone the Blessing and Adoration of all intelligent Creatures is and will be for ever due.* Now with how little Justice could the Apostle fix this severe Reproach on the Gentile Philosophers, (for of them he here speaks) when they might from his other Epistles retort his own Argument upon him. "Can it be such a Crime in us to worship a Creature, besides the Creator, when you your self propose a dignify'd Creature as an Object of religious Adoration, to whom you tell us, every Knee should bow, and every Tongue confess his Dominion, *Phil. ii. 10.* nay, when you even clothe this exalted Creature with so glorious a Character as that of *God over all Blessed for evermore*, which you here give to the Creator; nay, when in other Writings you ascribe the Creation to him, *Col. i. 16.* Can that then be Idolatry in us that is none in you? And should the Unitarians here suppose the Apostle to alledge for himself, That he did not give to Christ Supreme, but only Subordinate, Worship (as our Author himself professes he does) See *pag. 17.* The Gentiles would readily alledge the same Distinction, to justify their Worship of those Creatures whom they suppos'd to be exalted to the Dignity of inferior Gods. The Apostle might indeed blame them for their ill Choice of those subordinate Powers they worship'd, but could never justly, upon the Principles of our Adversaries, charge them as Idolators for *worshipping the Creature beside the Creator, who is God blessed for ever*; when the Apostle himself, and all Christians, (if they were of our Author's Opinion) did *worship a Creature besides the Creator*, nay, under the very Title of *God*, nay, of *God over all blessed for ever*. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more fully under the Argument drawn from the divine Worship due to our blessed Saviour.

Secondly, I would argue from that other Title ascrib'd

to our blessed Saviour, viz. *Lord of Lords*, *Rev. xix. 16.*

And I the rather chuse to insist on this, because our Author owns indeed this Title to be given him, but endeavours to disprove this Inference drawn from it.

To this purpose he tells us, "That the Title of *Lord of Lords* denotes an inferior Character, compar'd with that of *God of Gods*, as appears by that *1 Cor. viii. 5.* though it be included in the Superior; so that he who is above all Gods, is also over all *Lords*, but not contrariwise, *p. 2.*

Ans. That the Title of *Lord of Lords*, notes an inferior Character, compar'd with that of *God of Gods*, so that he may be *Lord of Lords*, who is not *God of Gods*, is not only asserted by the Author without any solid Proof, but against the Current of the holy Scriptures, which do as truly appropriate the Title of *Lord of Lords*, as that of *God of Gods*, to the great *Jehovah*, or only true God. See in the Old Testament, *Deut. x. 17.* *The Lord your God is God of Gods, and Lord of Lords, a great God, mighty and terrible, &c.* So *Psal. cxxxvi. 2, 3.* And in the New Testament, *1 Tim. vi. 15.* the great God is describ'd as *the blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* And indeed if that Title of *God of Gods*, set that Being to whom it is given above all Gods whatsoever, and imply there is no God above him; there is the same Reason why the Title of *Lord of Lords* should set him to whom it is given above all Lords whatsoever, and imply that there is no Lord above him. But this the Author will by no Means grant to be true of our blessed Saviour, and therefore is forc'd against the Strain of holy Writ to suppose there are two distinct Beings, (one Finite, the other Infinite) to whom yet the same Character of *Lord of Lords* does belong: Whereas the aforementioned Text makes this to be the Title of him who is the *Blessed and only Potentate*, who therefore has no Rival with him in this glorious Character.

And St. Thomas seems not to have been of the Author's Opinion in this Point, but on the contrary to have supposed the Title of *Lord* and *God* equally due to the same Object of religious Worship, when he cries out in his devout Address to our blessed Saviour, *My Lord and my God*, *John xx. 28.*

And I may here justly add, That the Title of *Lord of Lords*, is equivalent to that of *Lord over all*. Now the Title of *Lord over all* is made by the Apostle Paul equivalent to that of *Jehovah* in the Old Testament, and yet in the same Place is given by him to our blessed Saviour. He cites from the Prophet *Joel* those Words, *He that calls on the Name of Jehovah shall be saved*, *Rom. x. 13.* Whom the Prophet stiles *Jehovah*, he calls *Lord over all*, *ver. 12.* And that by that *Lord over all*, he understands our blessed Saviour, is evident from the following Verse: For it was him the Apostles were sent to preach, and to invite both Jews and Gentiles to believe and call upon, *v. 14.* (Of which more will occur under the Argument from divine Worship.)

But our Author refers us for Proof of what he says, That the Title of *Lord of Lords* denotes an inferior Character, to *1 Cor. viii. 5.*

But if it be enquir'd, How this appears from that Text? I see not what the Author has offer'd to prove it, unless we will take for Proof of it what he saith in the second Column of the second Page, which I shall carefully consider.

"How manifestly (saith he) are the One God and One Lord distinguish'd? *1 Cor. viii. 6.* And that there may be no Pretence to say with *Placaus*, That the God, and the Lord, or the Cause of which all Things are, and the Cause by or through which all Things are, are but two Things said of the same one God, we may see them more clearly distinguish'd, *Eph. iv. 5, 6.* where by interposing other Things between the One Lord and One God, viz. One Faith, One Baptism, it appears evidently, That these were not intended as two Characters of the same Being.

Ans.

Ans. To clear this, I may justly premise that the Title here given to our blessed Saviour is not Lord of Lords, but the Lord by whom are all Things. Nay, tho' it should be granted to our Author, that the bare Title of Lord may sometimes note one in Office inferior to the Father (which he has yet no way prov'd) yet this would make nothing for our Author's Purpose against the true Deity of Christ, unless he could shew us, That Christ's being call'd the Lord by whom all Things are, did imply him to be only a dignify'd Creature, and so a Being distinguish'd from the Father in Nature and essential Perfections. For the Son of God may be in respect of Office inferior to the Father, and sustain a Character inferior to his, without any Inequality in respect of essential Perfections, (as I shall have occasion to shew afterwards).

Now that the Apostle does not, by the Lord, by whom all Things are, intend a meer dignify'd Creature, distinguish'd from the Father in Point of Essence, Placæus has offer'd several Reasons to prove, which our Author has offer'd no Reply to, and the Author produces but one Argument against it, which has no manner of Force.

As to Placæus's Arguments, I shall only mention and enforce these three.

1. Because this Supposition alone can render the Apostle's Reasoning solid and clear.

The Apostle had asserted, That an Idol in the World was nothing, according to the known Doctrine of the Old Testament, that brands all the Deities of the Gentiles as Vanities and Nothings: i. e. All the Objects of the Worship of the Gentiles were nothing in Point of real Divinity. On the contrary he asserts, That there is none other God but one. And how does he prove this? 'Tis by this Argument, For tho' there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or Earth; (i. e. tho' the Heathens have a Multiplicity of Gods both Celestial and Terrestrial) as there be Gods many, and Lords many; (i. e. as there are many such Demons whom the Heathens own'd as Gods and Lords) (a). But to us, (i. e. to us Christians) There is but One God the Father, of whom are all Things, and we in (or for) him: And One Lord Jesus, by whom are all Things, and we by him. Now if we suppose the Apostle to describe that One God (whose Unity he intended to prove, in Opposition to the Pagan Polytheism) according to two different Manners of Subsistence and Operation, which are peculiar to the Father, and the Son, viz. The Father as the Cause of whom all Things are, and we in, or for him; the Son as the Cause by whom all Things are, and we by him; the one distinguish'd by the Character of God, the other of Lord, we make him argue consistently with himself, as well as with the receiv'd Doctrine of the Christian Church. And even tho' Lord should denote a lower Character belonging to Christ as Mediator, yet if he, to whom 'tis given, be in respect of his Nature God as well as the Father, still the Apostle argues consistently, and well proves, That Christians have no other God but one, because they own but one Father that sustains the Rights of the Deity, and one Lord that is the Administrator of the divine Kingdom, and is one in Essence with the Father.

But on the other hand, if we suppose, that the Apostle, by one Lord, means only a dignify'd Creature, a Being entirely distinct from the true God, and yet a God by Deputation, his way of Reasoning will be very unaccountable and strange. For according to this Supposition, the Apostle proves there is no other God but one in Opposition to the Heathens Polytheism. How? Why, because tho' the Heathens have many Gods and Lords, yet we Christians have but one; One God the Father, who alone is God by Essence; and One

Lord, who is God by Office and Deputation. Which, in Effect, is to prove, that to Christians, there is no other God but one, because to them there are but two, one essential God, and another made God; one God by Nature, and another by Office. Besides, if we suppose with the Unitarians, that the Apostle intends one God, with that Limitation, of one that is God of himself and by Nature, we ought in all Reason to apply the like Limitation to one Lord, and understand it of one who has this Lordship and Dominion of himself. But this would overturn their Opinion concerning our blessed Saviour, whose Dominion they will by no means allow to be from himself.

2. And this Argument will appear the stronger, if we add to it, that the Exposition of our Adversaries would give the Gentiles a fair Handle to justify their Worship of their inferior Deities.

For the learned Pagans might justly retort on the Apostle, We own as well as you, that there is but one God, i. e. One who is God of himself, and the Supreme God; but it will not thence follow, that all the inferior Demons we worship have nothing of Divinity in them, and that no Worship is due to them. For we suppose them constituted as inferior Gods by the Favour of the Supreme God, on the Account of the Lordship and Dominion he has delegated to them. We suppose that he has advanc'd them to that Dignity, and allows our paying them an inferior religious Homage (b). Now what do we in this Matter more than you Christians, who besides that one God that is of himself, own another God, and pay a religious Homage to him, even to one who is but a God by Courtesy and Deputation? So that if our Demons are but fictitious Deities, to whom no Worship is due, there is as little due to your made God, who is as meer a Nothing in point of true Divinity as ours. All that I can see capable of being reply'd, is, That the Heathens were mistaken in thinking their inferior Deities to be constituted such by the Supreme God; but still their Argument, according to the Unitarian Hypothesis, sufficiently clears their Demon-worship from being idolatrous. Of which more will occur under the Head of Worship.

3. I may justly add, That to be the Cause by whom are all Things, is the peculiar Character of the true God, and therefore cannot be the Character of a meer dignify'd Creature.

'Tis mention'd as the Character of the true God, that of him, and through (or by) him, and to him are all Things, Rom. xi. 35. And this Phrase is apply'd to Christ, when the Work of Creation is ascrib'd to him, Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 16. (which I shall anon shew to be the peculiar Work of the true and Supreme God). And therefore those Arrians are plainly mistaken, who tell us, that this Phrase, All Things are by him, denote only a finite instrumental Cause subservient to the First. Whereas it appears from the forecited Place, that this Expression is applied to the first Cause, by whom, as well as of whom, all Things are. All Things are of the Father, by the eternal Word. And this is agreeable to John i. 1, 2.

Nor can our Adversaries justly pretend, that the Apostle's Saying, To us there is but one God the Father, does exclude all but the Father from being God. For, by the same Reasoning, these Words, To us there is but one Lord, would exclude all but Christ from this Character of Lord. (As several of the Ant-Nicene Fathers very well argue in commenting on these Words).

But our Author, instead of making any Reply to Placæus's Arguments, pretends to overturn them all with one Objection, viz. "That we may see the one God" and one Lord, more clearly distinguish'd, Eph. iv. 5, 6.

(a) That this is a just Paraphrase of the Apostle's Expressions in Opposition to the Paraphrase of the Socinians, re-advanc'd of late by Monsieur Le Clerc, who understands by Gods and Lords, Angels and Magistrates; I must refer the Reader for fuller Satisfaction to Dr. Whist's Paraphrase, Pag. 141. where he will see that new Exposition solidly confuted.

(b) See Celsus making this very Plea for Demon-Worship, Cels. ap. Orig. l. 8. p. 381, 421.

A Vindication of the true Deity of our Blessed Saviour.

9

"Where by interposing other Things between the one Lord, and one God and Father, viz. One Faith, and one Baptism; it evidently appears, that these were not intended as two Characters of the same Being.

But how does this evidently appear? It does indeed appear, that the Apostle distinguishes between that one Lord, and the Father. But how does it appear, that he distinguishes between them, as between two Beings, the one whereof was only a finite dignify'd Creature, the other uncreated and infinite? Why may not the same God, according to one manner of Subsistence and Operation, be call'd God the Father, and according to another different manner of Subsistence and Operation be stiled, in respect of his mediatory Kingdom, Lord? And why may not these two that are distinguish'd from each other in their manner of Subsistence, their relative Properties, and their Characters in the Oeconomy of our Salvation, be mention'd distinctly, and at some Distance in the same Paragraph, without supposing them to be distinguish'd from each other in respect of essential Perfections, or without supposing them to be two such distinct Beings, as God and a meer dignify'd Creature are? Especially when those Words, *one Faith*, and *one Baptism*, are fitly mention'd after *one Lord*, as the genuine distinguishing Characters of those that belong to his mediatory Kingdom. If the Author see any Force in his own Argument, he must excuse us that we do not, but think there is incomparably greater Strength in the Arguments on the other side, which he thought fit to take no Notice of.

I shall only add under this Head, that the very Title of *Lord*, *Kύριος*, so universally given to our Saviour thro' the New Testament, and answering to that of *Jebovah* in the Old, has been enlarged on as a Proof of our Saviour's Divinity, by the Bishop of Sarum (a), whose Reasoning on that Head the Author has not thought fit to take any Notice of.

Having thus far pursued the Argument from the peculiar Titles of the supreme God being given to our blessed Saviour, it will be proper for me under this Head, to take Notice of the two first Arguments he advances against the true Divinity of our blessed Saviour.

His first Argument is, "That our Lord Jesus Christ expressly speaks of another God distinct from himself. Several times we find him saying, *My God*, of another, *Matt. xxvii. 26. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Sure he intended not to say, My Self, my Self, why hast thou forsaken me? This God was then distinct from himself, as he declares in other Places, John vii. 17. He shall know of my Doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I spake of my self. So John viii. 42. Where 'tis to be noted, that he does not distinguish himself from him as the Father, but as God. And therefore in all just Construction, he cannot be suppos'd to be that self-same God, from whom he distinguishes, and to whom he opposes himself.*

Ans. 'Tis something strange, that the Author should take no notice of what had been briefly offer'd in Answer to this Argument in the Remarks on Mr. E——'s Case. But sure he can never expect this Argument should stagger those who believe that there are two Natures united in our Lord Jesus, unless he had first overthrown that important Article of our Religion. (What he has offer'd afterwards will be consider'd in its due Place). Christ, as *Man*, distinguishes himself from *God*, therefore the *Word* to which his human Nature was united, cannot be *God*, tho' apparently call'd so. Where is the Consequence? All the Force of the Argument lies in this, that whenever our Lord Jesus speaks of himself, he must be necessarily suppos'd to include all that is in his Person. But this is a manifest Mistake. Our Author himself grants, That that may be affirmed of a Person which belongs only to a Part of him, *Pag. 8.* And nothing

is more usual in our common Forms of Speech than to apply that to our selves, which is true only of a Part of our compounded Nature; as one may say, *I my self was wounded, or sick, when only his Body is so, not his Soul.* Thus our Lord Jesus saith to his Disciples after his Resurrection, *Behold my Hands and my Feet; That 'tis I my self, for a Spirit has not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have; where he calls his Body, himself.* And what if we should hereupon argue as our Author, That our blessed Saviour had no *Soul* or *Spirit*, because he speaks of himself as distinct from a *Spirit*, and therefore cannot be suppos'd to have any *Spirit*, from which he distinguishes, and to which he opposes himself? Would he take such Reasoning for any better than weak Sophistry? And why may not our Lord Jesus then call his *human Nature himself*, as well as his *human Body*? Why may he not, as *Man*, distinguish himself from *God*? And the Author knows well enough, it was as *Man* that he suffer'd those Agonies on the Cross, and as *Man* that he came to reveal the Will of God to the Sons of Men. But the Author should tell us, how we shall reconcile his Argument with Christ's being so often and expressly stiled *God*, whereas he supposes him always distinguish'd from *God*? And he can no way solve the Difficulty without that Distinction of a *God by Nature*, and a *God by Office*. So that the Debate will come to this, whether of these Distinctions be more conformable to the Strain of the Holy Scriptures, viz. Our Distinction of two Natures in the Person of our blessed Saviour, with which we solve the Passages he mentions; or his Distinction of a *God by Nature*, and a *God by Office or Deputation*, to which he must flee to reconcile those Passages in which Christ is distinguish'd from *God* with those wherein he is call'd *God*. We can shew him our Distinction clear in several Passages, (as *1 John i. 14. Rom. ix. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 16.*) But we could never yet discern any Footstep of the other in the Holy Scriptures, which assure us, that to us (Christians) *there is no other God but one, 1 Cor. viii. 4.* And the very first Command strictly forbids our owning any other as *God* but him, *Exod. xx. 3.*

And this leads me to what he adds under this Argument from that fore-cited Text, *1 Cor. viii. 4.* But having already consider'd this weak Reasoning from that Passage, *Pag. 16, 17, &c.* I shall refer the Reader thither; and come to his

Second Argument, viz.

"Our Lord Jesus not only owns another than himself to be *God*, but also that he is above or over himself. Which is plainly also intimated by the Apostles. Himself loudly proclaims his Subjection to the Father in many Instances. In general he declares his Father to be greater than he, *John xiv. 28, 30. and x. 29.* He saith, he came not in his own, but in his Father's Name and Authority, *John v. 43.* That he sought not his own, but God's Glory; nor made his own Will, but God's, his Rule. And in such a Posture of Subjection he came down from Heaven to this Earth. So that it should seem that Nature that did pre-exist, did not possess the supreme Will, even before it was incarnate, *John vi. 38.* Again, he owns his Dependance on his God and Father, even for those Things which 'tis pretended belong to him as *God*, viz. the Power of working Miracles, *John v. 19, 20.* Of raising the Dead, *Ver. 26.* Of executing universal Judgment, *Ver. 27.* Of all which he says, *Of my self I can do nothing, Ver. 30.* In like manner his Apostles declare his Subjection to another; not only as his Father, but as his *God*, which is most emphatically express'd in calling the most blessed God, the God of our Lord Jesus, after his Humiliation was over, *Eph. i. 17.* And the Head of Christ is *God*, *1 Cor. xi. 3.* They declare his Headship over the Universe, and the very Foundation of his Claim to Honour and Service, to be owing to the gracious Gift of God, *Phil. ii. 9.* And yet these are some of the highest Glories of Jesus Christ.

Answ. That this Argument is of no Force against the true Deity of our blessed Lord, will appear if we consider, that God the Father may be above Christ in several Respects, which yet are no way inconsistent with his being one God with the Father, and that the Scriptures cited by our Author under this Head, are to be understood only of the Father being above him in some of those Respects.

I. I shall shew, That God the Father may be said to be above Christ in several Respects, which yet are no way inconsistent with his being one God with the Father.

Now the Father may be said to be above our Lord Jesus in these three Respects.

1. *With respect to his human Nature.* Who can doubt but a temporary dependent Creature is every way inferior to that eternal Almighty Being that made him?

2. *With respect to the eternal Generation of his divine Person,* as he is the only Begotten of the Father. We acknowledge a Priority in the Order of subsisting to be peculiar to the Father, who is therefore called the Fountain of the Deity. The Father and Son's having the same Nature, does not destroy the Order of Persons. A Son is equal to his Father in respect of the human Nature he derives from him, but yet inferior in that relative Capacity of a Son. And on this Account the Father is sometimes in Scripture call'd God by way of Eminency, and propos'd as the ultimate Object of religious Worship; Eph. ii. 18. *Through him (i. e. thro' Jesus Christ) we have Access by one Spirit to the Father, i. e. to the divine Nature, as primarily subsisting in the Person of the Father.*

3. *With respect to his Office as Mediator.*

In one God we believe there is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And that there is between these sacred Three that Distinction which is a sufficient Foundation for their distinct Actings towards each other, of which there are evident Instances in the mysterious Oeconomy of our Redemption. In which the Order of Working follows that of Subsisting. The Father sustains the Place of supreme offended Lawgiver. The Son by a voluntary Dispensation assumes our Nature, and interposes as an atoning Mediator. And this is a wonderful Instance of the Condescension of the eternal Word, that tho' he was God equal with the Father in respect of essential Perfections, yet his compassionate Regard to us, induc'd him to accept a Station, and sustain a Character, in order to our Recovery, in which the Father is greater than he; yea, in which he was in the Nature he assum'd to be humbled to such an astonishing Degree, as to be obedient to Death, even the Death of the Cross, to be despised and rejected of Men, as well as smitten of God.

And in this Capacity of Mediator, after he had finish'd the Work of his humble State, he was crowned with Glory and Honour, and deservedly advanc'd to a sovereign Dominion over all, that in the Administration of his mediatorial Kingdom, he might accomplish the eternal Counsels of the divine Will. And in this State of Exaltation his human Nature has an eminent Degree of Dignity and Glory above any other created Being conferr'd upon it, which was not its original Right, but the Reward of his Condescension and meritorious Obedience and Sufferings.

Now, tho' under each of these Considerations God the Father is above the Son, yet none of them is inconsistent with the Son's being God by Nature.

Not his being Man. For tho' as Man, he is not God, yet he, who is Man, is also God. For the Apostle sure does not speak Contradictions and Impossibilities, when he tells us, *That of the Father as concerning the Flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for evermore.* And that divine Word who was with God, (and so distinguish'd from the Father as to his Manner of Subsistence) and who was God, (and so was one with the Father in Essence) even this Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, John i. 14.

Not his being the Son of God, in respect of his eternal Emanation from the Father. His Personality, abstractedly consider'd, does not formally include the divine Essence, but only the Manner of his having it, viz. by a necessary eternal Communication from the Father, in a manner to us incomprehensible. So that his being the Son of God, and being God, are no more incompatible than a Thing and the Manner of it.

Nor is his being Mediator inconsistent with his being God. For this Office is altogether a voluntary Dispensation. Suppose a Father and Son to be jointly possessors of the same sovereign Power, and to reign together. Upon the Rebellion of their undutiful Subjects, may not the Son leave the Rights of his Sovereignty in his Father's Hands, and take upon him the Office of a reconciling Mediator, without being divested of the Crown? This is some Illustration of the Case before us, tho' it does not fully reach it. He who is the Mediator, is also God. He was God who purchased the Church with his own Blood, Acts xx. 28. And since it was the marvellous Condescension and Love of the Son of God that brought him into this Relation of a Mediator, what can it be but most unreasonable Ingratitude to turn this Fruit of his unconceivable Pity into an Argument against his Deity?

Thus we see in what Respects our Lord Jesus may be own'd to be inferior to the Father, and that none of them are inconsistent with his being the same God by Nature.

I therefore proceed to shew,

II. That all the Passages of Scripture which the Author produces, may be understood of our blessed Saviour under some of these Considerations, and therefore do not disprove his being Partaker of the same divine Nature with the Father.

The first Place he mentions is, "My Father is greater than I, John xiv. 18.

Answ. If we suppose our Saviour to speak this of himself as Man, there is no Difficulty at all. And the Context favours this Interpretation, because he speaks of his bodily Presence with them, of his leaving them and going to the Father, and under this Limitation adds, *My Father is greater than I.* And that he does not mean himself in the whole of what was in his Person, is evident, because in some Sense he was in Heaven already, (See John iii. 13.) and could not in that Sense speak of his going thither.

But we may, without any Prejudice to our Cause, grant him much more, that our Saviour speaks of himself as Mediator, and in that Sense asserts, *That the Father is greater than he.* For tho' in respect of his divine Nature he and the Father are one; yet in this Relation of Mediator he was the Servant of the Father, and sent by him, Isa. lxii. 1. And indeed, had our blessed Saviour been no more than a Man, his Assertion, that the Father is greater than he, would carry but a jejune Sense with it. For who could ever admit any Doubt about the infinite and eternal Jehovah being greater than any finite temporary Being? Whereas, if he speak of himself as Mediator, the Assertion was very proper and needful.

And this may also obviate what the Author next objects from John v. 43. vi. 38. "That our Saviour came down in his Father's Name, That he came down from Heaven not to do his own Will, but the Will of him that sent him; Upon which he puts this Gloss, That it was in a Posture of Subjection that he came down from Heaven to the Earth; so that it should seem that Nature that did pre-exist did not possess the supreme Will.

Answ. I am glad to find that the Author will allow to our blessed Saviour such a pre-existent Nature, but sorry he speaks so very doubtfully of it; lest, I suppose, he should disoblige his Socinian Friends. But as to his Objection, I freely grant him, that it was the Will of the Father which the Man Christ Jesus came to fulfil. And as Man, his Will was, doubtless, distinct from the Will of the Father, and entirely subject thereto.

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thereto. Nay, tho' we should understand these Expressions concerning that pre-existent eternal Word that was incarnate; it would not hence follow, that the eternal Word had not the same Will also, but only that in this Oeconomy of Things, God the Father, who was first in order of Being, was consider'd as the first Spring and Mover, by whose Appointment the Son came as Mediator, not to pursue any particular Will of his own, which was not the Will of the Father also. Nor is it inconsistent with the Son's being God, to say, that in the Quality, or under the Character, of Mediator, he came into the World (i. e. was incarnate) in a Posture of Subjection.

Again, As to those Passages wherein our Lord Jesus owns his Dependence on the Father for those Things that belong to him originally as God, as the Power of working Miracles, raising the Dead, and executing universal Judgment, John v. 19, 20, 26, 27. They either refer to his human Nature, or to his Office of Mediator, for the Discharge whereof we own his Authority to be delegated and deriv'd. And those Words of our Lord lead us to this Exposition, in which he tells us, *That the Father has given him Authority to execute Judgment also, because he is the Son of Man*, Ver. 27. Where he both intimates in what Nature he was to execute Judgment, viz. as the Son of Man, and the very Reason of the Father's conferring that Honour upon him as Mediator, even because he is the Son of Man, i. e. has condescended to be Incarnate, and take our Nature on him.

But as to his saying, that of himself he could do nothing, John v. 30. 'tis not incongruous to suppose that he design'd thereby to assert his Union in Nature with the Father, as one Energy or Principle of Operation; because when he uses the same Expression, Ver. 19. he adds, *What Things soever the Father does, the Son does likewise*; (which can never be true of a meer created Being, unless we make it Omnipotent) and that as the Father hath Life in himself, so he has (by an eternal Communication) given the Son to have Life in himself, Ver. 26. i. e. The same essential Life, which according to the Order of subsisting is first in the Father.

And it seems partly for this Reason, that the Apostle Paul calls the Father so often the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; not only his God, as his human Nature was his Workmanship and Creature; but his Father, because the Godhead or divine Nature is communicated by the Father to the Son, on which Account he was stiled in the ancient Creeds, *God of God, Light of Light*.

In this Respect also, the Head of Christ is God, 1 Cor. xi. 3. Christ, as Mediator and Redeemer, is but a Means for the Manifestation of the essential Glory of God to the intellectual World.

Nay, we do acknowledge his Dignity and Glory as Mediator (in which that human Nature he assum'd so eminently shares) to be the Gift of God, and Fruit of the Father's infinite Complacency in his forward and cheerful Obedience unto Death, even the Death of the Cross. According to what he cites from the Apostle Paul, Phil. ii. 7, 8, 9.

So that in all these Places there is no Intimation of any such Subjection or Inferiority of the Son, as should exclude him from being, in respect of his Nature and Essence, the same God with the Father.

But the Author under this Head singles out one Text, which he tells us, "is full of irresistible Evidence for proving an Inferiority of the Son to his Father, or to God, viz. 1 Cor. xv. from 24, to 29."

I shall therefore recite the Text, and premise what may clear the genuine Sense and Scope of it, and then examine the Inferences our Author draws from it.

The Text runs thus,

Ver. 24. *Then cometh the End, when he (i. e. Christ)*

shall have deliver'd up the Kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all Rule, and all Authority and Power.

25. *For he must reign till he hath put all Enemies under his Feet.*

26. *The last Enemy that shall be destroy'd is Death.*

27. *For he hath put all Things under his Feet. But when he saith, all Things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted who did put all Things under him.*

28. *And when all Things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject to him that put all Things under him, that God may be all in all.*

Now in order to the clearing the Sense and Scope of this Text, I must premise, that there is a twofold Kingdom of Christ, his essential and his mediatory Kingdom.

His essential (which some call his natural) Kingdom, belongs to him as he is the eternal Word, by whom all Things were made, and without whom not any Thing was made that was made, John i. 3. For this Dominion is the unalienable Result of Creation, common to Father, Word, and Holy Spirit. Now of this Kingdom there shall be no End. His Throne (on this Account) is in the strictest Sense, for ever and ever, Heb. i. 8. Even that Throne which he possesses as the Lord who in the Beginning laid the Foundation of this Earth, and the Works of whose Hands the Heavens are. See Ver. 10. This Kingdom he can never give up. He by whom the Worlds were made, will for ever be the absolute Proprietor and Lord of those Worlds he gave Being to.

But besides this, there is a mediatory Kingdom of Christ, which was erected on the Occasion of our Apostasy, and is the wonderful Expedient contriv'd in the divine Counsels for our Recovery and Salvation. For after our Lord Jesus had in our Nature made Atonement for Sin, by becoming obedient to Death, even the Death of the Cross; he was in that Nature highly exalted, had all Power and Authority in Heaven and Earth committed to him, was made Head of his Church, and Head over all Things to it; nay, has Angels, Principalities, and Powers subjected to him (a); so that the Administration of all Affairs is in his sacred Hands. Now the Establishment of this Kingdom we readily grant to be a free Act of God the Father, who is therefore said to appoint it to him. In this Sense, God his God has anointed him, and made him both Lord and Christ (b). But this Kingdom is so far from being inconsistent with his true Deity, that without it, the human Nature were absolutely incapable of managing so universal and extensive a Dominion, which reaches both to this visible, and to the superior invisible World (c).

Now if this Passage of the Apostle must be understood of this mediatory Kingdom, 'tis evident that his Inferiority to the Father in respect of this his mediatory Office and Kingdom, will no way prove his being inferior to him in respect of his Nature and essential Perfections. So that we might dismiss the Author's Reasonings, as not reaching the Matter in Dispute. But since he lays so great a Stress on them, let us briefly consider them.

1. He observes, "That God is excepted out of those Things that are put under the Feet of Christ, and that because it was he that put them under him". All this we freely grant.

But our Author here enquires, "How comes it to pass that 'tis so evident a Thing that another must be the Author of this Triumph of Christ? Why might it not be done by himself independently as the supreme God, and then there need have been no Exception of any one Being out of all the Things under him? But the Apostle knew that Jesus Christ must needs triumph by a Power deriv'd from God, to whom it was most eminently to be ascrib'd. And then to one who had such Thoughts, it was manifest that there must be one excepted from all the

(a) Phil. ii. 8, 9, &c. Matt. xxviii. 18. Eph. i. 21, 22.

(b) Heb. i. 9. Acts ii. 36.

(c) Rev. i. 18. For Hades should there be rendred the unseen World, or invisible State, equally including the Mansions of Glory, and the Place of Torment.

" Things under him, because he must needs be above Christ, who enables him to subdue all Things, or makes him a God over all.

Ans. We grant that the Father is the Author of this Dignity and Triumph of our exalted Lord Jesus. And there is this evident Reason why the eternal Word should not confer this Dignity on the human Nature, to which it was united, but the Father only, because in this Oeconomy, the Father alone sustains the Character of Supreme Lawgiver, the Son only that of Mediator. And as such he was to act only by a Power deriv'd from the Father, who in this respect is consider'd as above him. But this does by no means prove that the Word or Son, is not God by Essence. And for the Author's Phrase of Christ's being made by the Father, God over all, we look upon it as both irrational, and wholly unscriptural. A made Creator, or a made self-existent Being, is a Contradiction in Philosophy. And a made God is a new Notion unknown to Scriptural Divinity. For a made God is by Nature no God, and such as are by Nature no Gods, we are neither oblig'd to own nor serve, Gal. iv. 48. Of which more hereafter.

The Author observes, " That the Son shall deliver up this Kingdom to God the Father only, since it was the Father who gave him all Power in Heaven and Earth, &c.

We grant it, that as this mediatory Kingdom was the Gift of the Father, and was design'd only to be an Administration of a temporary Continuance, till the Reason of first erecting it should cease; so when the great Ends of it are attain'd, when the mystical Body of Christ shall be compleated, all Enemies subdu'd, the World judg'd, and the Salvation of all given to our blessed Lord by the Father fully consummated, then the Work of Christ as Mediator of Reconciliation shall be finish'd. (As the Physician's Work in the Hospital is over when all his Patients are perfectly recover'd and cur'd). And then the deriv'd Power of Christ as Mediator will be return'd into the Father's Hands; tho' our Lord himself shall on the Account of it for ever inherit the Praises of his ransom'd People. But still all this makes nothing against his divine Nature, as he is the eternal Word.

3. The Author further observes from this Text, " That the Son himself shall be subject to him that puts all Things under him, i. e. (to God his Father) that God may be all in all, i. e. his Subjection shall be then manifested by an open solemn Acknowledgment of it, when he shall recognize the Supremacy of the Father in that publick Act of Surrender, &c. And hereupon he concludes, Can any Thing be more expressive of an Inequality between God and Christ?

Ans. We freely grant, that when the mediatory Kingdom of Christ is deliver'd up, that human Nature in which he administer'd it, shall appear in the same State of Subjection to the Father as Angels and glorify'd Saints do. So that as Christ was before All in All, (in the Administration of all Affairs relating both to the Church, and the World, Col. iii. 11.) so now all Things will revert to their natural Order. And God, essentially consider'd, (as inclusive of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) shall be All in All for ever; there being no need of such a Mediator between God and his Saints, when they are rais'd to a State of sinless Perfection.

But our Author being aware of this Answer has endeavour'd to obviate it. Accordingly he proposes it by way of Objection to his Argument.

" It will (saith he) be said by some, that by the Son is meant here the Son of Man, or Christ as Man, while as God he shall not be subject to the Father.

To this he answers, " That as there is no Intimation of any such Distinction between the two pretended Natures of the Son here, so there is enough in the Words to shew, That they are spoken of him in his highest Capacity and Character. Insomuch that Mr. Claude maintains it to be true of the Son of God as to his supposed divine Nature. But tho' there is no need of supposing such a divine Nature (which I think the Text plainly contradicts) yet his Reasons will hold so far as to prove, that the Words

" speak of Christ under the highest Character he bears under the Name of Son.

Ans. If the Author had dealt fairly by Mr. Claude, he should not only have represented his Exposition of these Words, but what he offers to shew, That that Subjection of the eternal Son of God to the Father, which he allows, is consistent with his Divinity: And should have then refuted his Exposition and not expected that we should take it for granted on his bare Word, That the Text contradicts Christ's having such a divine Nature. Nor do I wave that Exposition as indefensible, since that Subjection may be understood of the Son's Inferiority to the Father, in respect of the Order of Subsisting and Acting, being then manifested. But since I prefer the other Exposition, I shall examine the Reasons the Author subjoins to prove, that the Words must be understood of the Son in his highest Capacity and Character.

His first Reason is, " Because 'tis not said, the Son of Man, but the Son absolutely, even the Son himself, with great Emphasis, q. d. as great and glorious as he is with all his Grandeur and Power.

Ans. The Son is the Name of the Person of Christ; and though it be often apply'd to him with reference to his divine Nature, yet 'tis sometimes manifestly apply'd with respect to his human Nature. 'Tis so, John v. 22, 27. And though he saith, that it undoubtedly implies all that comes under the Title of Son; I do as positively affirm, that it does not so always, and shall afterwards particularly shew it does not from Mark xiii. 32.

Nay, though the Apostle adds the Son himself by way of Emphasis, yet this will not prove that he includes his highest Character, but only refers to his Kingdom and Power as Mediator, which he had describ'd before. Even this Son himself, who shall reign till he have put down all Authority and Power, shall then himself be subject.

His second Reason is, " That his Subjection being oppos'd to his Reign, both must be understood of the same Subject. Be sure the delivering up the Kingdom can only be done by the same to which it was committed, and by which it was managed. Now I shall allow that only in his human Nature Christ could give up his Kingdom, because 'tis as Man delegated and inhabited by God that he manages this Kingdom.

Ans. To make this Argument cogent, the Author must assert, that Christ's Reign as Mediator includes his highest Character. But this I deny: His divine Nature is a higher Capacity than his Office of Mediator.

And though we grant him, that the delivering up the Kingdom can only be done by him to whom it is committed, and by whom 'tis manag'd, yet we do not say, as the Author would feign for us, that Christ could give up his Kingdom only as Man. For he will do it as Mediator. 'Tis not as meer Man, but as God Man, that he sways and manages his Mediatorial Kingdom, and shall deliver it up, though 'tis only in the human Nature that he will be subject. And therefore his Vindication of the Unitarians from this Ground, who think our Lord Jesus a sufficient Saviour, though he be not the Supreme God, is it self groundless. (As I shall have Occasion to shew when he re-assumes and prosecutes this Argument at Page 14.)

I shall only take Notice of what he adds at the Close of this Reason.

" That the delivering up the Kingdom to God the Father makes it plain there is no God the Son, in the same Sense, or the same Supreme Essence, with the Father. Because if there were, then he ought not to be excluded from this Glory of having such open Homage paid to him, which is here appropriated to the Father only. And since the Apostle speaks of the same God (whom he explains to be the Father) to the End of this Discourse, and saith, he shall be all in all, how evidently does he shew him to be far beyond all that are not God the Father, whatever Character else they bear. So that Jesus Christ in his highest Capacity is inferior to the Father; how then can he be

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"the same God to which he is subject, or of the same Rank and Degree?"

Ans. The whole of the Mediation of Christ being a voluntary Dispensation; and the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, having different Parts ascrib'd to them in the great Affair of our Redemption and Salvation; 'tis no Absurdity to suppose that each of them may have a Glory accruing from thence that is peculiarly his own. We are sure the blessed Redeemer has so, Rev. v. 9, 10. And so has the Father, Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11. and in the Text before us. And yet no Inferiority of Christ to the Father can thence be infer'd, but what relates to his Office of Mediator, which I have already shewn, imports no Inferiority in respect of Nature and essential Perfections. So that the Delivering up the Kingdom peculiarly to the Father, does not make it plain, there is no God the Son in the same Supreme Essence with the Father. And for Christ's Subjection, I have already suggested that it refers to his human Nature. And our Author barely asserts without Proof, that God's being All in All, is to be appropriated to the Father, to the Exclusion of the eternal Word and Holy Spirit. So that the Evidence our Author pretended to bring us from this Text against our Saviour's Divinity, is so far from being irresistible, that 'tis not so much as discernable. The Text evidently refers to Christ's Mediatorial Kingdom, in the Administration whereof we freely own he bears a Character Inferior to that of the Father, but without any Inequality in the common essential Properties of the divine Nature.

The Author under this Head, (viz. Of Christ's having a God above him) proceeds to give us (as he pretends) the Scriptural Account of the Godhead of the blessed Jesus, viz. "Because he is invested with a God-like Authority and Power, from the Supreme God his Father. Thus (saith he) when he was accused by the captious Jews, for assuming the Character of the Son of God (which they perversely would stretch, as if it imply'd an Equality with God) John x. 35, 36. He explains in what Sense only he justify'd it, viz. As one whom the Father had sanctified, i. e. called to a greater Office, and honour'd with a higher Commission than those Magistrates on whom the Scripture so freely bestows the Title of Gods."

Ans. That our Author has perverted the true Scope of this Place, will appear if we impartially consider the whole Context. Our Lord Jesus at v. 28. argues the Security of his Sheep in his powerful Hand, from which none could pluck them; and adds, that his Father was greater than all, and that none could pluck them out of the Father's Hands, and then immediately subjoins, I and the Father are One, v. 30. Hereupon the Jews took up Stones to stone him as a Blasphemer, because that he being a Man made himself God. So that when he said, I and the Father are One, they apprehended the Meaning of Christ to be that they were One in Nature. Now 'tis evident, that our blessed Saviour does not disown this Sense they put on his Words, which he both shou'd and might most easily have done, by telling them, He did not mean One in Nature, but One in Design and Consent; and indeed ought to have done, for the Vindication of the incommunicable Glory of God, had he been only a dignified Creature. On the contrary, our Saviour argues from the Lesser to the Greater, that if Magistrates were called Gods, it could be no Blasphemy for him, whom the Father had sanctified and sent into the World, to say, That he was the Son of God. But whom did he intend to represent himself to be by this Character of the Son of God? This he clearly intimates in the two following Verses, which our Author is pleas'd wholly to overlook, though 'tis manifest that they contain our Lord's Defence of the Expression that first offended the Jews. To justify his Character of the Son of God, he refers them to his Works, which were the apparent Effects of a Divine Almighty Power. If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the Works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him, q. d. Since my Works are the same as my Father's,

this should convince you of the Truth of what I said, That I and my Father are One, even One in Nature; such Almighty Works being the genuine Productions of an Almighty Power that is both in the Father, and in Me. So that our Lord does not lay the whole Stress of his being the Son of God upon his being Sanctify'd and Sent; those Expressions only contain the Description of his Person by his Office, but do not intimate the Foundation of his Title. For that our Lord evidently refers them to that truly Divine and Almighty Power that display'd it self in his Works. But this the Author thought it not convenient for his purpose to take notice of, tho' he might easily foresee it takes off the whole Force of his Argument, and establishes that very Account of the true Deity of Christ which we contend for.

The Author argues next from Heb. i. 8, 9. "When he is there called God, 'tis explain'd in what Sense, or of what Sort of God. 'Tis to be understood by saying, That his God (intimating that he had a God over him) had anointed him with Oil, i. e. had invested him with Royal Power and Dignity (as Kings were install'd in Office by anointing them with Oil among the Jews). Which is an Explication of his Godhead and Dominion. And this is said to be above his Fellows; not sure above the Father and Holy Spirit, (which only are pretended to be his Fellows as God, by those who understand it of the Supreme Godhead) but above all other subordinate Beings. And he concludes, "This is one plain Scripture Account of his being called God. For these Things are spoken to him, and of him, under the Character of God. O God, thy Throne, Ver. 8. And he adds, I think Men should be well assur'd on what Grounds they go, before they assign other Reasons of this Character, so different from the Scripture Account."

Ans. To clear this Passage, I must refer the Reader to what was premis'd at page 5. That our Lord Jesus is a complex Subject, including (according to the common Faith of Christians) the eternal Word, the human Nature, and the Office of Mediator. And therefore very different things may be spoken of him in reference to his two different Natures, and to his Office as Mediator.

Now the whole Strength of the Author's Argument turns upon this, That whatever is here said throughout the whole Chapter concerning our blessed Saviour, is spoken of him in his highest Capacity and Character. And therefore that when the inspired Writer at ver. 8. calls our Saviour God, he does at v. 9. assign the Reason of his Godhead, viz. because he was by God his God anointed with the Oil of Gladness above his Fellows. But these Suppositions on which our Author's Argument is founded I deny; and need only have recourse to the Context for the Refutation of.

The inspired Writer had at v. 2. describ'd our blessed Saviour as the Son, the Heir of all Things, and the Maker of the Worlds, or Ages. (Even the same Ages mention'd by the same Author, Heb. xi. 3. where they are evidently to be understood of the World or Universe) and at v. 3. as the Brightness of the Father's Glory, and express Image of his Person or Subsistence, and as upholding all things by the Word of his Power. (And that these Expressions refer to his pre-existent and truly divine Nature, any judicious Reader may be fully satisfy'd, that will consult Dr. Whitby's Paraphrase on this Epistle; for I must at present attend to the Author's Argument). At the end of v. 3. he takes notice of Christ's Purging (or expiating) our Sins (which was perform'd by his becoming in our Nature our Sin-Offering and Propitiation) and of his Exaltation thereupon at the right Hand of the Majesty on high (which imports the Dignity he was advanc'd to as Mediator). So that 'tis evident, That the inspir'd Writer speaks of our Saviour sometimes in reference to his pre-existent Nature, sometimes in reference to his Human, sometimes in reference to his Office and Dignity as Mediator. But to descend to the Passage alledg'd, the inspir'd Writer in the following Verses, produces several Instances of his Pre-eminence and Superiority to the Angels (the highest Rank

Rank of created Beings). He proves it from the Title of *Son*, being given him in a higher Sense than it was ever given to those noblest of Creatures, at v. 5. From the *Homage and Worship* due to him from the *Angels* themselves, v. 6, 7. From the peculiar Title of *God* ascrib'd to him, and that on the Account of his *essential Dominion and Kingdom*, at v. 8. To the *Son* he saith, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever*. Which Words cannot be true of *Christ's Kingdom as Mediator*, which shall cease, and be deliver'd up to the *Father*. But of his *Mediatory Kingdom* he speaks at v. 9. where the Reason of it is assign'd, because *he loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity*, (i. e. because our Lord Jesus had in his humbled State perform'd a sinless Obedience to the divine Laws in our Nature.) Therefore *God his God had anointed him with the Oil of Joy above his Fellows*; i. e. had exalted him in that very Nature wherein he had perform'd that Obedience to a super-eminent Degree of *Glory and Joy* above all his *Fellow-Creatures*, above both *Men and Angels*. So that *God's* being called his *God*, refers only to his *human Nature*, to which the *Joy* set before him, as the Reward of his Sufferings, did belong. (See *Heb. xii. 2.*) And therefore this Expression does not at all import any Superiority of the *Father* to the *Son* as to his *divine Nature*. Nay, as to those who suppose (which yet I see no Necessity or Occasion for) that the *Father* is call'd his *God* in his highest Capacity, yet even this would infer no more than the *Father's* being above him in respect to the Order of *Subsistence* between the *sacred Three*, (on which Account the *Son* is call'd *God of God* in the ancient *Creds*, as was observ'd before). But this would argue no Inferiority of the *Son* to the *Father* in Point of *Essence*; and much less, That he was only call'd *God* on the Account of his *Office and Kingdom as Mediator*, or on the Account of his being a dignify'd *Creature*. For that he was *God* in a much higher Sense is manifest from the very following Words, at v. 10, 11, &c. where the *Work of Creation* is ascrib'd to him, which plainly sets him above the Rank of *Creatures*, (as I shall anon more fully shew).

Since therefore the Author is mistaken in what he pretends to deliver as the *Scripture Account of the Godhead of the blessed Jesus*, we may justly leave him to take his own Caution, (which he thinks himself qualify'd as *Dictator* to give to the Christian World) "That Men should be well assured on what Grounds they go in this Matter. We go on no less Grounds than the *Scripture's* giving him the most incommunicable Titles of *God*; applying manifold Passages of the *Old Testament* to him that are evidently spoken of the supreme *God*, (particularly that from *Psal. cii.* apply'd to our Lord, *Heb. i. 10.*) ascribing truly *divine Perfections and Worship* to him. (Of which more afterwards). Our Author goes upon these two Passages, which (as I have shewn) do both (consider'd in their reference to the Context) make against him.

The Author concludes this Head by endeavouring to prepossess his Reader against the Argument for the true Deity of *Christ* drawn from that noted Passage, *Phil. ii. 6, &c.* Of which he saith,

"As to that Place, *Phil. ii. 6.* which is corruptly render'd in our Translation, He thought it no Robbery to be Equal with *God*, It is confest by *Adversaries themselves*, that it should be read thus, viz. That he did not assume, or arrogate, or snatch at, or covet an Equality with *God*. The Words are never known to be us'd in any other Sense, as is shewn by *Dr. Tillotson* in his *Sermons* against the *Socinians*; also by *Dr. Whitby* in his *Exposition* on the Place, and others. So that this rather denies than asserts *Christ's* Equality to *God*, tho' still he was in the Form of *God*, as that notes the outward Resemblance of him in his mighty Power and Works, &c. which is the constant Meaning of *Form* in the New Testament.

Ans. On this Paragraph of the Author's I have these three Reflections to make, which I am sorry he has given me too just occasion for.

1. That it looks like too great a Degree of Confidence to charge our Translation as corrupt in this Place.

He knows well that the generality of *Criticks* agree with us in this Version of the Words. And 'tis apparent to all that understand the *Greek Language*, that *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ* signifies *Robbery*, *ὑψίστης* to think or judge. And what though in *Plutarch* and *Heliodorus* the Phrase be us'd in a different Sense (which yet is less agreeable to the primary Signification of the Words themselves) will it follow that the *Apostle Paul* used them in that Sense? Especially if we add, that among all the Instances out of those Authors for this Sense of the Phrase, there is none that fully answers the Case before us. So that I see no cogent Reason for our receding from the most obvious Sense of the Words. And that plainly overturns the Author's Sentiments. But,

2. I can scarce look upon it any better than a disingenuous Prevarication in our Author, to cite those two Excellent Writers (the late Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Dr. Whitby*) as rejecting the common Translation of this Phrase, without giving us a fair and just account of their *Exposition* of it. For he knows well enough that they give such an Interpretation of it, as equally asserts the true Deity of *Christ* with our own Translation. So that they are far from giving up this Place to the *Unitarians*, as our Author's Words would insinuate, to an unwary Reader. If with the *Archbishop* we suppose the *Form of God* to be an Expression parallel to those two opposite ones, the *Form of a Servant*, and the *Likeness of Men*, the former does as truly imply our Lord Jesus to be Partaker of a *divine Nature*, as the latter implies him to be truly Partaker of the *Human*. And according to this Exposition, the *Apostle* might very well mention it as an Instance of our blessed Saviour's admirable Humility, that he did not in his humbled State affect an Equality with *God*, but rather veil'd his *divine Glory* in the mean Disguise of our sinful *Flesh*.

Nay, if we should take *μορφή* to be meant of outward Appearance or Resemblance (as our Author would understand it) He knows that *Dr. Whitby* has (according to that Sense of the Word) given us this clear Exposition of the Place, viz. That our Lord Jesus, as the eternal Word, did appear under the *Old Testament*, with all the external Marks of *divine Majesty and Glory*; but that at his Incarnation he did not affect to appear in this Likeness of *God*, but emptied himself, (i. e. divested himself of all this external Glory) and took on him the Form or Appearance of a *Servant*, (i. e. of one that came to minister, and not to be minister'd unto, as our Lord himself seems to explain the Notion of a *Servant*, *Matt. xx. 28.*) being (for that purpose) made in the Likeness of *Men*. Accordingly the fore-mention'd *Expositor*, to confirm this Interpretation, shews, 1. That the Appearance or Likeness of *God* under the *Old Testament*, was represented in a bright shining Cloud, or Light, or in a Flame of Fire, and in the Attendance of *Angels*. See *Dan. viii. 9, 10.* *Exod. xxiv. 16, 17.* *Deut. v. 22, 24.* *Heb. iii. 3, 4, &c.* 2. That *Christ* as the eternal Word did appear in this Likeness to *Moses* and the *Patriarchs* of old. This (he tells us) was the Opinion both of the *Ancient Jews* and of the *Primitive Christians*; and is clearly intimated in the *Scriptures* (as may appear particularly by comparing *Numb. xxi. 5, 6.* with *1 Cor. x. 9.*) where that *Jehovah* whom the *Israelites* are said to speak against and tempt, is by the *Apostle Paul* affirm'd to have been *Christ*. See also *Heb. xi. 26.* 3. That after his Ascension our blessed Saviour did re-assume this *divine Form*, this majestic Splendor and Glory. See *Acts vii. 55.* *Acts xxvi. 13.* *Rev. i. 14, 16.* 2 *Thess. i. 7, 8.*

Now this Exposition does evidently imply, That our blessed Saviour had a pre-existent Nature before he assum'd the *Human*, and that the pre-existent Nature was *Divine*, both because that external Glory, and that Attendance of *Angels*, was always reckon'd the peculiar Mark of the *divine Presence*; and because He that thus appear'd

appear'd under the *Old Testament*, is not only frequently still'd *Jehovah*, but does every where lay claim to divine Perfections and Homage.

So that tho' we should read the Words, who being (before) in the external Appearance of God, did not affect a Likeness to God, &c. they do by no means favour either the *Arrian* or *Socinian* Cause, but clearly overthrow it.

3. I shall only add, That the Author has offer'd an Exposition of this Passage (borrow'd from the *Socinian Writers*) that is no way agreeable to the Text or Context.

By the Form of God he understands the outward Resemblance of Christ to God in his mighty Power and Works: And so makes it an Argument of Christ's Humility; that tho' he appear'd like God in his miraculous Works, yet he did not pretend to an Equality with him.

Now this Exposition is liable to these following Objections.

1. That this Power of working Miracles is no where in Scripture call'd the Form of God. Nay, according to this Exposition Moses and several Prophets under the *Old Testament*, and the Apostles under the New, might as truly be said to be in the Form of God as our blessed Saviour, since they wrought Miracles as well as He.

2. Whatever be meant by the Form of God, 'tis evident, that our Lord Jesus in his humbled State empty'd or divested himself of it, and in Opposition thereto, took on him the Form of a Servant. But He never in his humbled State divested himself of the Power of Working Miracles, but exerted it not only through the whole Course of his Life, but even at his Apprehension, John xviii. 6. Luke xxii. 51. Nay, when dying on the Cross. For even then the Sun was darkned, the Veil of the Temple rent in twain, the Earth quak'd, and the Rocks were rent, and the Graves open'd, and many Bodies of the Saints which slept arose. See Matt. xxvii. 45, 51, 52. Inasmuch as these Effects of his divine Power forc'd that Confession from the Centurion and those with him, Truly this was the Son of God, v. 54.

3. The Text plainly intimates, That Christ was in the Form of God before he took on him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeness of Men. Whereas he appear'd in the Likeness of Men, and convers'd among Men, many Years before he ever exerted his Power of working Miracles. So that the Apostle should have rather said according to this Exposition, That Christ having first taken on him the Form of a Servant, and being made in the Likeness of Men, did afterwards appear in the Form or Likeness of God, and yet did not snatch at, or arrogate to himself, an Equality to him. And whereas to avoid this Argument, the Socinians pretend, that by his taking on him the Form of a Servant, is to be understood his suffering the Punishments and Death of a Slave; the Vanity of that Evasion appears, both because suffering Punishment is in no tolerable Sense the Form of a Servant, but of a Criminal. For a Man may suffer it without being a Servant at all: And because Christ's taking on him the Form of a Servant is conjoin'd with his being made in the Likeness of Men; and (to add no more) because Christ's suffering the common Death of Slaves is added by the Apostle as a further degree of his Humiliation, after he was found in the fashion or habit of a Man, at v. 8. And being found in fashion as a Man, he became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Cross. This is evidently a distinct Step or Degree of his Humiliation from that of his taking on him the Form of a Servant, and being made in the Likeness of Men.

Once more,

4. This Exposition greatly weakens the Force of the Apostle's Argument for Lowliness of Mind, from the Example of Christ's marvellous Humility and Condescension.

The Apostle, according to the Author, makes it an Argument of extraordinary Humility in our blessed Saviour, that when he was like God in working Miracles, yet he did not arrogate to himself an Equality with God. But where is the Humility, that a meer Man, (who ac-

cording to him could work no Miracle by any Power of his own) should not affect an Equality to his Eternal and Almighty Maker, between whom and him there is an Infinite Distance and Disproportion? Is not this as if we should commend the Humility of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, because he never aspir'd to the Imperial Crown of these three Kingdoms? Is it so rare an Instance of Lowliness of Mind, that a Man should abstain from the highest degree possible of stupid Blasphemy? Let us apply this to the Apostles. Our Lord foretold them, That they should do greater Works than his, John xiv. 12. So that according to our Author's Exposition, They were as truly in the Form of God as our Saviour himself, (if that must be understood of the Power of working Miracles). Nay, if Christ be only a Creature, they no more derive that Power from him than he from them, but both from the Father. Now what should we think of the Apostle Paul, who himself shar'd in this Power, if he had propos'd this as a marvellous Instance of his own and Barnabas's Humility, that when the Lycaonians cry'd out, The Gods are come down to us in the Likeness of Men, and accordingly actually offer'd to pay them divine Worship, they refus'd it, and did not pretend to an Equality with God? Should we think this any such extraordinary Instance of Lowliness of Mind? Is there any great need of proposing such an Example to our Imitation, when no Man in his Wits seems capable of such monstrous Arrogance?

But now according to the last Exposition given of the Words, the Argument drawn from the Example of our Lord is most cogent and strong, viz. that he the eternal Word, who had always before appear'd with the Marks of divine Majesty and Glory, did not now affect such a Likeness to God, but stript himself (of all that Glory) to take on him the (contemptible) Form of a Servant, and to be made in the Likeness of Men. This is an Instance both of most astonishing Condescension and Humility, and of a truly divine Charity; that the Lord of Glory should for our sakes stoop so low, and appear in so mean a Disguise. 'Tis such an unparallel'd Instance of it as may at once command our highest Wonder, and our most zealous Imitation.

Upon the whole it appears, that whether way we translate those Words [He thought it no Robbery to be equal with God] or [He affected not a Likeness to God] the Text stands as a firm unshaken Proof of the true Deity of our blessed Saviour.

Having vindicated this Argument from the divine Titles given to our blessed Saviour, from the Author's Objections, I might here enforce it from the other Head of divine Worship; but that Argument will appear with better Advantage, when we have consider'd, that the peculiar Perfections and Works of God (the true Foundation of divine Worship) are ascrib'd to him,

I come therefore to the

Second Argument for the Deity of Christ, from the incommunicable Attributes and Works of God that are in the Holy Scriptures ascrib'd to him.

I join both these together, because the incommunicable Works of God plainly demonstrate such divine Perfections to belong to him by whom they are perform'd.

As to these divine Perfections or Attributes, the Author tells us, "That our blessed Lord Jesus disclaims those infinite Perfections that belong only to the supreme God of Gods. And adds, 'Tis most certain, that if he want one, or any of these Perfections that are essential to the Deity, he is not God in the chief Sense; and if we find him disclaiming the one, he cannot challenge the other, &c."

Ans. We willingly put the Controversy on this Issue, and freely grant that he cannot be the supreme God, to whom the infinite Perfections essential to the Deity do not belong. Tho' as to what the Author suggests, That if he want any one of them, he is not the supreme God; we may with equal Reason infer on the other Hand, that if it be proved he has any one infinite

infinite Perfection that belongs to the Deity, it will prove his being the Supreme God. For all divine Perfections, as they are infinite, are alike incommunicable to any other Being.

The Author fixes on those three Perfections of absolute Omnipotence, absolute Goodness, and absolute Omniscience.

I observe, that he has omitted that Perfection of Eternity that first offers it self to one's View and Consideration. 'Tis probable he was willing to avoid that Controversy between those Unitarians that espouse the Arrian, and those that follow the Socinian Scheme about our Saviour's Pre-existence. For, I imagine, the Author himself thinks the Socinian Doctrine in this Point indefensible, and therefore seems to allow of a pre-existent Nature in our blessed Lord, at Pag. 2. And he is not the only Writer among the late Unitarians that allows (what they call) and ante-mundane Existence of our blessed Saviour. But since he has offer'd nothing to implead his Eternity, I shall refer the Reader to the Arguments alledg'd for it by those that have wrote on this Controversy, and shall only add, that the Psalmist knew of no other Being that existed before the World but God, when he thus describes his Eternity, Before the Mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the Earth, thou art from everlasting to everlasting God, Psal. xc. 2.

I shall therefore confine my self to these three Perfections, which the Author pretends that our Lord Jesus disclaims. I begin,

I. With that of absolute and underv'd Omnipotence; which (as the Author tells us) "is one great and peculiar Perfection of the Deity. He who cannot work all Miracles, and do what he list of himself, without help from another, can never be the supreme God, &c."

Now in treating on this Branch of the Argument, I shall,

First, Prove, That the Scriptures do ascribe such absolute Omnipotence to our blessed Lord; and, Secondly, Examine what the Author has alledg'd, to shew, that our blessed Saviour disclaims it.

First, I shall prove, That the Scriptures do ascribe this absolute Omnipotence to our Lord Jesus, or do attribute that Almighty Power to him that is the incommunicable Perfection of the Deity.

And because the Power of Causes does best appear by the Greatness of their Effects, I shall chiefly insist on this one Argument (among many others which the Scriptures suggest) which I take to be both clear and conclusive in this Matter, I mean that drawn from the Creation of the World. And to make it good, I shall,

I. Prove, That the Holy Scriptures do ascribe to our blessed Lord the Creation of the World, in the usual Sense, i. e. The giving Being to all the several Creatures contain'd in it.

II. That this Creation of the World argues the Almighty Power of him that made it; and consequently is (according to our Author's Concession) a solid Proof of his true Deity.

Under the former of these Heads, I have the Socinian Unitarians; under the latter, the Arrian Ones to oppose.

I. I come to shew, That the Holy Scriptures do ascribe to our blessed Lord the Creation of the World, in the common Sense of the Words, i. e. That he gave Being to all the several Creatures contained in it.

Let us, to clear this Matter, take a gross View of those Passages that assert this, and then more narrowly examine the Force of them.

Moses begins his History of the Creation with these Words, In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth, Gen. i. 1.

St. John begins his Gospel with these parallel ones, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All Things were made by him, and without him was nothing made that was made. And again at Ver. 10. The World was made by him.

And that St. John by all Things that were made by him, intends all Things in Heaven and Earth, mention'd in the Mosaic Account of the Creation, is evident, if we will allow his Sentiments to have been the same with St. Paul's, who tells us, That by him all Things were created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, Col. i. 16. And because Angels are not mention'd in the Mosaic Account of the Creation, lest any should think them excluded (as some actually did, and even ascrib'd the Mosaic Creation to them) the Apostle adds, all Things visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers, all Things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all Things, and by him all Things consist. And the same inspired Writer (if we suppose St. Paul the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews) tells us, That by him (viz. his Son) God made the Worlds, even those Worlds which, as he tells us in the same Epistle, we understand by Faith that they were framed by the Word of God. Compare Heb. i. 2. with Chap. xi. 3. And to put it, as far as Words can do, beyond any reasonable Dispute, the same inspired Writer at Ver. 10, 11, 12. of the first Chapter applies to our blessed Saviour these remarkable Words of the Psalmist, which so manifestly refer to the first Creation, Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the Foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands; they shall perish, but thou remainest, and they all shall wax old as a Garment, and as a Vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy Years fail not.

Now it is manifest, that we are so far from offering the least Violence to these Passages, that we understand them according to the plain obvious Sense of the Words, and their current Use and Signification thro' the Scriptures, from which none ought to recede in expounding them, without cogent Necessity. They clearly and fully deliver our Opinion, and we have no occasion to strain them, to reconcile them with our Sentiments concerning our blessed Lord.

But we cannot say so concerning our Adversaries in this Point, the Socinian Unitarians, who are reduc'd to hard Shifts to reconcile these Passages that ascribe the Creation of all Things in Heaven and Earth to our Lord Jesus, to their Opinion of him, That he had no Existence at all till about 4000 Years after the making of the World.

I must therefore consider what they have alledg'd to avoid the Force of these Texts.

And I find them chiefly insisting on the two following Evasions.

I. They do, as to all the foremention'd Texts (except that Heb. i. 10, &c.) alledge, that they are not to be understood of the Creation of this material World, but only of that Reformation of Mankind, of that happy Change of the moral State and Condition of the World, which they tell us the Scriptures often express, under the Notion of a new Creation, and the making new Heavens and new Earth.

Now against this way of expounding these forecited Passages, I have these following Arguments to offer.

I. It has been often objected to them, that this Exposition is wholly new. All Christian Writers for 1500 Years agreeing (the Arrians themselves not excepted) to understand these Passages as we do of the first Creation. So that if the general Consent of the Christian Church in expounding these Texts be of any Weight, this Argument from Authority is full against them. But because this Argument seems to weigh but little with any of our late Unitarians, who on all Occasions treat the Christian Church with the utmost Contempt, I shall insist on such as are drawn from the Passages themselves:

Therefore,

II. 'Tis a just Prejudice against this Exposition, that it puts a very unusual and forced Sense upon plain and clear Expressions, without any cogent Necessity.

To make this good, I shall present to the Reader the fore-cited Passages, with the Paraphrase of our late Unitarians upon them.

For that John i. 1, 2, 3, 10. I find it thus expounded in the 3d Collection of Unitarian Tracts, Tract 1. Pag. 9. "In the Beginning of the Gospel was the Word, that is, the Lord Christ, who being the Bringer or Messenger of God's Will or Word, is therefore called the Word, as in this very Chapter he is call'd Life and Light, because he brought to Men the Gospel-Light, and the Means of Life Eternal. And the Word was with God, i. e. the Lord Christ was taken up into Heaven to be instructed in all Points relating to his Embassy or Ministry. And the Word was God. In Greek 'tis, was a God, that is, it pleas'd God to communicate to the Lord Christ, who is the Mediator or Bringer of the New Testament, that Name above every Name, even the Name or Appellation of God; as he had formerly done to Moses the Mediator of the Old Testament, and to divers others, Exod. vii. 1. Psal. xlv. 6, 11. and Psal. lxxxii. 6. John x. 34, 35. 1 Sam. xxviii. 11, 12, 13, 14. By him were all Things made, that is, all Things relating to the New-Creation were made (or were effected) by him. The World was made by him, in the Greek, was modell'd by him, i. e. He reduc'd all Things to a new and better Estate; by his abolishing Paganism and Judaism, and introducing the Gospel-Oeconomy and State.

For, Col. i. 16, &c. I find it thus paraphras'd, 1st Collect. of Unitarian Tracts. Tract. 12. Pag. 16.

"Christ is the Lord of every Creature; for by him are all, both visible and invisible Creatures, even all Men and Angels, modell'd and dispos'd into a new Order, being subjected to him and his Commands. As for Angels; all the Orders of them, whether they be Thrones or Dominions, none of them are exempted from his Power and Authority. He rules over them, (which is the Meaning of Ver. 17.) and they are all, as it were, compacted into one Body under his Conduct. As for Men, as he is the Beginning and First-born from the Dead, so he was also made Head of his Church his Body. So that in all Things he has the Pre-eminence: He rules in Heaven and Earth over Angels, and over the Church, which is the Sense of Ver. 18.

For that Text, Heb. i. 2. By whom also he made the Worlds, they understand by Worlds, the Gospel-Ages or Times.

For Heb. i. 10, 11, &c. they generally assert that 'tis not apply'd to Christ at all, or at most only one Clause in the Text, about the material World's perishing and being chang'd.

As to all these Expositions, I may justly appeal to the common Sense of every Christian Reader, whether they do not, at first View, appear strain'd and forc'd, and many of them far fetch'd. 'Tis manifest that the Words in their most obvious Sense are to be understood of the First Creation. Now this the Socinian Unitarians suppose to be a very dangerous Error. And yet 'tis evident, that the inspir'd Writers might have easily prevented this Error which their Expressions so naturally lead us to, by saying, All Things were made new by Christ, all Things were created by him anew in Heaven and Earth. Or were new-modell'd by him. That by him, God made the New-Age and Dispensation of the Gospel. And 'tis evident, that where the inspir'd Writers do speak of the Change made in the Hearts of Men by Regeneration, in Allusion to the Work of Creation, they do use such cautious Expressions as these, which plainly point us to this metaphorical Sense. Whereas, according to them, the inspir'd Writers, in the Passages under our Consideration, have needlessly affected to speak in ambiguous Language, so very liable to be misunderstood, that without an harsh and forced Exposition, it must needs mis-lead and pervert the Judgment of their Readers in a Matter of the highest Consequence. And none can well suppose this of them, that believes they wrote by divine Inspiration. It had been objected to them by the late Archbishop

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of Canterbury, that a Man might, with the same Dexterity of Wit and Fancy, pervert the Words of Moses that speak of the First Creation, and interpret them of the moral Change made in the World by the Mosaic Dispensation, as they do the Words of St. John in the Beginning of his Gospel. And 'tis observable what our late Unitarians reply to it. 'Tis this, "That if it had been said in Genesis, In the Beginning Moses created the Heavens and the Earth, &c. they would have thought themselves oblig'd to interpret that Chapter of the moral Change made in the World by the Mosaic Dispensation. And they think themselves equally oblig'd to interpret the Beginning of St. John's Gospel this way, because they find the Evangelist speaking of the Lord Christ, who is confessed to have been a Man, and yet saith of him, All Things were made by him. And again, The World was made by him. Hereupon the Socinians think it wild Extravagance to imagine more Gods, or New Creators, &c. See 3d Collect. Tract I. Pag. 47.

Ans. Can any thing be a more notorious begging the Question than this? They are ask'd, Why we may not interpret the first of Genesis, as they do the first of St. John? The Sum of the Answer is, because in Genesis the Creation there mention'd is ascrib'd to God, and not to Moses, whereas in St. John 'tis ascrib'd to one confess'd to be a Man. Is it so? Is it evident that the Evangelist by the Word that was with God, and was God, that was the Light that lighteth every Man that comes into the World, &c. understands only a Man? Do not his Words rather in their most obvious Sense describe a higher Being? Does he not expressly call him God? Does he not tell us afterwards at Ver. 14. That this Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, &c. and thereby plainly distinguish the Word from that frail and mortal human Nature he assum'd in order to his converse with the Sons of Men? So that there is nothing here that should force them to put this unusual and harsh Construction upon the plain Words of the Evangelist, but a violent Passion for their pre-conceiv'd Opinion, That Jesus Christ is only a Man, and that he is only call'd the Word, because he was the Bringer of the Will and Word of God, in which Sense every Prophet might assume the same Title and Character to himself, which the Scriptures elsewhere appropriate to the Son of God as his peculiar and most illustrious Character, and speak of it as *A Name that none knew but himself*, Rev. xix. 12, 13.

But I must add,

III. Their Exposition is inconsistent with the genuine Sense of these Passages of Scripture.

To clear this, I shall make a few Remarks upon their Exposition of each of these Passages.

As to the Exposition they give of John i. 1, 2, 3, 10. (mention'd Pag. 52.) I might take notice, how strange a Construction they give of those Words, *was with God*, when they expound them of Christ's being taken up into Heaven to be instructed in his Embassy and Ministry. For they are forc'd, for the perverting them, to invent a Matter of Fact, which there is no Footstep of in the whole History of our Saviour's Life; tho' had it been true, it was of the greatest Importance, and a particular Relation of it highly needful to confirm our Belief of his divine Mission. I might also observe, That that Author supposes the Name or Appellation of God here given to Christ to be the Name above every Name, (mention'd by the Apostle, Phil. ii. 9, 10.) and yet makes that Name to be common to him with Moses and Solomon, with Angels and Magistrates, which looks very like a Contradiction. And he most untruly insinuates that Moses is call'd a God, as he was Mediator of the Old Testament. Whereas he is only call'd a God to Pharaoh, Exod. vii. 1. But against his Exposition, That all things being made by Christ, means only, All things relating to the New Creation were made or effected by him: And that the World's being made by him, imports only, Its being modell'd and reduc'd to a better State, &c. I have these three Things to offer.

D

I. 'Tis

1. 'Tis false in Matter of Fact, That all Things relating to the New-Creation were done by him.

All the Predictions of the Old Testament, the whole of John the Baptist's Ministry, all the Labours of the Apostles in propagating the Gospel; nay, our Lord's own miraculous Conception, Resurrection, &c. relate to the New-Creation, and yet can in no tolerable Sense be said to be done or effected by the Man Christ Jesus.

2. That World was made by him in which he was. He was in the World, and the World was made by him. But he was in this material World, and therefore the Creation of that is ascrib'd to him.

3. That the Evangelist speaks not of his making the Spiritual World, appears by the following Words, *The World was made by him, and the World knew him not.* Even that World that was made by him knew him not. Which cannot be true of the Spiritual World, i. e. of that Part of Mankind whom our Saviour has made New-Creatures, and has reform'd; for those knew and readily own'd him. To avoid this, they are forc'd to suppose that the Evangelist, in the Compass of one Verse, uses the *World* in three different Senses, and two of them directly opposite to one another. For when the Evangelist saith, *Christ was in the World*, they understand it of this material World. When he adds, *The World was made by him*, they understand it of that Part of Mankind that embrac'd the Gospel, and were reform'd by it. When he adds, *That the World knew him not*, they understand it of that Part of Mankind that continued Infidel and Unreform'd. But who can ever think that an inspir'd Writer would use such strange Ambiguity as this in a plain and simple Narrative? Especially when such ambiguous Expressions were in so great Danger of being misunderstood, and have actually led the whole Christian Church to believe that the Evangelist ascribed Christ to be the Maker of the World, which our Adversaries take to be a pernicious Error? Can they reverence him as an inspir'd Writer, who thus incautiously plays with an ambiguous Word to the extreme Peril of his Reader?

For their Exposition of Col. i. 16, &c. I need only run briefly over it to expose the Absurdity of it.

The Apostle saith, *By Christ were all Things created that are in Heaven and that are in Earth.* Could he have us'd any Expressions more full and comprehensive than these? Or any more frequently us'd to express all the Creatures contain'd in the World? Nay, Things invisible as well as visible were created by him. Even Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers.

All Things visible were created by him, i. e. say they, "The degenerate State of Mankind was reform'd, Paganism and Judaism abolish'd, and the Gospel-Oeconomy introduc'd". But where can they find all Things visible, and all Things on Earth, us'd in Scripture for that Part of Mankind which was reform'd by the Preaching of the Gospel? We read indeed of the Things that are seen, and which were not made of Things that do appear, Heb. xi. 3. But those are meant of this visible Creation. And we read of all Things that are on Earth frequently mention'd as Part of the first Creation. But these Phrases are never us'd to represent those that renounc'd Judaism and Paganism, and embrac'd Christianity; and yet these are the only all Things visible, and all Things on Earth, that our Adversaries will allow Christ to have created. For they cannot suppose that the Apostle understands so much as Mankind in general, since it was but a very small Part of it that embrac'd the Gospel. So that he should in all reason have only said, *some Things visible, and some Things on Earth, were created by him.* Besides, the Apostle treats of this New-Creation as a distinct Thing afterwards at Ver. 20, 21, &c. But did he thus also create all Things invisible, Thrones and Dominions, &c? Did he reform the holy Angels from a State of Degeneracy, that never fell into it? Or restore them to the Image and Favour of God, who never fell from it? No. Here his creating does not import any such New-Creation at all; for there was no need of it. What does it import then? Why they tell us, *That the holy Angels were*

modell'd and dispos'd by him, i. e. They were subjected to his Authority. But (besides the manifest Harshness of this Paraphrase) how comes the Apostle to say, *That the holy Angels were thus modell'd by Christ?* Did he thus subject them to himself? No, this was none of his Act at all, but only the Act of the Father, and it was by him alone that they were thus modell'd. For 'tis he that put them under his Feet, 1 Cor. xv. 28. Besides, Could the Apostle find no fitter way to express the holy Angels being subjected by the Father to Christ, but by saying, *they were created by Christ himself?* (For that is the most plain and usual Sense of the Word) This inferior World was at first subjected by God to the Dominion of Man. But what should we have thought of Moses, if in his History of the Creation, he had told us, *That all Things both in Earth and Sea were created by Man?* Could we ever imagine that he meant no more, than that God when he made them put them under his Authority. But what shall we say of evil Angels? (For they are also call'd Principalities and Powers) Why, they are said to be created by Christ, because he rules over them with a Design to destroy their usurped Dominion and Power. So that the same Word, apply'd to Mankind, implies reforming them; to good Angels commanding them; to fallen Angels it signifies destroying their usurped Power. But upon the whole, his creating all Things comes at last (as the Bishop of Worcester had well observ'd) to his creating nothing at all. To such strange Inconsistencies are our Adversaries reduc'd by their bold Attempts to wrest such Passages as these from their clear obvious Meaning.

For that Passage, Heb. i. 2. *By whom he also made the Worlds*, that it is not meant of the Gospel-Ages or Times, will appear, if we consider, that no Place in all the Scripture can be produc'd, in which *worlds* is to be understood of the Gospel-times or Ages, whereas 'tis evidently us'd by the inspir'd Writer of this Epistle, for the World or Universe. Heb. xi. 3. *By Faith we understand that the Worlds were made by the Word of God:* Even by that Word or Son of God, by whom, he is said in this Place, *to make them.*

Again, If the inspir'd Writer had meant the Gospel-times, he should not have said that God has made them by his Son, but that he is now about to make them. For they were far from being then made. And for those that understand by the Worlds, the World or Ages to come, i. e. the heavenly Regions, and the Happiness thereof; they are reduc'd to the Necessity of giving us a yet harsher Exposition of the Words, when they tell us, *That tho' the World in that Sense be not properly made by Christ*, (for those heavenly Regions they suppose to be made long before he had a Being) yet he is said to make them, because he made them ours, by giving us the Promises of that future Happiness. And what plain Text may not any Man pervert, at that wild and loose Rate of Interpreting?

But I must add,

IV. There is one of these Texts which undeniably refers to the Old Creation, and cannot be understood of the Reformation of Mankind by the Gospel.

To clear this, we must observe, that the inspir'd Writer to the Hebrews, saith at Ver. 8, 9. *To the Son he saith, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, &c.* and immediately subjoins at Ver. 10. *And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the Foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands; They shall perish, but thou remainest. And they shall all wax old as doth a Garment. And as a Vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; But thou art the same, and thy Years shall not fail.*

Here indeed our Adversaries Skill in Criticks fails them, and all the Subtilty they are Masters of will not enable them to pervert this Passage, as they do the rest, to speak only of the New Creation. For they plainly see, the Heavens and Earth here spoken of shall perish. Whereas the New-Creation shall be perfect-ed, not destroy'd, shall last for ever, not perish or be changed. And therefore under this Strait they are forc'd

to a very desperate Shift, even to deny, *That the inspir'd Writer intended to apply these Words to our blessed Saviour.* But how can that be? Does he not as truly apply this Passage taken out of *Psalms cii.* to our Saviour, as that taken out of the *xlth*? Nay, if these Words refer not to our Lord Jesus, to what Purpose are they alledg'd? What do they signify to prove his Pre-eminence above those Angels that are required to worship him; and indeed are under the highest Obligations to do it, if he gave them their Being? Nay, why should we scruple to apply to him the Creation of the Heavens and the Earth, at *Ver. 10.* to whom the inspir'd Writer had ascrib'd the making of the Worlds, at *Ver. 2*? All the Business is, that they could more easily pervert those Words at *Ver. 2.* by interpreting them of a metaphorical Creation, than they can those at *Ver. 10.* But rather than own Christ as the Maker of this material World, they seem not concern'd what Indignity they put on the inspir'd Writer, by making him cite this Passage (according to them) to no valuable Purpose, nay, rather to a very ill and dangerous one, that naturally leads us to what they account a pernicious Error.

But because this looks too gross, some of them seem willing to grant, *That the inspir'd Writer did design, in citing this Passage out of Psalm cii. to apply by way of Accommodation that Passage in it to our Lord Jesus, that speaks of the Perishing of the Old Creation.* For they tell us the Destruction of this visible World belongs to Christ, tho' the Creation of it does not. But we are sure, to whom the Psalmist saith, *they shall perish, but thou remainest; to him he had said before, Thou, Lord, hast founded the Earth, &c.* And we are sure the inspir'd Writer makes no change of the Person; so that if the latter Clause of this Quotation belong to Christ, so does the former.

And for their Objection against our applying this Passage to Christ, viz. *That if the Author had believed Christ to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth, what need he take so much Pains to prove his Superiority to Angels, for who doubts of the Creator being superior to his Creatures?* It will appear to have no Weight in it, if we consider, *That the Apostle had undertaken to shew, not only the Dignity of Christ, as Heir of all Things, but that he was therefore the Heir and Lord of all Things, because they were made by him.* And for this Purpose, it was proper to cite such Passages of the Old Testament as attribute the first Creation to him. And this was the more needful, because there were both Jews and Hereticks that ascrib'd the first Creation to Angels; in Opposition to whom the inspir'd Writer had just Occasion to ascribe it to our blessed Lord; which he does by citing this Passage out of a Psalm, which the antient Jews had apply'd to the Messiah (a).

Having shewn the Vanity of this their most specious Evasion, I need not insist long on their

2d Evasion, viz. *That tho' it should be allow'd, that these Passages speak properly of the first Creation of the World, yet they do not assert, That the World was made by Christ, but only for him, i. e. with a Design to subject it to him.* For so they render the Words *δι' αὐτοῦ*, *John i. 3.* and *10.* And so *Heb. i. 2.*

But the Unreasonableness of this Pretence will appear, if we consider,

1. That this Sense is no way agreeable to the Original. For if the Apostle had intended to have said, *All Things were made for him*, he should have said *δι' αὐτοῦ*.

2. This Sense is evidently confuted by the Words of the Apostle, *Col. i. 16.* where these two are carefully distinguish'd, and both apply'd to our blessed Saviour. *That all Things were made both by him, and for him, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.* Nay, he is therefore said to be the First-born of the Creation in the Verse foregoing,

and to be before all Things in the Verse following, (which latter Phrase best explains the Sense of the former) because all Things were made by him. Whereas it would not prove, *That he is before all Things,* because they were created for him, (i. e. with a Design to subject them to him) long before he had a Being. And to avoid this, I find one of the Unitarian Writers straining his Critical Skill, by thus Paraphrasing the Words, *All Things were made for him, and to his Service, and he is above all Things.* (For so he groundlessly renders *πρὸ πάντων*) (b). But he is hard put to it, when he is forc'd to make the inspir'd Apostle guilty of so gross a Tautology, as to say, *All Things were made for him, and for him:* For so *εἰς αὐτὸν* undoubtedly signifies, (see *Rom. xi. 36.*) tho' he falsely pretends that *δι' αὐτοῦ* signifies so too. And I may by the way add, that we are sure from the Text just now cited, *Rom. xi. 36.* that all Things are only for, or to him, Of whom, and by (or thro') whom they are. So that if all Things be for or to Christ, 'tis because he is that God of and by whom they are. And if the Unitarians make the Apostle guilty of this Tautology here, they must suppose him to be guilty of it there too, for the Phrases are evidently the same in both Texts. But there no Man will pretend that *δι' αὐτοῦ* and *εἰς αὐτὸν* signifies the same thing.

I shall only add,

3. That the forecited Text, *Heb. i. 10.* is no way capable of this Evasion. *All Things must be made by as well as for him, who founded the Earth, and the Work of whose Hands the Heavens are.*

Having prov'd against the Socinian Unitarians, that the Scriptures ascribe the Creation of the World to Christ, in the proper Sense, I now proceed,

II. To prove, in Opposition to the Arian Unitarians, *That the Creation of the World is a solid Evidence of the Almighty Power of him that made it, and (consequently) of his true Deity.*

These Adversaries do, indeed, fairly allow us the plain literal Sense of the foremention'd Passages that ascribe the Creation of all Things to our blessed Saviour: But they deny this Inference we draw from it. For they tell us, *Our Lord had a pre-existent Nature; that in respect of that Nature he was the first and most perfect Being that ever God made, and employ'd by him as his Instrument in the Creation of the World.* And this they suppose he might be, without ascribing Omnipotence to him. Nay, they pretend this their Opinion to be countenanc'd by the Apostle, when he calls our Lord, *The First-born of every Creature,* *Col. i. 15.* and by Christ, when he styles himself *the beginning of the Creation of God,* *Rev. iii. 14.*

Now to justify the Assertion I have laid down in Opposition to these Adversaries, I shall offer the following Considerations.

1. The Scriptures every where appropriate the Works of Creation to God, and exclude all other Beings whatever from the Glory of it.

The Author to the Hebrews lays down this as a granted Maxim, *Every House is built by some Man, but he that built all Things is God,* *Heb. iii. 4.* And accordingly throughout the whole Old Testament, the great God does every where distinguish himself from all other pretended Deities by this, *That he was the Maker of Heaven and Earth; He every where challenges this as his peculiar Glory, That they, and all Things contain'd in them, are the Work of his Hands.* 'Tis one God that created them, *Mal. ii. 10.* As for those Gods that have not created the Heavens and the Earth, he declares, *that they shall perish from the Earth, and from under these Heavens.* But he is the true God, that hath made the Earth by his Power, and establish'd the World by his Wisdom, *Jer. x. 10, 11, 12.*

Nay, he positively excludes any other Being from any share in the Glory of this illustrious Work. *Thou, (saith Hezekiah) even thou alone, art the God, even thou*

(a) See the Judgment of the Jewish Church, &c. p. 38.

(b) See Third Collection of Tracts. Tract. I. p. 52.

alone, of all the Kingdoms of the Earth; thou hast made Heaven and Earth, 2 Kings xix. 15. To the same Purpose Nehemiah saith, Thou, even thou, art Lord alone, thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens, with all their Hosts, (those Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, said to be created by Christ, Col. i. 16.) the Earth, and all Things that are therein, the Seas, and all that is therein, and thou preservest them all. (Compare this with Col. i. 17. by him all Things consist, and Heb. i. 3. He upholds all Things by the Word of his Power.) And the Host of Heaven worship thee. (Compare this with Heb. i. 6. Let all the Angels of God worship him.) He alone, (saith Job, speaking of God) spreads out the Heavens, Job ix. 8. Nay, the blessed God himself saith, I have made the Earth, and created Man upon it. I, even my Hands, (i. e. my Power) have stretched out the Heavens, and all their Host have I commanded, Isa. xlv. 12. And sure if any Expressions can be decisive in this Matter, God's own Words must be allow'd to be so, when he so positively declares by the Prophet, I am the Lord that maketh all Things, that stretcheth forth the Heavens alone, and spreadeth abroad the Earth by my self, Isa. xlv. 24. How unaccountable and unwarrantable are these Expressions if the great God us'd another, even a created Being, as his Minister and Instrument in the great Work of Creation? For none is said to do that alone and by himself, which he uses the Assistance and Ministry of another in the Performance of. Nay, how inexcusable is the inspir'd Writer to the Hebrews, that ascribes this Work of Creation to Christ in the same Expressions which the Psalmist had us'd concerning the great Jehovah, Thou hast founded the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands! Heb. i. 10.

But if we allow our Lord Jesus to be the same God with the Father, 'tis no way inconsistent with God's making all Things by himself, that the Father made them by his Son, his eternal essential Word. For even the same inspir'd Writers declare, that God made them by his Word, and by the Breath of his Mouth, Psal. xxxiii. 6. The essential Power of the Father and the Son are the same. But that leads me to add,

2. The Apostle Paul makes the Creation of the World a demonstrative Proof of his eternal Power and Godhead that made it.

For the invisible Things of him (saith he) from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead, Rom. i. 20. But now the Force of this Argument is lost, if a Being might make all those Things that had no such eternal Power and Godhead at all, but was it self a created and temporary Being, and the voluntary Production of a superior Being.

3. The very Notion of an Instrument in the Work of Creation seems absurd and inconsistent.

For God's Creation of the World is all along express'd in Scripture, by his commanding Things into Being. Thus in the fore-cited Place, I, even my Hands, have stretched out the Heavens, and all their Hosts have I commanded, Isa. xlv. 12. So Psal. xxxiii. 9. He spake and it was done, he commanded and it stood fast. So the same Psalmist speaking of the Heaven of Heavens, saith, He commanded and they were created, Psal. cxlviii. v. Nay, in the Account given by Moses of the Creation, 'tis evident, that the Energy of no created Being could intervene between God's Will or Command, and the Effect to be produc'd. He said, Let there be Light, and there was Light, Gen. i. 3. And what Influence could any Instrument have in such a Production? There is in Creation no pre-existent Matter, and therefore nothing for an Instrument to fix upon.

Besides, when they tell us, that God made this pre-existent Nature of Christ his Instrument in the Creation of the World, they either mean, that he communicated thereto a finite or an infinite Power in order to his concurring in this Work of Creation. If they say an infinite Power, they blasphemously deify a Creature, by ascribing to it the incommunicable Perfection of the divine Nature. If only a finite Power, such a finite

Power can signify nothing at all to the Work of Creation, which plainly requires no less than a boundless or infinite Power to effect it. For 'tis the highest Act of Power (the *ultimum quod sit* of Omnipotence) to give Being to that which was nothing before. And nothing can be impossible to the Being that can do this. 'Tis therefore far beyond the Reach of a finite Power.

4. The Creation of all Things is ascrib'd to our Lord Jesus in Expressions that exclude him from the Rank of Creatures.

He who was God, and by whom all Things were made, and without whom not any Thing was made that was made, was himself unmade, and therefore eternal. He can be no Creature, by whom all Things were created, and who was before all Creatures. He that was before the Mountains were brought forth, and before the Earth or the World was form'd, is (in the Psalmist's Account) from everlasting to everlasting God, Psal. xc. 2.

And for what may be objected from the Apostle's calling our Saviour the First-born of all Creatures, (or rather of the whole Creation) it will appear to be of no Force to prove that Christ himself was a Creature, if we consider that 'tis sufficient to justify his being call'd the First-born of the whole Creation, because he transcends all Creatures both in Duration and in Dignity. He is both before them in Time, and is the Lord and Heir of them. But it cannot here import his being of the same Nature with them, because that would make the Apostle Paul both contradict himself in the Reason he adds, viz. that all Things were created by him; and to contradict St. John, who saith, without him nothing was made that was made, John i. 3. And the Apostle himself explains his own Sense, when at Ver. 17. he adds, that he was before all Things. And 'tis observable that the Phrase is alter'd, when the Apostle, by First-born, means one of the same Nature. See at Ver. 18. and at Rom. viii. 29. as will appear to such as can consult the Original.

And for Christ's being call'd the Beginning of the Creation of God; the Word *αρχή*, when it does not refer to Time, does usually signify either the efficient Cause, or the Head and Chief: And neither of those Senses implies our Lord to be himself a Creature, but rather implies the contrary.

Having thus prov'd both that the Scriptures ascribe the Creation of the World to our blessed Saviour, and that his creating it is a demonstrative Argument of his Almighty Power, I shall only briefly subjoin, that the Scriptures ascribe to our blessed Lord other Works that are the Effects of an Almighty Power, and are in Scripture appropriated to the blessed God.

Thus what the Psalmist ascribes to the great Jehovah at Psal. xiv. 30. the inspir'd Writer to the Hebrews ascribes to the Son of God, that he upholds all Things by the Word of his Power. 'Tis God that quickens the Dead, 'tis he alone that can kill and make alive, Rom. iv. 17. 2 Kings v. 7. And yet our Lord Jesus attributes to himself the Power of quickning whom he will. He can by his commanding Voice cause the Dead to hear, and rise out of their Graves, John v. 21, 25, 28. And his thus raising the Dead, and changing our vile Body to fashion it like to his glorious Body, is by the Apostle Paul said to be effected, according to the working of his mighty Power, whereby he is able to subdue all Things to himself, Phil. iii. 21. Expressions that import his Power to be absolute and irresistible.

Having thus shewn, that the Scriptures ascribe such absolute Omnipotence to our blessed Lord, I come,

II. To examine what the Author has alledg'd to persuade us, that our blessed Saviour himself disclaims this Perfection.

" 'Tis most evident, saith he, that our Lord Jesus, (whatever Power he had) confesses again and again, that he had not infinite Power of himself, John vi. 30. Of my self I can do nothing. He had been speaking of great Miracles, viz. Raising the Dead, and executing all Judgment; but all along takes care Men should know his

"his Sufficiency for these Things was of God the Father. In the beginning of the Discourse, Ver. 19. The Son can do nothing but what he sees the Father do. So in the middle, Ver. 26, 27. The Father has given the Son to have Life in himself. And as if he could never too much inculcate this great Truth, he adds towards the Conclusion, I can do nothing of my self, or from nothing that is my self do I draw this Power and Authority. Sure this is not the Voice of God, but of a Man! For the most High can receive from none; He cannot be made more mighty or wise, &c. because to absolute Perfection can be no Addition. And since Power in God is an essential Perfection, it follows, that if it be deriv'd, then so is the Essence and Being it self, which is Blasphemy against the most High. For 'tis to ungod him, to number him among poor, dependent, derivative Beings. Whilst the supreme God indeed is only he who is the first Cause, and absolute Original of all.

Ans. It is no good Argument of the Author's Impartiality in his Enquiries, that he only picks out a few Expressions that seem to favour the Opinion he has embrac'd, without taking the least Notice of the Evidence suggested in the Context on the other Side. And that he does so in this Place, will appear upon a fuller View of the whole Passage.

We read at Ver. 16. That the Jews sought to kill our Lord Jesus, because he had wrought a miraculous Cure on the Sabbath Day. Our Lord answers them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work; q. d. tho' my Father is said to rest on the Seventh Day from the Works of Creation, yet he does still work in the continued Administrations of his Providence on the Sabbath Day, and I (who am his Son, and therefore one with him) do also work on that Day, and do nothing herein contrary to his Will. Upon this we read, That the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal to God. Or, as the Words may be more truly rendered, because he call'd God his own Father, making himself equal to God, i. e. call'd him his Father in so peculiar a Sense as argu'd his Equality to him in Power and Dominion. Now according to our Author, the Jews charge our blessed Lord with the highest Blasphemy that he can be guilty of, and very justly according to his Sentiments, if they did not mistake his Meaning. It must therefore be duly consider'd, whether our Lord disowns this Sense they put on his Words, and saith any thing to undeceive them, and convince them that he meant no such thing. And if it appear that what he saith rather justifies the Sense they put on his Words than disowns it, it will thence follow, that he owns the Charge, that he did so call God his Father as to make himself equal to him.

Our Lord begins his Reply at Ver. 19. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, except he see the Father doing it. For whatsoever things he (i. e. the Father) does, those things the Son does likewise. Now the Meaning is not as our Author would insinuate, that the Son can do nothing by any Power of his own: But, that he can do nothing but what he sees the Father do, i. e. nothing but what is conformable to his Example, and his Will and Order; or as in the next Verse, Nothing but what the Father, who loves him, shews him, i. e. directs and orders to be done in order to his own Glory. But that his Power is the same with his Father's, he plainly intimates, when he saith in the following Words, That whatever things the Father does, the same things does the Son likewise, (for 'tis in the Original ταῦτα); so that we may more justly cry out than our Author, Sure this is the Voice of a God, and not of a Man! For what Creature can or dare to pretend that whatever the Father Almighty does, he can do the very same? And how plainly does he that saith this, equalize himself to the Father, as possessor of the same essential Power with him? And so he does again at Ver. 21. For as the Father raiseth up the Dead, and quickeneth them, so does the Son quicken whom he will.

And thus to raise and quicken the Dead at his own Pleasure, is evidently the peculiar Effect of an Almighty Power, Rom. iv. 17. 2 Kings v. 7. And tho' it is said at Ver. 24. That as the Father hath Life in himself, so he has given the Son to have Life in himself: This does by no means imply the Son to be such a dependent-derivative Being as Creatures are, but the contrary. For to have Life in himself, and a Capacity of imparting it to whom he will, is the peculiar Perfection of the Self-living God. And the Father's giving this to the Son, imports not a voluntary Gift, but his communicating this and all other divine Perfections to him by a necessary eternal Act (which Divines call eternal Generation). 'Tis true indeed, an Authority or Right to judge the World, mention'd at Ver. 22. and 27. is a voluntary Gift, which our Author unadvisedly confounds with Christ's essential Power: And that Authority belongs to Christ as Mediator, and is to be exercis'd by him in our Nature as he is the Son of Man; as our Lord plainly tells us at Ver. 27. He hath given him Authority to execute Judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. Whereby he both intimates, that he should judge the World in that human Nature that he assum'd, and should have this Honour conferr'd on him for assuming it, viz. That the World should not be judg'd by the Father, but all Judgment committed to the Son. But for the essential Power, whereby the Dead should be rais'd in order to their being judg'd, that belongs not to him as Man, but as the eternal Son of God. The Dead (saith he at Ver. 25.) shall hear the Voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. And here 'tis manifest that our Saviour plainly distinguishes these two Titles or Characters that belong to him, viz. The Son of God, and the Son of Man. And makes the former the Ground of his divine Power or Might, the latter of his delegated Authority. And for what our Saviour adds in the Conclusion, I can of my self do nothing, as I hear, I judge, and my Judgment is just, because I seek not my own Will, but the Will of the Father that sent me: These Words refer not at all to his essential Power of Working, but to his accurate Observance of the Father's Will in all his judicial Proceedings, to which his human Will was entirely conformable, and his divine the same with it.

But because I do allow the essential Power of the Son of God to be communicated to him by the Father, I must take some Notice of his Reasoning against it. "Since Power in God is an essential Perfection, it follows, that if it be deriv'd, then so is the Essence or Being it self."

Ans. If by being deriv'd he means communicated by the Father to the Son, not by a voluntary Act, but by the Son's necessary eternal Emanation from him, we grant that the Son thus derives his Essence or divine Nature from the Father. What then? "Why this" (says the Author) "is Blasphemy against the most High, for 'tis to ungod him, to number him among poor, dependent, derivative Beings: Whilst he who is the supreme God, is only he who is the first Cause and absolute Original of all."

Ans. If by poor, dependent, derivative Beings, he mean such as are the voluntary Productions of a Being distinct from themselves, that depend on his meer Pleasure for their Existence, and the Continuation thereof, I deny that the Son of God is any such poor, dependent, derivative Being, or that he is number'd among such by our Concession, That the Father communicates the divine Nature and the Perfections thereof to him, by a necessary, eternal, and permanent Act. Nor is he hereby constituted another Being from the Father at all, but only another Person in the Godhead. Nor does this hinder him from being the supreme God, i. e. the first Cause and absolute Original of all other Beings (as I have shewn the Scriptures assert him to be) tho' he be not first in the Godhead in respect of the Order of Subsistence and Operation between those sacred Three that are the one supreme God.

But the Author adds, our Lord considers himself here in Opposition to his Father, who (he saith) gave him

him all Power. Now if he had such an eternal divine Word, united more nearly to him than the Father, surely he would have own'd his Power to be from that Word or divine Son.

Ans. There is no such Phrase in all the Context, as the Father's giving all Power to our blessed Lord, but only giving him Authority to execute Judgment, because he is the Son of Man, at ver. 27. But to pass by that. By Power the Author either means *Might and Strength*, or *Authority*. If the former; 'tis evident, That this Almighty Power belongs to Christ as the eternal Word or Son of God. And he is possessor of it by a necessary eternal Emanation from the Father, who communicates it by a necessary, not an arbitrary free Act. And this Power the Man Christ Jesus was never possessor of at all, no more than of any other incommunicable Perfections of the divine Nature. If by Power he means *Authority to judge the World* (which is all the Text here speaks of) we own this to be the Father's voluntary Gift, and that the human Nature is employ'd in the Exercise of it. And this Authority should, in all Reason, be deriv'd from the Father, who sustains the Character of *supreme Lawgiver*, not from the *Eternal Word*, who assum'd the Office of *Mediator*.

He concludes, "How comes he to ascribe nothing to that, since 'tis suppos'd to be equal in Power to the Father himself, and more nearly ally'd to Jesus Christ, as the operating Principle in him. So John xiv. 10. My Father in me does the Works, by which 'tis evident, there was no divine Agent in and with him but the Father. He only has all Power of himself, and needs no Assistance."

Ans. I have already shewn him, That our Lord Jesus, as the *Eternal Word* or *Son of God*, does claim a *Divine Almighty Power*, in telling us, That whatever things the Father does, he the Son does the same likewise. But against this he starts a new Argument from John xiv. 10. where our Lord said to Philip, *Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? The Words that I speak unto you, I speak not of my self, but the Father that dwells in me, he does the Works.* And in the next Verse, *Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, or else believe me for the Works sake.* But what would our Author infer hence? He cannot reasonably conclude more from hence, than that the Works of our Lord Jesus proceeded from that *almighty Power*, that was both in the Father and in Him. So that by those very Works, the Father himself attested the Mission of the Son, and his Unity in Nature and Essence with himself. Thus also the miraculous Works of Christ are frequently ascrib'd to the Holy Spirit, and the imputing them to a Diabolical Power is condemn'd as the unpardonable Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. But because both the Father and the Holy Spirit did dwell and operate in the Human Nature of Christ; it will not follow, that the eternal Word did not do so too, and that in a peculiar and more eminent Manner. Christ indeed, as a Prophet, rais'd from among his Brethren, and sent on the Father's Embassy, was to manage that Office under the Inspiration and Conduct of that Holy Spirit, that was given to him without Measure, and to confirm his Mission by those miraculous Operations of the Holy Spirit, that were the Father's Credentials. And for this Reason, these Works are imputed so often to the Holy Spirit, and to the Father, and not because the eternal Word was destitute of the Power of doing 'em (a).

And now let the Author consider, whether these Passages, in which he pretends our Saviour disclaims *almighty Power*, and which are capable of so easy a Solution, which the Context it self leads us to, are to be put in the Ballance with those that so manifestly ascribe the Creation to him, that undoubted Demonstration of the eternal Power and Godhead of the Creator? And whether he be not in Danger of blaspheming our

Saviour by thus Ungodding him, and numbring him with poor, derivative, dependent Beings? For among such he is pleased to rank him.

Having dispatched this Head of *absolute Power*, I come next to that,

II. Of *supreme absolute Goodness*. This I fully agree with the Author to be a *prime Character of the Supreme Being*.

And therefore I shall, First, briefly shew, That such *absolute Goodness* belongs to our blessed Saviour; and, Secondly, Consider what he alledges to persuade us that our Saviour disclaims it.

First, I shall briefly shew, That our blessed Saviour is possessor of such *supreme absolute Goodness*.

Now this *supreme Goodness* discovers it self to us these two Ways; Either,

1. By communicating Being to all Creatures. Or,
2. By Redeeming and Recovering 'em when self-destroy'd and lost.

1. I have already shewn, That our Lord has given Being to all Creatures.

And I need not enlarge to shew, That is an Effect of Goodness, as well as Power, truly Divine and Infinite. And,

2. For the Redemption and Recovery of guilty and self-destroy'd Sinners, I hope I need not prove to any that pretends to the Name of a Christian, that this Work is ascrib'd to our blessed Saviour.

And one would think there is as little need to prove, that this is an Effect of *supreme Goodness* and infinite Love. I am sure 'tis a Love that the Apostle Paul invites us to comprehend the Breadth and Length, and Height and Depth of, and tells us, that it surpasses all our Knowledge, Eph. iii. 18, 19. Nay, 'tis a Goodness and Love so truly Divine, as to warrant our ascribing in our most solemn Devotions, the same eternal Glory and Dominion to him who thus lov'd us, and wash'd us from our Sins in his own Blood, &c. which we elsewhere ascribe unto the Father, Rev. i. 5. compar'd with 1 Pet. v. 11. (as I shall more fully shew anon.) And indeed his Love will appear thus boundless and incomprehensible, and truly worthy of eternal Adoration, if we consider our blessed Saviour as the eternal Word, who not only assumed our Nature into a vital indissoluble Union, but in that very Nature stoop'd so low as to die in the stead of such Rebels and Enemies as we were, and to shed his precious Blood for the Expiation of our Guilt. And so we are taught to consider him, as one who was in the Form of God, and had appear'd with all the Marks of divine Majesty and Glory, but for our sakes divested himself of all that external Glory, took on him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeness of Men: Nay, being found in the Fashion of Man, he humbled himself yet lower, even to so astonishing a Degree, as to become obedient to Death, even the Death of the Cross, Phil. ii. 7, 8. For when we contemplate the infinite Distance and Disproportion there is between the divine Nature and ours, we cannot but see, here is an Instance of Love, not only beyond all Example or Parallel of human Love, but sufficient to justify the highest Commendations the Scriptures give of it, sufficient to raise and entertain the admiring Thoughts and Views of Angels and Men. For what Love can be greater than this, that the Prince of Life, and Lord of Glory, shou'd, in our Nature and Stead, submit to the painful, and shameful, and accursed Death of the Cross?

But if, with our Adversaries, we shou'd conceive of our blessed Saviour, only as a Creature, as a Man, or (in our Author's Phrase) a poor, derivative, dependent Being, who laid down his Life for us, and that with the Prospect of the highest Dignity and Glory that a Creature is capable of, as the Reward of his Sufferings; then indeed his Goodness and Love is but finite, and may be easily comprehended, and is far from surpas-

(a) See Dr. Whitby's Preface to his Commentary on John.

ing our Knowledge, and wou'd be as far from warranting, either such high Elogiums of it, as the inspired Writers give us, or the Doxologies they direct us to offer on the Account of it. And no wonder that those that think there is no more in the dying Love of our Saviour, shou'd deny him to be possess'd of supreme Goodness. But whose Opinion, and the Consequences thereof, are most conformable to the Language of Scripture, *ours* or *theirs*, I freely leave to every serious Christian to judge.

And proceed,

Secondly, To examine, what the Author has alledg'd to persuade us, that our blessed Saviour disclaims any such supreme absolute Goodness.

And here his whole Proof relies on one single Passage.

Our Lord (saith he) expressly disclaims this Character, Matt. xix. 17. Why callest thou me Good? There is none good but one, that is God. Where 'tis most evident, that he distinguishes himself from God, as not the same with him, and denies of himself what he affirms of God. And for that divine Perfection of supreme infinite Goodness, he challenges the Man for presuming to say what seem'd to attribute it to him, and leads him off to another, who, and who only, was more eminently so.

Ans. I deny that our Saviour does either expressly disclaim the Character of Good, or distinguish himself from God, as not the same with him; which is all the Foundation of the Author's Reasoning from this Text. We do not (as the Author groundlessly imputes to us) suppose our Saviour's Meaning to be, I know Man, thou dost not take me for God, as I am; Why then dost thou give me the Title that belongs to him only? For we do not suppose that our Saviour designed to discover his Deity to him at this Time. Nor did the young Man's Question give him any Occasion for it. Nor do we think that the young Man took our Saviour to be God, when he call'd him Good, or that he paid him any more than a civil Respect; but it is probable (from his giving him the Title of good Master) that the young Man did take him for a Rabbi or Doctor of eminent Piety and Sanctity. And we know the Jewish Rabbies affected such pompous and swelling Titles. See Matt. xxviii. from the 7th to the 11th Verse. Accordingly the young Man addresses him in the common Strain they us'd to the Jewish Doctors. Now our blessed Lord, to discountenance this Affectation of high Titles, and set before this young Man an Example of Humility, in Opposition to the Vanity and Self-conceit he discover'd, intimates to him, that the Title he gave him, was in its highest Sense proper only for God, and not for such an one as he took him to be, viz. a Rabbi or Teacher of the Law. And the Man does not say (as our Author pretends) what Jesus Christ thought too much to be said of himself, but only what was too much to be said according to those Apprehensions he knew that he had of him. Nor was it at all necessary that our blessed Saviour shou'd rectify his Apprehensions at this Time, by discovering his Deity to him. He that had charged his own Disciples a little before, that they should tell no Man, that he was Jesus the Christ, or Messiah, Matt. xvi. 20. (though he really was so, and intended, in due Time, openly to claim that Title) might much more think it incongruous to reveal and assert his Deity to this young Profelyte. For that were to have gravell'd a raw Catechumen at first dash, with the sublimest Mystery of Christian Godliness. He must be first taught to own him as the Messiah, before he was fit to be instructed in the Dignity and highest Characters that belonged to him as such. So that our Saviour's Case was like that of a Prince that walks incognito, and in disguise: He had divested himself of that external Glory that was the Form of God, to put on that of a Servant. And shou'd such a Prince in disguise, be accosted by any that knew him not, with Complements too high for a Subject: Might he not say, Why do you give me a Title more proper to be given your Prince! This

wou'd indeed argue that he design'd at present to conceal, but by no means to deny or disown his royal Authority. And the Cases being parallel, the Author very unreasonably infers from the like Expressions, that our Saviour here disowns his Goodness. Nor was there any Necessity that the Evangelists, in recording this Passage, should enter a Caution, That Christ did not intend by these Words to deny that he was Good, and truly God. The Title of God they so often give to him, and that matchless Grace of our Lord Jesus, which elsewhere the inspired Writers of the New Testament so largely on all Occasions extol, was sufficient to guard any considerate Reader from so grossly misinterpreting such an occasional Passage. And therefore for the Author to cry out on this Occasion, 'Tis astonishing to see what Violence is offer'd to this sacred Text, by such as maintain the Equality of Jesus Christ to God his Father, when he has said nothing of any Weight against the common Exposition, but what is founded on his own Misrepresentation of it, shews us, how natural it is, when Reason and Argument fail, to bear the World down with meer Confidence. For his Reasonings are scarce any where through his Book so trifling and weak, as on this Head, on which he makes this vehement Exclamation without the least tolerable Ground. 'Tis much more astonishing that a Man of his Abilities should lay so mighty Strefs on so weak an Argument, for 'tis he offers real Violence to our Saviour's Words to make 'em serve his Purpose, when he pretends, That our Saviour apparently denies, That he was Good in as high a Sense as God his Father.

I proceed to the

III^d. Perfection, of absolute Omniscience, or unlimited Knowledge of all Things, past, present, and to come.

In treating of this Part of the Argument, I shall,

First, Prove the holy Scriptures do ascribe such absolute Omniscience to our blessed Lord.

Secondly, Examine what the Author has offer'd to the contrary.

First, I shall prove, That the holy Scriptures ascribe such absolute Omniscience to our blessed Lord.

And here I shall have Occasion to consider what the Author has offer'd to invalidate the Proofs commonly brought to evince that this Perfection belongs to our blessed Saviour.

I. We argue from those many Passages in the New Testament, wherein the Knowledge of all Things is ascribed to our Lord Jesus. Such as those, John ii. 23, 24, 25. Many believed on his Name when they saw the Miracles which he did. But Jesus did not commit himself to 'em, because he knew all Men; and needed not that any should testify of Men, for he knew what was in Man. So John xvi. 30. Now we are sure that thou knowest all Things, and needest not that any Man should ask thee. By this we believe that thou camest forth from God. And again, John xxi. 17. Lord, thou knowest all Things, thou knowest that I love thee. Now we conclude, that an universal unlimited Knowledge belongs to him, according to the plain Sense of these Expressions.

To this the Author replies, that "These Words are intended only to express a great and comprehensive Knowledge. As will appear (he saith)

"1. By Christ's own Words, who knew not the Day of Judgment.

Ans. This I shall afterwards consider as his main Objection.

2. "In that it was common to ascribe all Knowledge to Men of extraordinary Wisdom. (As he endeavours to shew by several Instances.)

Now this I deny, nor do any of the Instances he alledges prove it.

The Woman of Tekoah never meant to ascribe to David any more than an accurate Knowledge of all the Affairs of his own Kingdom, when she tells him, My Lord knows all Things on Earth, and is as wise as an Angel, 2 Sam. xiv. 20. And she imputes this Knowledge only

only to his Sagacity and Wisdom. Besides the Expressions themselves appear at first View hyperbolical, and have an Air of Court-flattery in them.

For that of *Christians* being said to know all Things, the Context restrains it to those Things which the Anointing teaches all Christians, i. e. the necessary Doctrines of the Gospel.

And for the Words of *Simon*, concerning our Lord, *If this Man were a Prophet, he would know what Manner of Woman this is*, Luke vii. 39. They rather charge him (as some think) for a Defect of Holiness, than of Knowledge, viz. That he was not sufficiently inquisitive to know who this Woman was that touched him, as the Pharisees usually were very nice and scrupulous least they should be defiled by the Touch of such as they call'd Sinners. But if they refer to his Knowledge, and imply, that *Simon* thought a Prophet might by Revelation ordinarily so far know a notorious Sinner, as was requisite to his avoiding the Defilement of being touch'd by such an one: This signifies nothing to prove, that they thought their Prophets knew all Things.

And for the *Woman of Samaria*, she might justly conclude our Lord to be a Prophet from his discovering her secret Acts to her; but it does by no Means then follow, That either *Jews* or *Samaritans* thought their Prophets knew the Secrets of all Men, and much less that they knew all Things, which the Disciples in the Places alledg'd, ascribe to our blessed Saviour, and to which there is nothing parallel in all these Instances. But,

3. The Author adds, " 'Tis evident, that the Disciples, by attributing all Knowledge to Christ, intended no more than to ascribe to him such great Knowledge as a created Being is capable of, because they infer no more from it than this, Now we believe that thou camest forth from God, i. e. Not that he was God, but one sent of God.

Ans. The Author has no Reason to conclude from these Words, Now we believe thou camest forth from God, that the Disciples inferred no more than Christ's being sent forth of God, as other Prophets were. For they are not said to come forth from God, when they are sent on his Message. And that our Lord, to whose own Words (at ver. 28.) the Disciples refer, intended to affirm more of himself, when he saith, *I came forth from the Father*, than merely his being sent as a great Prophet, we have just Ground to suppose. For elsewhere he declares his own Nature to be as incomprehensible as that of the Father. No Man knows the Son but the Father, and no Man knows the Father but the Son, and to whomsoever the Son will reveal him, Matt. xi. 27. Again we are told, John i. 18. No Man hath seen God at any Time, the only begotten Son which is in the Bosom of the Father, he has declared him. Where the only begotten Son of the Father is distinguished from all Men, and consequently from all meer Prophets, as one whose peculiar Privilege it was to be in the Bosom of the Father, acquainted with all his Councils, and therefore capable to declare them. And our blessed Lord, as the only begotten Son of God, plainly equals his own Knowledge with the Father's, when he tells his Disciples, *That the Spirit of Truth whom he would send, should glorify him*. For (saith he) he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it to you. All Things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you, John xvi. 13, 14, 15. And to the like Purpose our Lord saith, John vi. 46. Not that any Man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God (ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὢν Θεός, he that hath his Essence from God) he hath seen the Father. And 'tis observable, that our blessed Saviour gives himself this Character, in Opposition to the *Jews*, that said, *Is not this Jesus the Son of Joseph, whose Father and Mother we know?* How is it then that he saith, *I came down from Heaven?* He justifies what he had said, *That he came down from Heaven*, and had a higher Descent than that from his Mother on Earth, as the only be-

gotten Son of God, who had his Essence from him, and whose peculiar Privilege it was to see him. So that our Author's only and considerable Objection against the obvious Sense of these Passages appears to be founded on a mistaken Supposition, that the Disciples infer'd no more from that Knowledge of all Things, which they ascribe to him, than that he was the greatest of Prophets.

And for what our Author subjoins at the Conclusion of his first Argument for the Omniscience of Christ, " *That though Christ should be allow'd to know all Things which actually are, unless he know all Futurities too, it would not prove his infinite Omniscience*; I shall have Occasion to consider it under the next Head.

I shall only add, That in that Passage of the Apostle Peter's, *Lord, thou knowest all Things, thou knowest that I love thee*, 'tis manifest, that the Apostle infers Christ's Knowledge of the hidden Disposition of his very Soul towards him, from the boundless Extent of his Knowledge, q. d. The Secrets of my Heart cannot be hid from thee, to whom all Things are known. And if such all-comprehensive Knowledge had not belonged to our blessed Saviour, we might reasonably expect that he would have check'd this excessive Language of the Apostle here, or at least he would not have so openly countenanced and approved the like Language from the rest of the Disciples, as he plainly does, John xvi. 31.

But the Language of the Apostles will appear no way hyperbolical, if we consider, that our Lord himself more fully claims such Omniscience. But this leads me to the

II. Argument for the Omniscience of Christ, drawn from those Passages of Scripture that ascribe to him that Knowledge of the Hearts of Men, which is peculiar to the divine Understanding.

That the Knowledge of the Hearts of Men is peculiar to an Omniscient Being, even to the all-knowing God, is evident from several Passages of Scripture.

It was so in the Judgment of the wisest of Men, Solomon, as is evident from that Passage in his Prayer at the Dedication of the Temple, when he requests, *That God may give every Suppliant, according to his Ways, whose Heart (saith he) thou knowest, for thou, even thou only, knowest the Hearts of all the Children of Men*, 1 Kings viii. 38, 39. So the Psalmist makes it the peculiar Glory of him, whose Throne is in Heaven, that his Eyes behold, and his Eye-lids try the Children of Men, Psal. xi. 4. Nay, the Psalmist elsewhere mentions it as one eminent Instance of that Knowledge of God, which appear'd to him so wonderful and incomprehensible, *That he had search'd and known him, that he was not only acquainted with his Ways, but even understood his Thoughts afar off*, Psal. cxxxix. 1, 2, 3, &c. And sure that one Passage of the Prophet Jeremiah is sufficient to put this Matter past all reasonable Doubt, when he brings in the blessed God, assuming this to himself as the incommunicable Privilege and Glory of his infinite Mind, *The Heart of Man is deceitful and desperately wicked; Who can know it? q. d. No Creature whatever can pretend to so marvellous a Knowledge as this. It exceeds the limited Capacity of a finite Mind. The blessed God therefore assumes it to himself, as his peculiar Perfection, I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins, to give to every Man according to his Ways, and according to the Fruit of their doings*, Jer. xvii. 9, 10.

Now that the Scriptures do ascribe this Knowledge of Mens Hearts (which they thus appropriate to God) to our blessed Saviour, is no less evident: And that not only from several of the Passages mention'd before, and many others that might be added, but from our Lord's express Declaration. *The Churches (saith he) shall know that I am he, which searches the Hearts and the Reins, and will give to every Man according to their Works*, Rev. ii. 23. And the Apostle Paul to the same Purpose declares, *That our Lord Jesus will come to bring*

bring the hidden Works of Darkneſs to Light, and to make manifeſt the Counſels of all Hearts, 1 Cor. iv. 5.

Now one would think this Argument to be clear and deciſive in this Diſpute, when what the great *Jehovah* appropriates to himſelf in the Prophet, our *blessed Saviour* ſo openly lays Claim to in this remarkable Paſſage. But the Author has offer'd two Things to take off the Force of it, which I muſt conſider.

To this Purpoſe he propoſes to conſider, "1. In what Senſe the ſearching and knowing the Heart is peculiar to God, and incommunicable to others. 2. To ſhew, That though it be peculiar to God in one Senſe, yet in another Senſe it may be attributed to another that is not the moſt high God.

As to the firſt (he ſaith) "Though *Solomon* ſay, *Thou Lord only knoweſt the Hearts of all Men*, yet what if I ſay, That 'tis no wonder that *Solomon* ſhould not know of any other, to whom that Excellency was communicated, ſince he underſtood not the Myſtery of the unſearchable Riches and Fulneſs of *Chriſt*, &c.

Ans. If our Author think fit to ſay ſo, We ſhall think fit to believe, that *Solomon* was wiſer than he, and deliver'd his Prayer by a diviner Inſpiration than appears in his Book. Eſpecially when we find, not only other inſpired Writers concurring with him, but even the *blessed God* appropriating this Knowledge to himſelf, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf thereby from all Creatures whatſoever.

But he adds, "That ſuch Expreſſions appropriating ſome Perfections to God, do only import, that he has no Equal to him therein, and that they belong to him in an eminent Senſe. As when 'tis ſaid, *God is only wiſe*, Rom. xvi. 27. *God only hath Immortality*, 1 Tim. vi. 16. And accordingly, when the Scriptures appropriate the Knowledge of Mens Hearts to God, they mean only, that there is none knows the Heart ſo univerſally, ſo immediately, and independently as he. So that he reckons we argue but weakly from *Chriſt's knowing Mens Hearts*, that he is God, unleſs we ſhew that he knows them in the ſame excellent and independent Manner and Degree as the Father. But for knowing Mens Hearts in a lower Senſe, by Revelation, he tells us, This has been communicated to Prophets and Apoſtles, 2 Kings vi. 12. 1 Cor. xii. 10. Acts v. And this way *Chriſt* may know them much more. Searching the Heart importing the Accuracy of Knowledge, not the Manner of attaining it.

Ans. That ſome of God's Perfections, as his Wiſdom, Power, Knowledge, &c. are communicable, I freely grant. But I muſt tell our Author, there are ſome Acts flowing from theſe Perfections that are peculiar to God, and incommunicable to any created Being. So is that Act of his Power, *The making a Thing out of nothing*. And ſo (if we may believe the Scriptures) is that Act of the divine Underſtanding, *the knowing the Hearts of Men*, i. e. *the knowing them by immediate Intuition*. For as to that Knowledge of them, that is by Revelation from another, or is only conjectural, it no way belongs to God at all, and none doubts but a Prophet or an Apoſtle, or the Man *Chriſt Jeſus*, may thus know the Hearts of Men. The Queſtion then is, Whether the *blessed God* have not a peculiar Way of knowing the Hearts of Men, viz. by immediate Intuition, that is incommunicable to any other Being? If he have, it muſt then be enquir'd, Whether our Lord *Jeſus* does not challenge to himſelf that very Way of knowing the Hearts of Men? That God has a peculiar Way of knowing Mens Hearts, viz. univerſally, immediately, and independently, our Author grants: And ſo muſt any Man that duly conſiders the abſolute Perfection of the divine Underſtanding, and the unavoidable Imperfection of a finite Mind. Now I would only ask him, Whether the *blessed God* does not intend to aſſert his own peculiar Way of knowing the Hearts of Men, when he ſaith, *I the Lord ſearch the Heart and try the Reins*? 'Tis evident that he does ſo, becauſe

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hereby he represents that perfect Knowledge of the deceitful Heart of Man, that abſolutely diſtinguiſhes him from all Creatures whatever. *The Heart of Man is deceitful above all Things*, &c. *Who can know it? I the Lord ſearch the Hearts*, &c. Now if theſe Expreſſions represent God's peculiar and perfect Way of knowing Mens Hearts (as they muſt do, in order to their diſtinguiſhing him from all created Beings) then that very perfect and peculiar Way of knowing Mens Hearts belongs to our Lord *Jeſus*. For our *blessed Saviour* aſſerts his Knowledge in thoſe very Expreſſions, and that in the moſt emphatical Manner. Our Author, that aſſerts the Knowledge of *Chriſt's* human Nature to be ſo extenſive, will not ſure imagine him to be ignorant that the *blessed God* had by the Prophet *Jeremy* represented his own univerſal, immediate, independent Knowledge of the Hearts of Men by theſe Expreſſions. And yet our Lord *Jeſus* uſes the ſame to expreſs his own Knowledge of them. Nay, he does not barely ſay, *I ſearch the Hearts*, &c. But the Churches ſhall know that *I am he that ſearches the Hearts*, &c. q. d. *I am that Jehovah* whom the Prophet there deſcribes as the *Searcher of the Hearts and Reins*. Now if our Lord intended to apply this Paſſage of the Prophet to himſelf in the Senſe there intended, our Point is gain'd, and there is no Room to diſpute his Omniſcience. If he did not, but only intended to apply theſe Words to himſelf in a lower Senſe (viz. of his Underſtanding them by Revelation from another, or by probable Conjecture) nay, in a Senſe that could not agree to the *blessed God*, we cannot excuſe his Words from palpable Blaſphemy, and much leſs from the greateſt Imprudence, and Neglect of his Father's Honour, ſince they ſo naturally lead all that read them to aſcribe to him, whom the Author ſuppoſes but a finite Creature, the ſame Knowledge of Mens Hearts which the Prophet had appropriated to the great *Jehovah* before.

Nay, I may here, to confirm this Argument, add, that as the Scriptures aſſign two Grounds of God's perfect and immediate Knowledge of Men's Hearts, viz. partly his having made them. See *Pſal.* xxxiii. 15. *Pſal.* cxxxix. 13. *Amos* iv. 13. and partly his intimate Preſence with them, *Jer.* xxiii. 24. So both theſe Grounds of it belong to our *blessed Saviour*. I have already ſhewn, that he made them; and he himſelf aſſerts his own Omnipreſence, when he promiſes, that where two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will be there in the miſt of them, *Matt.* xviii. 20. See alſo *Matt.* xviii. laſt Verſe. *John* xiv. 20, 23. And if it ſhould be pretended that thoſe Texts ſpeak of *Chriſt's* ſpiritual Preſence, by the Influences of his Grace, this would rather confirm than invalidate this Proof of his Omniſcience. For as we therefore prove God is every where, in reſpect of his Eſſence, becauſe he can at the ſame Time exert the Power that is inſeparable from his Eſſence in preſerving and ſuſtaining his Creatures, and directing or over-ruling their Actions: So we may infer, That *Chriſt* is every where, in reſpect of his eſſential Preſence, as God, becauſe he can be every where at the ſame Time by his ſpiritual Influences and gracious Operations. For that ſpiritual Virtue is inſeparable from his Eſſence.

Having thus ſhewn, that our *blessed Saviour* claims the Knowledge of Mens Hearts, in the ſame Senſe in which 'tis aſcrib'd to the Father, I might juſtly paſs by all he has offer'd under the 2d Head. But becauſe there are ſeveral Miſtakes in it, that need to be rectify'd in order to the clearing this Subject, I ſhall briefly conſider it. Therefore,

Secondly, "There is no Abſurdity (he tell us) in attributing this Knowledge of the Heart to *Jeſus Chriſt*, though he be not the moſt high God. And to that Purpoſe he argues, That the Object being but finite, it does not exceed a finite Capacity to have ſuch an univerſal Knowledge of the Hearts and Ways of Men, as is aſcrib'd to *Jeſus Chriſt*.

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Ans.

Answ. The Author should have told us, what Knowledge of Men's Hearts and Ways he attributes to the human Soul of Christ. Whether that unerring Knowledge of them by immediate Inspection and Intuition, which belongs to the blessed God, or only a Knowledge of them by Revelation, or by probable Conjecture. If the former, he runs his Head against all those numerous Texts forementioned, that appropriate that immediate Knowledge of the Hearts of Men to the blessed God, and plainly robs the divine Understanding of what the Scriptures celebrate as its incommunicable Privilege and peculiar Glory. If he mean only the latter, we are willing to allow as much Knowledge of that kind to the human Soul of Christ, as can agree to its finite Capacity: And though we cannot presume to define, how far such a finite Capacity can extend, yet we see no ground at all to extend it so far as our Author seems to do. As for Instance, We can by no Means allow, that the human Soul of Christ actually knows all the Words and Works, nay, all the very Thoughts, and Desires, and Purposes of all the Men that ever liv'd on this Earth in all the several Ages of the World. Nor does the Object of this universal Knowledge being finite, prove that it exceeds not the Capacity of a finite Mind. The World it self, as the Object of God's Power, is but finite; but yet it requires an infinite Power to make and sustain, and rule it. So though the World, as the Object of God's Knowledge be but finite, it may require an infinite Mind to comprehend all the Affairs of it. The Psalmist concludes from God's telling the Number of the Stars, Psal. cxlvii. 4, 5. how much more may we conclude that Understanding to be infinite, that comprehends at once, all the Actions, and the very Thoughts and Purposes, both of Angels and of Men, and that from the Beginning of the World to this very Moment? What higher Thing can we conceive of the divine Understanding? Nay, if the Author's Argument were good, we could not from the World, that is but finite, conclude, That the Maker of it is a Being possessor of infinite Perfections. But I take his Supposition to be so far from being true, that 'tis more probable that the minutest Creature as truly requires an infinite Mind fully to comprehend, as an infinite Power to make it.

But the Author pretends to prove, "That we must ascribe such an universal Knowledge to Christ as Man, Because all Judgment is committed to him, and that as the Son of Man. And this Kingly Office, by which he rules over all the World, and takes special Care of all his Members, as it necessarily supposes his Knowledge of the whole Estate of his Church, and every Member of it, as far as is necessary for the Discharge of that Trust, so it undeniably proves, this large Knowledge to be exercised by him as Man, however he gains it. For since this Office and Power are given, they cannot terminate in the divine Nature: For who can give to God any Dignity or Power, who has all originally in his own Being? It must be then given to the Man or human Nature only, and consequently he must have all requisite Abilities for it.

Answ. The Author's Argument turns upon a false Supposition, That this Authority to rule and judge the World is committed to Christ only as Man. And the Text he alledges for it, is so far from proving it, that it plainly insinuates the contrary. The Words are, The Father hath given him Authority to execute Judgment also, because he is the Son of Man. 'Tis not as he is the Son of Man (as the Author unwarily and groundlessly asserts.) This Authority of executing Judgment, is the Reward given to the Son of God, for becoming the Son of Man; and terminates upon the whole of his Person as he is God-Man, the incarnate Word or Son of God. And if we consider him as the Word made Flesh, and contemplate the Fulness of the Godhead as dwelling bodily in him, he appears every way

furnished with sufficient Abilities for the Execution of his regal Office, in the Administration of the Affairs both of the World, and the Church.

But against this the Author objects, "That if this Power be given, it cannot terminate on the Divine Nature; for who can give to God any Dignity or Power, who has all originally in his own Being?

Answ. Both the Father and the Son have the Power originally. And as it was the Son's voluntary Condescension to sustain the Character of Mediator, so was it the Father's voluntary Act to devolve for a Time, all the Exercise of this original Power of ruling and judging the World on his incarnate Son. That the Father judges no Man, but has committed all Judgment to the Son, is a temporary Suspension of his own Right, and therefore justly represented as a Gift: The Son acquires hereby no Authority that did not originally belong to his divine Nature, but he has this Dignity conferred on him by a voluntary Act of the Father, that the Exercise of his original Power is solely entrusted (during the present State of Trial) in his Hands. And this Privilege the Father was capable of giving, and the Son of receiving, notwithstanding his Unity in Essence with the Father.

And indeed, were this Authority devolved into the Hands of a meer Man, we could have no tolerable Ground to trust, either his Capacity of understanding all our particular Concerns, or of administering suitable Direction, Relief, Assistance, Comfort and Support, on all the various Occasions we have, of applying ourselves to him. 'Tis true indeed, his human Nature does act its Part in the Exercise of his royal Authority (though how far its Power, as well as Knowledge, extends, we cannot pretend to determine.) But 'tis the Perfections of his divine Nature, that are a full Security to our Faith, that he is capable of being (as the Author speaks) a careful, a vigorous, an effectual Head of his Body, and Ruler of the World.

For what the Author saith, p. 14. Column the 2d, it runs wholly upon his own Mistake of this Authority being committed only to Christ's human Nature, and therefore we are neither concern'd in the Objection he proposes to himself, nor in his Answer to it.

He has another Argument to prove, That this universal Knowledge belongs to Christ, drawn from his sympathizing Compassion towards his suffering Servants, and that arising from his own sufferings on Earth, Heb. iv. 15, 16. Seeing we have not an High-priest, that cannot be touched with the Feeling of our Infirmities, but was in all Points tempted as we are, let us therefore come boldly to the Throne of Grace, &c.

From thence the Author infers, "That since Christ can only sympathize with his distressed Servants in his human Nature, and cannot sympathize with them in their Troubles without knowing them, he must therefore know them all as Man, or otherwise this Ground of our Hope and Consolation in our Approaches to God is taken away.

Answ. All that those Words of the inspired Writer to the Hebrews does necessarily import, is only this, That our Lord Jesus having been in our Nature tempted, and had an experimental Sense of the Infirmities and Miseries we are liable to, is thereby the more capable of being a compassionate Intercessor for us. But they do by no Means import, that he has such a proper Sympathy with every distressed Christian, as we have with an afflicted Friend (for that were inconsistent with the perfect Felicity and Joy of his exalted State) and consequently they import not, that as Man, he knows all their particular Miseries. 'Tis sufficient, that his divine Nature discerns all their particular Distresses, and the Remembrance he has of his own sufferings in our Nature, renders him a compassionate and earnest Intercessor for them. Though should we allow such a Knowledge of their present particular Cases to be communicated to his human Nature by Revelation from the Divine, that is united to it, I do not

not see that this wou'd at all prove, that an universal Knowledge of all Things *past*, as well as *present*, may be communicated to his *human Nature*: And much less would it prove that *immediate Knowledge of Mens Hearts* to belong to him, which he so plainly ascribes to himself.

And for the *Authorities* he produces, he is hard put to it, when he is forc'd to shelter his own Opinion of the *universal Knowledge of Christ's human Nature*, under the Covert of that absurd Doctrine of the *Lutherans*, concerning the *Ubiquity* of it. They are Opinions well match'd, and we shall entertain both of them, when we have renounc'd our *Reason* as well as our *Bibles*.

And if he like their Company, we shall not envy him the Honour of ranking himself with those two *Patriarchs of Alexandria and Rome, Eulogius and Gregory*, if they could no better confute the *Agnoeta* than his Citations from them would argue they did: But since he directs us not where to find them, I shall not be at the needless Pains of seeking them to no Purpose.

But for the three later *Authorities* he quotes, *Mr. Baxter's* is nothing to his Purpose, as were easy to shew if it were to our present Purpose. What he cites from the *Author of the Future State, Limborch*, and from *Dr. Goodwin*, does not ascribe to Christ's human Soul so *universal a Knowledge* as he does, and particularly not the *Knowledge of Mens Hearts*, about which the *Dispute* chiefly lies. And those *Authors* never perverted their dubious Speculations about the Extent of the Knowledge of Christ's *human Understanding*, to rob him of the Glory of his *divine*; to which alone, as I have shewn, that glorious Character can belong, of *searching the Heart and the Reins*.

Having thus prov'd the *Omniscience* of our *blessed Saviour*, I proceed,

II. To examine, *What the Author has alledg'd to persuade us that our Lord Jesus does disclaim this Perfection.*

And for that he has but *one Text* to lay in the Balance against all the Passages I have already mention'd and vindicated; and that is from *Mark xiii. 32. Of that Day knows no Man, no not the Angels in Heaven, nor the Son, but the Father.* And to this Text the *Author* sily, but disingenuously adds, *The Father only*, when there is no such limiting Clause in the Text it self, but only at *Matt. xxiv. 36.* Now from this Text the *Author* thus argues, "Here the Son professes his Knowledge to be limited, and inferior to the Father's, *i. e.* The Son of the Father, or Son of God; the Son as above Angels in Knowledge, the Son in the most eminent Sense. Now how is it possible, the Son should be God infinite, and yet have but a finite Understanding? &c.

Ans. The *Author* is very unhappy in his arguing from several *Texts*, without ever consulting the *Context*, (as has already appear'd in several Instances) and he is so in this. For if he please to look into it, he will find, that our *Saviour* does there describe himself in his final Appearance, (when he shall come in the Clouds with great Power and Glory, and shall send his Angels to gather his *Elect* from the four Winds, from the uttermost Part of the Earth, to the uttermost Part of Heaven) not as the Son of God, but as the Son of Man, at *v. 26.* And therefore we have all possible Reason to understand him here speaking of himself at *v. 32.* under the same Character and Consideration. And even under that Character he may well enough speak of his Knowledge (in the divine Counsels towards Mankind) as superior to that of Angels, and speak of God as his Father, without speaking of himself as the Son in the most eminent Sense.

Our *Author* being aware of this, exclaims against this *Answer*, as a meer *Subterfuge*, and popular *Evasion*, which he intends to lay open the *Vanity* of. And to that Purpose he offers several *Remarks*.

Before he enters on those *Remarks*, he demands, "What Intimation of any such Distinction of two Natures, we can point him to in these Discourses of Christ?"

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Ans. I have already shewn him, That in the Passage he alledges against the *Omnipotence* of Christ, he does distinguish between his being the Son of God, and the Son of Man. That the Passage he alledges against his *absolute Goodness* is not to the Purpose. And for this alledg'd against his *Omniscience*, the Context clearly limits the Sense of it. And since the Distinction of his two Natures is elsewhere clearly asserted, (See *John i. 14. Rom. ix. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 16.* and several other Places) there is no need it should be repeated on every Occasion.

I come therefore to consider his *Remarks*. And, I. He objects, "That our blessed Lord Jesus, if himself was the supreme God in any Nature of his own, could not have said such Things in any consistency with Truth and Sincerity. He could not say, He did not know the Thing he did know. For tho' we should suppose that he consisted of two infinitely distinct Natures, and so had two Capacities of Knowledge; yet since himself includes both, it follows, that the denying of a Thing himself in absolute Terms, without any Limitation in the Words, or obvious Circumstances, does plainly imply a Denial of its belonging to any Part of its Person, or to any Nature in it. For tho' I may affirm a Thing of a Man that belongs only to a Part of him, yet I cannot justly deny a Thing of him which belongs to one Part, because it belongs not to another. As I cannot say, a Man is not wounded, because tho' one Arm be shot or wounded the other is whole."

Ans. I might here justly suggest to our *Author*, how unreasonable it is to measure all our Lord's Expressions concerning himself, by what may, or may not be said of a meer Man: For that is to beg the Question, and take it for granted, That there is no such Union of two infinitely distinct Natures in him, as we judge to be clearly reveal'd in the Scriptures. And the *Author* has said nothing to refute Arguments we draw for it from such Passages as those fore-mention'd, *John i. 14. Rom. ix. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Col. ii. 9.* where he is stiled, *The Word made Flesh, the Seed of the Fathers according to the Flesh, and yet God blessed for evermore, God manifested in the Flesh, one in whom the Fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily.* But to convince our *Author* that he is mistaken in his Supposition, That nothing can be deny'd of a Person that belongs to any Part of him, I shall give him a parallel Instance relating to our blessed Lord, in which he denies something of himself, without any express Limitation, which yet belongs to him, in respect of one of his Natures. Thus our blessed Saviour, speaking of his approaching Ascension at *John xvii. 11.* saith, *And now I am no more in the World, and I come to thee, &c.* And again at *Matt. xxvi. 11.* *Ye have the Poor always with you, but Me ye have not always.* Here our Lord, without any express Limitation, asserts, That he should, upon his Ascension, be no more in the World, and they should not have him with them always. But this is only true with respect to his *human Nature*, and *bodily Presence*, and by no means true in respect of his *divine Nature*, and the *Spiritual Energy and Presence* of that: For our Lord elsewhere tells his Disciples, *Lo, I am with you to the End of the World,* *Matt. xxviii. 20.* Nay, he has promis'd, That where two or three are gather'd together in his Name, he will be in the midst of them, *Matt. xviii. 20.* Nay, he has assur'd every particular Christian, That the Father and he will come and make their abode with him, *John xiv. 23.* So that our *Author* might, upon his Supposition, as reasonably charge our blessed Lord with *Insincerity*, in denying without Limitation, his being in the World, and with his Disciples, when in respect of one of his Natures he should be still in the World, and with them, as he charges him with *Insincerity* here, on Supposition he had a *divine Nature* in which he knew the Day of Judgment.

If the *Author* pretend, that in the Passages I alledge, tho' there be no Limitations in the Words, yet there is in the obvious Circumstances, which confine our Lord's Meaning to his *bodily Presence as Man*, I grant

it. And I have the same to alledge here; for the Context here does more expressly limit his Words to his *human Nature*, by giving him that Appellation of the *Son of Man* that belongs only to his *human Nature*, and cannot so refer to any *pre-existent Nature* that belong'd to him. So that the Words, as the Context leads us to expound them, are the same as if they had run, *Of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels which are in Heaven, nor the Son of Man* (himself, that shall then so gloriously appear) *but the Father*. And if the Author should here demand, how comes the *Son of Man* (if the Words be limited to him) to be put before the *Angels*, as superior to them in Knowledge? I answer, very justly; because, *as the Son of Man*, he had the Spirit without measure, and did transcend the *Angels* in the Knowledge of the Counsels and Will of God relating to the Salvation of the Sons of Men. He was in that Nature the principal Messenger of the Father, to reveal his Mind to us, not only above all other Prophets, but above *Angels* too, who never brought so clear and full a Declaration of the divine Will as he has done. It appears therefore, that our Lord does not deny without any Limitation, That he knew not, what he knew in another Nature: For the Context sufficiently limits his denial to his *human Nature*.

But our Author parallels the Case with that of a Man, who, having two Eyes, shuts one, and keeps the other open, and then denies, without Limitation, that he saw such a one with whom he convers'd, meaning, That he saw him not with the Eye that was shut, tho' he saw him with the Eye that was open. And as such a one would be taken for a Liar or Deceiver, so he thinks we virtually fix this Imputation on our blessed Lord, by supposing, that having two knowing Capacities, he denies his knowing that absolutely and indefinitely, which he does know according to one of these Capacities.

Ans. One would think, that the Author shut both his Eyes in drawing this Parallel: For his Argument proceeds upon a false Supposition, both in *Anatomy*, *Philosophy*, and *Divinity*.

He goes upon a false Supposition in *Anatomy* and *Philosophy*, That a Man has two *visive Powers*, (answerable to the two knowing Capacities, which we suppose in the *Son of God*, and the *Son of Man*, because he has two Eyes. But this, all Anatomists will tell him, is a palpable Mistake: For there is one common Sensory, where all the Nerves meet; and besides this, the Optick Nerves have a peculiar Meeting-place, long before they come at this common Centre. And therefore we understand from sound *Philosophy*, that tho' there be Variety of Organs subservient to Sensation, yet there is but one common Sensory or discerning Principle. It is not the Eye or Nerve sees, but the sensitive Soul that resides where all these Organs meet: And since that sees, whether one Eye or both be open, it were a down-right Falshood to say, I saw not a Man, because I only saw him with one Eye. But the Case is quite different where there are two knowing Principles, belonging to two different Natures or Minds, the one *Finite*, the other *Infinite*. So that the Author's Simile is lame of one Foot, or (to speak in his own Strain) winks with one Eye; for the Foundation of his Parallel fails.

But he goes on as false a Supposition in *Divinity*, viz. That our Lord absolutely and indefinitely denies his knowing the Day of Judgment. But this I deny, and till he tear the 26th Verse out of the Chapter, the Context will, against all the Subtlety he can use, limit our Lord's Denial to one of his knowing Capacities only, viz. To that which belong'd to him as the *Son of Man*.

But the Author argues, "That if Christ had a divine Nature and Knowledge, no doubt his Disciples (who, if any Body, must be suppos'd to believe it) directed the Question to that, rather than to the imperfect human Capacity. And yet in answer to it, he says, He knew not that Day, &c."

Ans. What he saith, no doubt of, I positively deny. That on Supposition the Disciples believ'd the divine Nature and Knowledge of Christ, they directed their Question to that, rather than to his imperfect human Capacity. For they knew, that Christ was in our Nature the Father's Messenger and Prophet, and as such, could declare no more to them, than what was revealed to his human Understanding, and what he had Instructions from the Father to make known to them: And therefore never expected to learn from him, all that the eternal Word knew, but only all that it pleas'd to impart to his human Understanding for their Instruction and Edification. They address'd their Enquiry to him as the *Son of Man*, and as a Prophet and Teacher sent from God, and expected to learn no more from him, than what he could in that Capacity inform them of. And accordingly, our Lord, in answer to their Question, tells them, and that sincerely, he knew it not. And does it argue any Insincerity in the *Man Christ Jesus*, to deny his Knowledge of it, because that eternal Word that was united to the human Nature (but yet was a Being entirely distinct from it, and could communicate more or less of Light and Knowledge to the human Understanding, as its own free Pleasure) knew it? There is no Shadow of Guile or Insincerity in it.

But the Author is pleas'd further to parallel this Case with that of a *Papish Priest*, "Who being examin'd about what he has known by Confession, saith he knows it not, and vindicates himself, by saying, That the Priest in Confession knows Matters only as God, and not as Man, therefore he may deny that he knew them, meaning as Man. This, the Author tells us, Dr. Stillingfleet censures as absurd, because to say he does not know, is as much as to say, he does not any way know. Now saith the Author, if this be a good Answer against the *Papists*, as no doubt it is, then sure 'tis so in the present Case. Therefore, when Christ says, he knows not the Day of Judgment, 'tis as much as to say, He does not any way know it. And consequently it is a vain Shift to say, It was as Man only. We must beware, lest we bring the Holy Jesus under such Reproach for Equivocation, as the Romish Priests lye under, and make the *Jesuits* themselves think they have a good Title to that Name, by imitating herein his own Example, which in this very Instance they alledge with so great Advantage, according to this Interpretation.

Ans. The Author is very unhappy in the Choice of his Parallels. For can any thing be more unreasonable and absurd, than to parallel a *Romish Priest* that has but one Understanding, or knowing Capacity, with our blessed Saviour, in whom we suppose two infinitely distinct Natures, and two so distinct Understandings, the one finite, the other infinite? Now I have shewn him the Case is plainly thus, The Disciples enquire of the *Son of Man*, as the great Prophet sent by the Father, concerning the Day of Judgment. (And I have already shewn him, That tho' we suppose them to believe the Union of his human Nature to the eternal Word, they had no reason to address their Enquiry to him under that higher Character). He, the *Son of Man*, and that most truly, tells them, he knew it not. For the *Man Christ Jesus*, to whom alone they address'd their Enquiry, no way knew it himself, and much less had it in his Instructions to reveal to them. And what tho' the eternal Word, which had assumed the human Nature, knew it? Is it any Equivocation for the *Son of Man* to deny his Knowledge of it, when he really never had that Knowledge imparted to him? Is there any thing in this Case parallel to the Priest's denying his Knowledge of what he does really know, and solving it, by ridiculously pretending, That in Confession he knows Matters only as God? when he has but one Nature, and one Understanding, and is no more truly God, than the Author believes our blessed Saviour himself to be. And therefore for the Author upon so groundless

an Occasion to tell us, That our Interpretation enables the Jesuits to alledge our Saviour's Example to countenance their vile Practice of Equivocation with great Advantage; argues so great a Defect both of true Judgment, and of that Humility that becomes any Man that opposes the common Faith of Christians, nay, so great Irreverence to our blessed Saviour himself, that I cannot let it pass without expressing some just Dislike of it: And hope the Author will, upon second Thoughts, wish so indecent a Passage had never slip'd from his Pen in so serious and weighty a Debate.

I proceed to his

2d Remark. "As a further Evidence, (saith he) that Jesus Christ intended no such Distinction of two Natures as is pretended, 'tis to be observed, That he puts not the Distinction between the Son of Man and the eternal Word (as some speak) but between the Son and his Father. Not the Son knows, but only the Father, *Mark xiii. 32. (a)* By which 'tis plain, he had no Thought of including any Person or Nature of his own among the Excepted. For whatever was not the Father, he says, was ignorant of that Day. Now 'tis certain, that in no Nature was the Son the Father, and consequently where none but the Father knows, none who is not the Father can be intended. And since our Lord was making an Exception in the Case, he would not have forgot to except the eternal Word too, if there had been such a divine Principle in himself, equal to the Father, and distinct from him. For 'tis a known Rule that an Exception from a general Assertion confirms it to other Instances not excepted.

Ans. The Father is here consider'd as the Dispenser of all divine Revelations: And under that Notion he is oppos'd, not to the eternal Word and holy Spirit that are one in Essence and Understanding with himself, but to those whom the Father employs as his Messengers to reveal his Will to Men. And so the Father is here oppos'd, not only to all Prophets, (by whom God spake at sundry times, and in diverse manners to the Fathers, *Heb. i. 1.*) but to the Angels, nay, to the Son of Man himself the greatest of Prophets, and the most eminent Messenger he ever sent. But our Author pretends, "That our Lord says, Whatever was not the Father was ignorant of that Day. Now he argues that in no Nature was the Son the Father.

Ans. Our Saviour saith no such Thing, as that whatever was not the Father, was ignorant of that Day: Unless the Author means by whatever was not the Father, the same as, whatever was a Being in Nature and Essence distinct from the Father. And then I deny, that the Son of God is in no Nature, the same Being in respect of his Essence with the Father. So that all the Author's Argument turns upon this, that that Phrase the Father only, at *Matt. xxiv. 36.* must of Necessity exclude, not only all whom God employs as his Messengers to Men (which we freely grant) but even the eternal Word and holy Spirit (tho' the same in Nature and Essence with himself.) But this I deny, and shall shew him in an Instance or two the Absurdity of. I might urge, *ad hominem*, all those Passages where the Unitarians will not allow the Word only, to exclude all others except the Subject to which 'tis apply'd. Thus when Solomon saith of God, *Thou, even thou only, knowest the Hearts of the Children of Men*; our Author himself presumes to except our blessed Saviour, tho' according to his Opinion only a dignify'd Creature. So when our Saviour saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, *Matt. iv. 10.* the Author, I presume, will freely own, that only there does not exclude our blessed Saviour, nor discharge us from our Obligation to serve him, tho' he be not in his Opinion the God there spoken of. But I shall chuse rather such Instances as are more unexception-

able. Thus, our Saviour saith, at *Matt. xi. 27.* None knows the Son but the Father: (For so 'tis should be render'd.) But would any wise Man from thence argue, That none that is not the Father knows the Son, and therefore, the Son (who is in no Nature the Father) does not know himself. So at *John vi. 46.* we read, Not that any one hath seen the Father, save he that is of God, he hath seen the Father. But will any Man thence conclude, That the Father hath not seen (or what is the same, has not known) himself?

To this the Author seems to reply, in what he adds under this Head.

"Will they say, That by the Father is meant all three Persons here, viz. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? What, can the Father, as oppos'd to the Son, be put for the Father and the Son? What woful Work will this make with Scripture, to suppose, that what are oppos'd to each other, do include each other, under the very Characters by which they are oppos'd. As well may they say, that in the Baptismal Form, by the Father, is meant Father, Son, and Spirit, tho' he be distinguish'd from the other two. And I should despair of ever understanding the Scriptures, above all Books that were ever written, at this rate of Interpretation. No doubt therefore, but the Father, as oppos'd to the Son, excludes all that is the Son, and then there could be no Son of God, that knew of that Day, which only the Father knew of, and consequently, no Son that is equal to God the Father.

Ans. All this confident Reasoning is built on this Mistake that runs thro' the whole, That the Father is oppos'd to the Son on whatever Account that Title is given to him. But I have shewn him the Context leads us plainly to expound it of the Son of Man. And if we so expound it, all his Argument is over-turn'd and lost. We understand by the Father the First of the sacred Three, the Dispenser of all divine Revelations, and not, as he pretends, the Father, Word, and Holy Spirit. But we suppose the Father here oppos'd, not to the eternal Word and Holy Spirit, that are One in Essence and Knowledge with himself. Not to the Holy Spirit, for he is elsewhere said to search the deep Things of God, and to know them, as the Spirit of a Man does those of a Man, *1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.* Not to the eternal Word, for he saith elsewhere, All Things that the Father has are mine; Therefore said I, he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you, *John xvi. 15.* The Father is therefore only oppos'd to all whom he employs as his Messengers, to Prophets, to Angels, to the Son of Man himself. And now, let the Author apply this to his Argument. No doubt the Father, as oppos'd to the Son, (i. e. to the Son of Man, as the Context expounds it) excludes all that is the Son, (i. e. all that is the Son of Man.) But if he infer, then there could be no Son of God, that knew of that Day, which the Father (as oppos'd to Prophets, Angels, and the Son of Man) knew of; Where is the Consequence? Or whence arises the mighty Difficulty of understanding this Passage according to our Interpretation, unless it be from his own violent Inclination to pervert it?

I come to his

3d Remark. "That Interpretation must needs be unjust, which, if admitted, will make all, even the most plain Speech uncertain, and utterly insignificant: As this Interpretation of Christ's Words would do. For I ask the Patrons of this Opinion, In what Words Jesus Christ could in brief have deny'd himself to be God most High, if he had a Mind to it, more plain and full than these, in which he saith, *He knew not all Things as the Father did, nor could do all Things, &c.* So I would fain have them shew me, what Words of that Nature he could have used, which the same way of Interpretation, as they here use, will not evade and make insignificant? For had he said and sworn in plain Words

(a) Here again he cites the Text wrong, for 'tis, Not the Son, but the Father.

thus, viz. I tell you, I am not the Supreme God, and none but my Father has that Glory, they would upon the same Reason have said, this was to be understood as Man only, &c. So that I may safely say thus much, That the blessed Jesus has declared himself, not to be the Supreme God, or equal to the Father, as plainly as Words could speak, or in brief express. And that this Declaration made by him already, is not to be evaded any other Way, than what will make it impossible his Mind should be declared by any Words he could have designedly used in the Matter. Let any one try this, if it do not hold true. And sure it must be an absurd Way of Interpretation, which leaves a Man no Opportunity or Power of Speaking his Mind plainly, so as to be understood.

Ans. I have recited this Remark at large, not so much for any Strength of Argument it contains, as to take this Occasion to remind the Author that more Humility would become him. For I do not altogether despair to make him sensible that his Confidence in this Paragraph is excessive, and beyond all due Measure of Sobriety and Modesty.

To this Purpose I must remind him that I have already shewn, that our blessed Saviour does not disclaim the Power of doing all Things, but on the contrary asserts it, when he saith, *That whatever Things the Father does, he does the same likewise.* And that he does not disclaim his absolute Goodness at all. And for this Passage that refers to his Omniscience, I have shewn him from the Context, it amounts to no more than this, *That the Son of Man knew not of the Day of Judgment.* And now our Author asks the Patrons of this Opinion concerning the Deity of Christ, "In what Words Jesus Christ could have deny'd himself to be the most high God, if he had a Mind to do it, more plain and full than these, and not to be evaded the same Way."

Ans. He might have done it most easily, had he said, *I am in no Sense whatever the Supreme God. I came of the Father according to the Flesh, and am only a Creature, and no way God over all, blessed for evermore. I never created all Things, nor have the Power in any Nature that belongs to me, of giving Being to the least Grain of Sand, or Spire of Grass, much less to all Things, visible and invisible, &c. God indeed searches the Hearts and the Reins, but I can no Way do it, and know them only by Revelation from him, or by probable Conjecture. God may indeed display his Perfections in my human Nature, but I am not myself God manifested in the Flesh; nor does any of those divine Perfections belong to me, much less does the Fulness of the Godhead dwell bodily in me. I am only the Word, as the Messenger of God, but never was in the Beginning with God, much less was God, or made any of his Works, being only a Man, and a Creature like your selves. Since you must worship and serve God only; you must by no Means give Worship and Homage to me, to whom no Respect is to be paid, but what must be given to a dignify'd Creature, and infinitely differs from what must be given to such an infinite Being as God, to whose Excellency and Honour I never pretended: So that you must, upon Peril of Idolatry, beware of honouring me (even in my highest Capacity) as ye honour the Father.* All those Passages of the Old Testament, which speak concerning the God of Israel, if any of my Disciples apply them to me, must be understood by Way of meer Accommodation, and not as implying me to be indeed that blessed Jehovah there spoken of. And now let the Author try his Skill, how he will evade all these Declarations against the true Deity of Christ the same Way that we evade this Text, that *no Man knows of that Day, or Hour, nor the Angels, nor the Son, but the Father?* We assert, that the Context expounds our Lord's Words concern-

ing him as the Son of Man. But for Christ to say, *That the Son of Man knows not the Day of Judgment,* is no Denial at all of its being known to the eternal Word to whom the human Nature was united. But these Declarations I have laid down are not to be so evaded; and yet the Author is the more concern'd to make good his Challenge, because the Scriptures have asserted the quite contrary to the foregoing Declaration, in the clearest and plainest Expressions; so that his Argument rather turns upon himself, and he will find himself harder put to it to shew us, in what plainer Words the Supreme Deity of Christ could have been delivered by the inspired Writers, than those I have now mentioned.

But our Author has not done. I therefore pass to his

4th Remark: "This Way of Interpretation (saith he) which they are necessitated to, for upholding their Cause, does plainly overthrow it, and may be turned against themselves. For it may be said, according to it, that Jesus is not God, without adding any more. Nay, a Man may say his Creed backward; and since the Apostles Creed takes Notice of nothing to be believ'd concerning Christ, but what belongs to his Manhood (which is very strange, if there were any Articles relating to his Divinity, which must needs be most important) One may venture to deny them all with this secret Reserve, viz. Meaning it of the divine Nature. So one may say, I believe not that Jesus Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost, &c."

Ans. The Reader must be put in Mind, that our Author has proved nothing by just Construction, but that the Son of Man denies his knowing the Day of Judgment. But will it thence follow, that we may say, in Consistency with our Opinion, that Jesus Christ is not God? By no Means: It will only follow, that we may safely say the Son of Man is not God. And under that Restriction no Christian thinks him to be so. So on the other Hand, it will not follow, that we may say, Jesus Christ was not conceived of the Holy Ghost, nor born of the Virgin Mary, nor suffered under Pontius Pilate, &c. But only that we may say, the eternal Word, or the divine Nature, was not conceived of the Holy Ghost, nor born of the Virgin Mary, &c. and under that Restriction the Assertion would be true. So that this Objection is not founded on our Way of interpreting the Texts which the Author refers to, but on his own Misrepresentation of it. But I must, before I dismiss this Remark, ask the Author, How he comes so confidently to assert, "That the Apostles Creed takes notice of nothing to be believed concerning Christ, but what relates to his Manhood? Does he think the Compilers thought him no more than a Man, when they say, *I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord?* Has he answered either Dr. Barrow or Dr. Pierçon on the Creed, who undertake to prove, that the Scriptures give him that Title and Character on the Account of his divine Nature? and who have shewn, that his being called the Son of God, on other Accounts, is common to him with others? And that so far as 'tis appropriated to him (by his being called his only, or only-begotten Son) it does as truly import his Participation of the divine Nature, as his being called the Son of Man imports his Participation of the Human? Or can he produce any of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, that understood that Title to be the Description of no more than a dignify'd Creature? Or has he answered what Dr. Whitby has produced to the contrary out of those Fathers? (a) Till he does this, one would think it would become him better to be a little more modest and wary in his Assertions. His last and

5th Remark is, "It weighs something with me in Opposition to this Way of Interpretation, that the

(a) See Dr. Whitby's *Treatatus de Deitate Christi*, p. 59, 60, 61, 62, &c.

“ Evangelists never take Occasion (when they had so many) to subjoin any Caution against taking Christ’s Words in their obvious Sense, when he saith, *He did not know the Hour, &c.* If our Lord had no Mind to reveal his Divinity (though I see not why he should deny it thus) yet sure the Apostles, who wrote so many Years after, and whom it concerned to reveal all important Truths most clearly, would not have failed to set the Reader right, by removing such obvious Objections as these are against the Supreme Deity of Christ; and saying, that he spake this only of his Manhood, That he knew not all Things, &c.

Ans. I have shewn him, that our Lord himself has in the Passage he so much insists on, saved his Apostles the Labour of adding such a Caution, by giving us the Caution himself. He has there in the Context describ’d himself as the *Son of Man that shall come in the Clouds with great Glory*, and said of himself under that Character, *That he knew not the Day and Hour* of that his glorious Appearance; but the Father, who has the Times and Seasons (of those glorious Events) in his own Power, Acts i. 7. And the like Caution, I have shewn him, our Lord has given against misunderstanding those Passages, which he makes Use of against his Omnipotence, John v. 19, 27, 30. So that what the Author suggests is most untrue, that our Lord, in the Passages he has alledged, denies his Divinity. And had the Author carefully examined the Context, in both Places, he might have found his own Objections obviated. But he seems to have been more intent on finding Objections against the Deity of Christ, than Answers to them, when he overlooks those that were so near at hand, and could scarce escape an inquisitive and humble Reader.

Upon the whole, I hope every judicious Christian will see, that these Objections against our Interpretation of the fore-cited Passages (though delivered in so magisterial a Strain, and in so insulting a Way) have much more of Noise and Shew, than of any Solidity or Strength in them.

Having finish’d this Argument for the Deity of Christ, drawn from the divine Perfections that are ascrib’d to him, and vindicated it from what the Author alleges to persuade us, that our Lord himself disclaims them; I now come to the

III^d. and last Argument for the Deity of our blessed Saviour, drawn from that divine Worship, which the Scriptures require us to pay him.

As to this Head, the Author tells us, “ He doubts not he could maintain his Cause with equal Advantage.” And accordingly he suggests a few Arguments to shew, “ That there is no Instance of supreme divine Worship given ultimately to him in Scripture; but on the contrary, all the Honour it assigns to him, is such as speaks him to be inferior to the Father, and dependent on him.

I shall therefore, in Vindication of this Argument for the Deity of Christ from the Worship due to him; First, Briefly state the Notion of divine Worship. Secondly, Shew that the Scriptures require us to pay such divine Worship to our blessed Saviour. Thirdly, Consider what Worship our Adversaries, and particularly the Author, seem to allow him: And here I shall both consider what he objects against our giving divine Worship to him; and shew also, how evidently that Worship he allows him entrenches on the divine Honour, upon the Supposition of his being only a dignify’d Creature.

First, I shall briefly state the Notion of divine Worship.

Now since Worship in general imports the Respect we pay to another on the Account of his Excellency and Superiority, divine Worship must import such Respect as belongs to a Being of such infinite Excellencies and Supreme Authority as the blessed God alone is possessor of.

And such Worship is either Internal, consisting in

those Acts of our Mind (such as Esteem, Reverence, Love, Trust, Subjection, Self-Dedication) whereby we acknowledge such infinite Excellencies, and Supreme Authority to belong to the Being we adore; or External, and this is partly express’d by our Words, in our Prayers, Praises, &c. partly by our Gestures, as Kneeling, Standing, Bowing, Prostration, &c.

Now such Worship, whether Internal or External, as does in the Nature of the Acts themselves, or by reasonable Construction, imply the Being we offer it to, to be possess’d of the Perfections and Authority peculiar to the blessed God, is divine Worship.

I come therefore,

Secondly, To shew, That the holy Scriptures require us to pay such divine Worship to our blessed Saviour.

To make good this Assertion, I shall briefly set before the Reader those Passages that require us to pay divine Worship in general to our blessed Lord, or to offer to him this or that particular Branch of it.

For divine Worship in general, all do agree, that the Honour due to the Father is divine Worship. But this Honour the Son of God challenges as due to him, at John v. 23. What the Author objects against this, I shall consider in its due Place.

Again, Divine Worship is in general express’d throughout the Scripture by our Calling on the Name of the Lord. Now we are not only expressly required to pay this Homage to our blessed Saviour, but ’tis made the Condition of our Salvation by him. To clear this we need only carefully compare Joel ii. 32. with Rom. x. 11, 12, 13, &c. The Prophet Joel speaking of the Times of the Messiah, concludes his Prediction with that gracious Promise; *And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be saved.* Now the Apostle Paul urging the Jews to believe on, and confess the Lord Jesus, in order to Salvation, cites two Passages to enforce his Exhortation; the one from Isa. xxviii. 11. *Whosoever believes on him shall not be ashamed;* the other from Joel ii. 32. *That whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be saved.* And that none of what Nation soever might think themselves excluded from this gracious Promise, he premises this encouraging Consideration, *That there is now no Difference between Jew and Greek, but the same Lord over all, is rich to all that call upon him,* Ver. 12. Now that ’tis the Lord Jesus whom he here exhorts us to believe in, and call upon, in Order to Salvation, is evident, not only from the whole Scope of the Chapter and Context, but particularly from the 14th Verse, *How then shall they call on him on whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher? &c.* In whom they were to believe as preach’d to them, on him they were to call. But they were to believe in our blessed Saviour: He therefore is the Lord over all, that is rich to all that call on him. And of him the Prophet Joel spake, when he said, *Whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be saved.* But all grant that Joel spake of the true God, and of that truly divine Worship which is his incommunicable Glory. That divine Worship therefore must be given to our blessed Saviour by such as expect Salvation from him.

And thus to worship our blessed Saviour by religious Invocation is so necessary and important a Duty, that ’tis made by the Apostle Paul, the essential Character and Mark of a true Christian. He directs his Epistle at 1 Cor. i. 2. To the Church that is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints, with all that in every Place call upon the Name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours. And to the same Purpose, ’tis observable, that the Professors of Christianity were known by this Description of them, they were such as called on the Name of our Lord Jesus, Acts ix. 14, 21. I know indeed some late Unitarians have pretended, that these Expressions may be render’d, Such as are called by the Name of the Lord. But this Criticism is so fully confuted by Dr. Whitby, both in

in his English Commentary on the Epistles, and especially in his Latin Treatise *de Deitate Christi*, Pag. 16, 17. by shewing that the Phrase is throughout both the *Septuagint* and the *New Testament* taken *actively*, and is vary'd whenever any are said to be called by the Name of another, that I presume we shall hear no more of it (a). And this one Passage at *Rom. x. 11, 12, 13.* is sufficient to put the Meaning of the Phrase past Dispute, especially if compar'd with *Acts vii. 59.* and with *Acts xv. 17.*

And what I have said concerning *divine Worship* in general, may be apply'd to the particular *Acts* of it.

As to *Acts of internal Worship*. Are we oblig'd to make the *Father* the Object of our Faith and Trust? So must we believe in our Lord Jesus, as well as call upon him, *Rom. x. 14.* And he himself requires it, *Ye believe in God, believe also in me, John xiv. 1.* Are we requir'd to love God above all? So must we love our Lord Jesus more than Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, House or Lands, yea, than Life it self, *Matt. x. 37.* Luke *xiv. 26.* So that if any Man love him not, let him (saith the Apostle Paul) be Anathema, Maranatha, *1 Cor. xvi. 22.* Are we requir'd to subject our Wills to the Authority of God? So must we be the Servants of Christ, we must take his Yoke on us, and do his Will, *Matt. xi. 29.* Col. *iii. 24.* Are we to live to God, as our ultimate End? So must we live not to our selves, but to him that dy'd for us, and rose again, *2 Cor. v. 15.* The Advancement of his Glory and Interest must be our principal Aim and Design. Are we to dedicate our selves by solemn Covenant to the Faith and Worship of the Father? So must we to that of the Son and the Holy Spirit, *Matt. xxviii. 19.* (Of which more afterwards). And sure we cannot conceive any more essential and important *Acts of divine Worship* than these.

And for *external Worship*, we may observe, That the several Branches of it are due to our blessed Saviour.

One eminent Branch of it is Praise and Thanksgiving. And sure I need not tell any true Christian, that this Part of *divine Homage* must be paid to our blessed Saviour. How frequently do such *Doxologies* occur in the *New Testament*? To him (saith the Apostle Peter, speaking of our Lord Jesus, *1 Pet. iii. 11.*) be Glory both now and for ever, Amen. So *1 Pet. iv. 11.* To whom be Praise and Dominion for ever. So *Rev. i. 5, 6.* To him that has loved us, and wash'd us from our Sins in his own Blood, and made us Kings and Priests to God and his Father, to him be Glory and Dominion for ever. And 'tis manifest that these *Doxologies* are parallel to those that are elsewhere offered to the Father. See *1 Pet. v. 10, 11.* *1 Tim. i. 17.* and *vi. 16.* So that if these very *Doxologies* are manifestly *Acts of divine Worship*, when used towards the Father, we have no reason to take them for any other, when offer'd to our blessed Saviour: Especially when we find both of them join'd in the very same *Doxology*, and have the same Blessing, and Honour, and Glory, and Power ascrib'd to them. And yet this all Creatures whatever are oblig'd to ascribe to him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever, *Rev. v. 13.* And again, all the Members of the Church triumphant, with concordant Heart and Voice, ascribe Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb, *Rev. vii. 10.* And that the Lamb must be there understood of the incarnate Son of God, and not of a meer dignify'd Man, is evident; because he is exempted from the Rank of Creatures, which are all requir'd to pay this Homage to him, and that on the Account of his having, in our Nature, been slain, and thereby redeeming us to God by his Blood, from every Kindred, and Tongue, and People, and Nation. Now if such *Doxologies* as

these, when used to our blessed Saviour, be not *Acts of divine Worship*; if the same Glory, and Praise, and Dominion, be not thereby ascrib'd to him as to the Father, they must be used in so vastly different a Sense, when apply'd to him, from what is meant when they are apply'd to the Father, that we cannot think it consistent with the Wisdom and Sincerity of an inspir'd Writer to use them promiscuously towards both, without giving us any Distinction in what a different Sense they are intended, when apply'd to the one, and to the other. Nay, without giving us any Caution against the Idolatry we are in danger of incurring, by addressing our selves to both in the same Language, if we put not a vastly different Construction on the very same Words, when us'd in our Addresses to the one or the other. For there is such an infinite Disproportion between the blessed God, and the most dignify'd Creature, that our religious Respect to the one and the other can never be fitly paid at the same time, in the same Language, and the same external Act of Devotion. The like Glory and Dominion can never be congruously ascrib'd to both. Our Language to them ought to put the utmost Difference that Words can make between the eternal infinite Excellencies and supreme Dominion of the one, and the finite Excellencies, and merely borrow'd Power of the other. But there is no such Distinction made, when we use the very same *Doxologies* to our blessed Saviour as we use to the Father.

Again, For Prayer, we are requir'd to address this Branch of *divine Worship* to our Lord Jesus. This is particularly included in our calling on his Name. And we have several Instances of the Practice of Christians being conformable to this Part of their Character, that they were such as call'd upon his Name. 'Tis the common Form of the Apostolical Salutations to wish Grace and Peace to those to whom they write, From the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, *Rom. i. 7.* *1 Cor. i. 3.* And sometimes they wish the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ may be with them (without any express mention of the Father, *Rom. xvi. 24.* *1 Cor. xvi. 23.* &c. It was to our Lord Jesus that the Apostle thrice pray'd, That the Thorn in the Flesh might depart from him, as appears by the Answer given him, *2 Cor. xii. 8, 9.* Nor ought we to forget the Prayer of dying Stephen, the first Martyr for the Christian Cause, whose dying Request to our blessed Lord bears a noble Testimony to this Truth, that this Part of *divine Worship* is due to him; Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, and, Lord lay not this Sin to their Charge, *Acts vii. 59, 60.* In which two Petitions he has manifestly express his Faith in our Lord Jesus, as both able to forgive the Sin of his Enemies, and to reward and crown his own persevering Fidelity. Nay, what greater Testimony can we have to this, than the Petition address'd to our Lord by his whole Church, with which the sacred Cannon is concluded, *Rev. xxii. 17, 20, 21.* I shall only add, That sometimes we find the Father and our Lord Jesus join'd in the same particular Petition offer'd to them; as *1 Thess. iii. 11, 12.* *2 Thess. ii. 16, 17.* Sometimes the Apostles beg such Blessings from our Saviour alone, *2 Thess. iii. 16, 18.* *Gal. vi. 11.* *Phil. ix. 23.*

And as our Praises and Prayers are to be address'd to him, so in those two Federal Rites of our Holy Religion, those two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, we are oblig'd to pay *divine Homage* to him.

In the former (viz. Baptism) we are as solemnly baptiz'd into his Name as that of the Father. And if our being baptiz'd into the Father's Name signify our solemn Dedication to the Faith, and Worship, and Service of the Father: (As the Christian Church has in all Ages understood this to be the Import of it:) Then our being baptiz'd into the Name of the Son and Holy Spirit, must imply the like Dedication to them. For had our Lord intend-

(a) The Reader that understands the Greek Tongue may consult the *Septuagint* in the following Places: *1 Kings viii. 43.* *1sa. iv. 1.* *1sa. lxviii. 19.* *Jer. xiv. 19.* *Jer. xv. 16.* *Dan. ix. 18, 19.* &c.

ed no more by this Form of Baptism, than our being oblig'd to profess the Religion which the Father (who alone is God) has reveal'd by the Son (who is only a Man) and confirm'd by his Power of working Miracles, which they suppose here call'd the Holy Spirit, how very easy would it have been to express the Matter thus? And how needful was it to prevent so pernicious an Error, as the Words (according to their Opinion) naturally lead us into, of taking those three into whose Names we are distinctly baptiz'd to be that One God, to whose Faith and Service we are in that solemn Institution devoted? Nay, how unreasonable does it appear, not only that we should be thus baptiz'd jointly into the Name of God and of a Creature, but into the Name of Miracles, or of the divine Power that wrought them? Why might we not as well be baptiz'd into the Name of God's Wisdom, or Truth, or Goodness, which are as illustriously display'd in the Gospel of Christ, as into the Name of his Power? Nor can this harsh and forced Exposition of the Form of Baptism be justify'd from the Israelites being said to be baptiz'd into Moses. If indeed they could produce us some such Form as this, by which the Israelites were in the same federal Rite, baptiz'd into the Name of God, and the Name of Moses, this would give some countenance to their Interpretation. Till then, we must tell them, being baptiz'd into Moses, is not the same Thing with being baptiz'd into his Name, and much less in Conjunction with that of the Father and the Holy Spirit, and that in the highest and most important Act of Devotion imaginable.

And for the Lord's Supper, we know 'tis the principal Design of it to honour our blessed Saviour by a grateful Commemoration of his dying Love, by the Exercise of a lively Faith in him, by a renewed Dedication of our selves to him as our Lord-Redeemer, and by a publick Ascription of endless Glory and Dominion to him in Conjunction with the Father. So that our blessed Lord Jesus is most eminently the Object of that Homage and Devotion which this holy Institution calls for. And can any serious Christian doubt whether the Celebration of it be an Act of divine Worship? It was probable in the primitive Church one stated Part of the Worship of every Lord's-Day, and was always accounted as truly a Part of the divine Worship they celebrated, as any other Act of Devotion whatsoever.

And for external Acts of Worship, we are as sure that our blessed Lord did, upon all Occasions, receive them, without the least Check or Caution to those that gave them. He said not to those that fell at his Feet and worship'd him, as the Apostle Peter did to Cornelius, Stand up, for my self also am a Man, Acts x. 25, 26. Or as the Angel to St. John; See thou do it not. Worship God, Rev. xix. 10. xxii. 9. Tho' many did thus worship him, not only during his Life, but his Disciples did it jointly after his Resurrection, and upon his Ascension. See Matt. xxiii. 17. Luke xxiv. 52. And if any should pretend, That our Lord did not reprove these Worshipers, because they intended only to pay him the Respect due to an eminent Prophet, but not the Worship due to God, yet sure, according to their Opinion, our Lord ought in all reason to have reprov'd and caution'd Thomas against the Excess of his Devotion, when in such a Rapture of Zeal he cry'd out to him, My Lord, and my God, John xx. 28. But our Saviour is so far from censuring his Devotion as irregular and excessive, that on the contrary, he approves and commends his Faith at Ver. 29.

And sure I need not go about to prove, That to give such divine Worship to our Lord Jesus was the universal Practice of the Christian Church in its first and purest Ages, as well as in all succeeding ones. Inasmuch as those of the third Age insist upon this as one great Argument to prove, That the Deity of Christ was the Belief of the two foregoing, viz. That our Lord Jesus had always been the Object of the Worship of the Christian Church, even while they openly profess'd to worship God alone.

And no wonder, that our Lord Jesus should be the Object of the Worship of the Christian Church, when the Angels of God (that heavenly Host) are requir'd to pay the like Homage to him. For so we are told by the inspir'd Writer to the Hebrews, Heb. i. 6. When God brought his only begotten Son into the World, he said, Let all the Angels of God worship him. And for those Unitarian Writers, they tell us, this Passage is cited from Psal. xcvi. 7. which is no way intended by the Psalmist concerning Christ, but used by him wholly on another Occasion; they do in effect tell us, That according to their Judgment, the inspir'd Writer mistook the Sense of them, and quoted them when they were no way for his Purpose; and for those of their Writers that tell us, This Passage is not taken out of the Psalms, but out of Deut. xxxii. 43. where the Septuagint has these Words, Let all the Angels of God worship him; and that this Passage refers only to Israel, the Meaning of it being only this, Let all the Angels of God minister for the good of his People Israel: I shall only observe, that if this be true, then this Passage is quite impertinent to the Scope of the inspir'd Writer. For if worshipping one be only ministering to him (as it must be if the Angels are said to worship Israel) then it can no way infer the Superiority of Christ above Angels, that they are requir'd to worship him in this Sense, i. e. to minister to him. Angels thus minister to us, who are Heirs of Salvation: But this no ways proves our Superiority to them; much less would it justify any one's saying, that they are oblig'd to worship us.

And as the Holy Scriptures thus require us to pay divine Worship to our blessed Saviour, so they ascribe to him those divine Perfections, and that supreme Dominion that are the solid Ground of it.

One Ground of divine Worship results from the transcendent Perfections of the great Object of it, such as his Omnipresence, his Omniscience, his boundless Goodness, and Almighty Power: Now these are in the Scriptures ascrib'd to our blessed Lord. He is represented as present in all Christian Assemblies, Even where two or three are gather'd together in his Name, he is in the midst of them, Matt. xviii. 20. He is represented as taking up his Abode in the Soul of every sincere Christian, John xiv. 23. He is describ'd as knowing all Things, nay, as searching the very Hearts and the Reins of every particular Member that belongs to his Church, John xxi. 17. Rev. ii. 23. He is represented as doing whatever Things the Father does, as able by his mighty working to subdue all Things to himself. He is describ'd, As the Lord over all, who is rich unto all that call upon him, Rom. x. 12. Nay, the Riches of his Goodness are unsearchable, and in him all Fullness dwells, even all the Fulness of the Godhead, that of his Fulness we may receive Grace for Grace, Eph. iii. 8. Col. i. 19. John i. 16.

Another Ground of divine Worship, is God's supreme Dominion. And as that is founded both on the Right of Creation and continual Preservation, and the super-added Right of Redemption; so the Holy Scriptures ascribe to our blessed Lord a sovereign Dominion founded on both these Titles. To him they attribute, as I have already proved, both the making and the upholding of all Things. And to prove, that they attribute the glorious Work of Redemption to him, were to transcribe a considerable Part of the New Testament.

I have the more largely insisted on this Head, both to shew, That we are far from going upon slight and rash Grounds in that divine Worship we give to our blessed Saviour, having the whole Current of the New Testament on our Side, as well as the universal Practice of the Christian Church; and to convince every serious Christian Reader, that this Controversy is not about a meer speculative Point, in which practical Religion is little concern'd, but about a Truth of great Moment and Consequence, the Denial whereof is highly injurious to the Honour of our blessed Saviour, by taking away the only solid Ground of that divine Homage and Devotion we pay to him. But it leads me to the next Head I propos'd, viz.

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Thirdly,

Thirdly, To consider what Worship our Adversaries, and particularly the Author, do allow him; and upon what grounds they do so.

Now as to this Point of the Worship due to our blessed Saviour, the Opposers of his Deity are greatly divided among themselves.

It was this that occasion'd so sharp Disputes between Socinus on the one hand, and Franciscus Davidis and Christianus Franken on the other.

Socinus thought all those Passages of Scripture which mention the Invocation of Christ, and ascribe such an Universal Authority and Power to him (*i. e.* that make him a God by Office or Deputation) were sufficient Warrant for giving him divine Worship. And accordingly Socinus speaks of the Opinion of those that denied divine Worship to our Saviour as a most filthy and pernicious Error, that led to Judaism, and was in effect, The Denying of Christ, and tending to Epicurism and Atheism. Nay, he goes so far as to tell us, he never knew any good and pious Man of that Opinion (a). Smalcus reproaches 'em as Persons of little Understanding, and puff'd up with a Jewish Spirit (b). Nay, elsewhere saith, They are no Christians. Niemojevius censures them as ignorant of Christ, who had never tasted how good and kind the Lord is: Nay, tells us, They are Pseudo-Christians or lukewarm Ones, not built on Christ as lively Stones (c). Volkelius largely proves such divine Worship to be due to him (d). And Wolzogenius asserts, It may be justly said, That they do not honour the Father, who deny the divine Honour of Adoration to Christ as he is Man: For we have (saith he) demonstrated that divine Worship which is due to the Father, is also due to Christ (e).

On the other hand, Franciscus Davidis, Christianus Franken, Glorius and others, deny'd that any such Divine Worship should be given to him, being plainly inconsistent with the first Commandment, and highly injurious to the Honour of God.

Now let us consider, What our late Unitarians think of this Dispute, and what their own Sentiments and Practice are in reference to it.

They do indeed tell us, "Some Worship is due to the Lord Christ. And therefore they distinguish between Civil Worship, due from Men to one another: Religious Worship, given on the account of a Person's Holiness or Relation to God, which as to the Degree may be more or lesser, as their Sanctity or Relation to God is greater or lesser; and this sort of Worship (they tell us) is due to holy Men and Women, to the Ministers of God, yet more to Prophets, and above them to glorify'd Angels and Saints: And divine Worship, which belongs only to God. And this (they tell us) consists in Resigning our Understanding to whatever he reveals, (And O that they would more conscientiously pay this part of Worship due to him!) and in Resigning our Wills and Desires to what he decrees and does, and in giving up our Affections to love him above all. It consists moreover in such External Acts and Significations of Reverence and Love, as we reserve only for him, and never give to any other. Accordingly they tell us, "No Texts of Scripture prove, That the Lord Christ ought to be worship'd with more than a Civil, or Religious Worship. And there are no Acts of Worship requir'd to be paid to him, but such as may be paid to a Civil Power, to a Person in high Dignity and Office, or to Prophets and holy Men, or to such as are actually possess'd of the heavenly Beatitudes. See 2d Collect. of Tract. Answ. to Mr. Milb. 49, 50.

And the same Writer relating the Dispute between Socinus and his Opponents, mentions the Answers his Opponents gave to his Arguments, without offering any Reply to them. On the contrary, he endeavours to shew, That Socinus's Opinion about praying to Christ was inconsistent with his Office as Mediator. But yet

he endeavours to clear it from the Charge of Idolatry, because he supposes they may pray to Christ, without ascribing Omniscience or Omnipotency to him. And upon the whole, he supposes they should in this Difference bear with one another's Opinion and Practice.

To the same Purpose, The Author of the Letter concerning the Unitarians, blames the Polonian Unitarians or Socinians, who excommunicated and depos'd from their Ministry such of their own Party, as deny'd that Christ might be pray'd to, or worship'd with divine Worship. And he commends the Moderation of the Transylvanian Unitarians, who admitted to the Ministry and to Professors Places, such as rejected the Invocation and Adoration of Christ, only obliging them under their Hands, that they should not openly oppose it in their Sermons and Lectures. And accordingly he alleges their Arguments against worshiping our Saviour, and answers some of the Texts alledg'd by others.

And whereas the late Archbishop Tillotson had insisted on this Argument for the Deity of Christ, drawn from the Divine Worship due to him, His Answerer tells us roundly, "They have wrote no Books these last seven Years, in which they have not been careful to profess to all the World, That a like Honour and Worship (much less the same) is not to be given to Christ, as must be given to God.

So that upon the whole, we may justly place our present Unitarians among those that deny divine Worship to our blessed Saviour, and that allow him no other Worship than what (as themselves tell us) may be paid to a Person in high Dignity and Office, to Prophets, or holy Men, or such as are actually possess'd of the heavenly Beatitudes, (*i. e.* to glorify'd Saints).

As to our Author, he does not seem at first View so very clear in delivering his Sentiments about it as might be expected. He saith indeed, "There is no Instance of Supreme Divine Worship given ultimately to Christ in Scripture. And so far the Socinians themselves will agree with him. For tho' they assert, that truly divine Worship must be paid him, yet they allow not him, but only the Father, to be the ultimate Object of it: And say, that the divine Worship paid to him does finally redound to the Glory of the Father, who has admitted him to a Participation of his own Honour. And yet there are other Expressions which seem to import, that our Author entirely falls in with those late Unitarians, who deny any divine Worship to be due to our blessed Saviour. For he tells us, "The Worship paid to him being grounded upon derived and borrowed Excellency, is not supremely Divine, and cannot be offer'd to the Infinite, Self-Originate, Independent Deity, without a great Affront, because 'tis not the most Excellent. From whence I think we may safely conclude, that our Author does not allow divine Worship to our blessed Saviour. For sure it were most absurd to call that Worship Divine, which we cannot offer to the blessed God without affronting him, and (as our Author adds) without mingling Reproach with Praise.

I shall therefore in order to the bringing the Debate of this Argument to an Issue,

I. Consider what the Author has offer'd against giving divine Worship to our blessed Saviour.

II. Examine the Grounds our Adversaries go upon in the Worship they allow to our blessed Saviour.

I. I shall consider what the Author has offer'd against our giving divine Worship to our blessed Saviour.

And the great Argument he insists on is, "Because the Worship given to him is grounded on derived and borrowed Excellency, which therefore is not supremely Divine, nor can be offer'd to the Infinite, Self-originate, Independent Deity, without a great Affront, as not being the most Excellent, Mal. i. 14. To praise an Independent God for

(a) Socin. Op. Tom. 2. p. 773. (b) Smalcus de Divin. J. Christi. cap. 24. (c) Socin. Op. Tom. 1. p. 398. and Tom. 2. p. 466. (d) Volkelius de vera Relig. l. 5. cap. 29. (e) Wolzog. in Matth. 4. 10. Jobn 5. 23, 24.

"Honour and Power granted to him by another, supposes a Falshood, and mingles Reproaches with Praise.

Answ. If the Author mean by *derived and borrowed Excellency*, such Excellency as the Supreme God communicates to a dignify'd Creature, I deny that the Worship which the Scriptures require us to pay to Christ is grounded upon any such *derived or borrowed Excellency*. 'Tis founded, as I have shewn, on the *divine Perfections* that are ascrib'd to him, and on that *Right of Creation and Redemption* that can belong to no meer Creature how dignify'd soever.

So if our Author mean by *Power granted to our Saviour by another*, any *Strength, or Might, or Authority* which does not originally belong to any *divine Nature* our Lord is possess'd of, and is only bestow'd on him as a *dignify'd Creature* by God as his Creator, I deny that the Scriptures assign any such Ground of the Worship they require us to give to our blessed Lord.

And accordingly, I shall carefully examine what our Author has alledg'd to prove what he asserts, That the Worship given to him in Scripture is grounded on such *derived or borrowed Excellency*, &c.

To this Purpose he argues:

"Thus our Lord requires Baptism (if that be an Act of immediate proper Worship) in his Name, because All Power in Heaven and Earth is committed to him.

Answ. I cannot well understand why our Author should make a Doubt of Baptism's being an Act of immediate proper Worship. Did any Christian before him ever doubt of its being a Sacred Rite, by which the Person baptiz'd is solemnly dedicated to that blessed God, into whose Name he is baptiz'd? And is not such a Dedication the highest and most solemn Act of Devotion that a Creature can pay to its absolute Owner and Lord? So that I cannot see why our Author should question it, unless he be afraid, that the granting it will strengthen the Argument we draw from thence for the paying the same *divine Worship* to the Son and Holy Spirit, as we pay to the Father. But the Author tells us, "That Christ therefore requires Baptism in his Name, because all Power in Heaven and Earth is given him.

Answ. Our blessed Lord alledges all Power in Heaven and Earth being given him, as the Ground of his sending out his Apostles to go and disciple all Nations, to whose Faith and Obedience he had a just Claim. And when he saith, All Power in Heaven and Earth is given to me, he does not mean (as our Author supposes) that he had no such Original Power or Authority over Earth and Heaven belonging to himself: For it did always belong to that *divine Nature* he is possess'd of, and is the inseparable Result of that *Work of Creation*, which I have shewn, that the Scriptures ascribe to him. But that the sole Exercise of this Power is now devolv'd into his Hand, and that he in the Quality of Mediator is the sole Administrator of the *divine Kingdom*; this is the Father's voluntary Gift, and this our Lord intends, when he saith, All Power in Heaven and Earth is given to me. But this does by no means imply, that the Worship of our Lord is founded on such a borrow'd Power as may be communicated to a dignified Creature: But on the contrary, that 'tis founded on the Authority that originally belongs to the *divine Nature* of our blessed Saviour, tho' the sole Exercise of it be by a voluntary Dispensation committed to him. Even among Men, two or more may be possess'd of the same supreme Authority, and yet the sole Administration be in the Hands of one. We had an Instance of this in a late Reign, when the Crown was settled on that illustrious Pair King William and Queen Mary, and yet the sole Administration was in the King's Hands. This is some Illustration of what I am here asserting, that tho' the Father and the Son are possess'd of the same Authority, yet the sole Administration of the *divine Kingdom*, during this present State of Things, may be by the Father's Consent in

the Hands of the Son. I know indeed, that we must not strain such Comparisons in our Application, so as to conceive of the Father and the Son as two distinct and separate Beings. But yet as their Participation of the same *divine Nature* does not take away that Difference and Distinction between them, which is more than nominal, so such Examples may help us to conceive the more easily of such a *voluntary Dispensation*.

Again, Our Author argues;

"Thus we must honour the Son, (as truly, not as greatly) as we honour the Father, because the Father hath committed or given all Judgment to him, John v. 22, 23.

Answ. The Text saith, That we must honour the Son as we honour the Father. And these Words (as truly but not as greatly) are only the Author's presumptuous and groundless Addition. Socinus his Followers did from these very Words justly conclude, that *divine Worship must be given to our Saviour*. For to give him only an inferior Religious Respect, such as we may give to a Prophet, or to a glorify'd Saint, or a most dignify'd Creature, is not to honour him as we honour the Father at all. For to offer such Honour to the Father, were to offer him the highest Indignity and Affront, and to reproach instead of praise him, as the Author well observes: So that we cannot honour him as we honour the Father, without giving him the same kind of Worship. And the Reason of our thus honouring the Son, which is there assign'd, viz. Because the Father judges no Man, but has committed all Judgment to the Son, is so far from implying, That we must not give him the same Honour or Worship as we give the Father, that it implies the quite contrary. For because the *divine Government* is in his Hands, so that he is the final Judge of all, and the sole Arbiter of our eternal Happiness or Misery; therefore truly *divine Honour* is due to him. And that this Judgment is committed to him, does not import, as I have already suggested, That the Right of Judging the World did not originally belong to that *divine Nature* he is possess'd of; but only, that the sole Exercise of it being in his Hands, is the Result of a *voluntary Dispensation*. And by the way I may observe, in Confirmation of this Exposition, That tho' the Man Christ Jesus shall be employ'd in judging the World, yet the Scriptures do also ascribe it to God, and assert, That the Lord himself will be Judge; That every Knee shall bow to him, That before him all the Dead, small and great, shall stand: And yet we are expressly told, The Father judges no Man, but has committed all Judgment to the Son: So that God judges the World, when the Son judges it. Nay, 'tis observable, That the Apostle Paul proves, That we shall all stand before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, from these Words of the Prophet, Isa. xlv. 23. As I live (saith the Lord) every Knee shall bow to me, and every Tongue shall confess to God. Now if the Apostle's Reasoning be just, our Saviour must be that Jehovah, and that God, before whom the Prophet had foretold that every Knee shou'd bow: For otherwise it wou'd no way follow, that because every Knee shou'd bow to God, that we must therefore all stand before the Judgment-Seat of Christ. So that without supposing him to be God, we must suppose the Apostle to alledge that as a Proof of his Assertion, from whence it cou'd be no way justly inferr'd.

Again, the Author argues, "Thus at the Name of Jesus must every Knee bow, and every Tongue confess him to be Lord, because as a Reward of his Obedience God has given him a Name above every Name; and 'tis added, That all this Homage is ultimately to the Glory of the Father.

Answ. To make this Argument of any Force against giving *divine Worship* to our blessed Saviour, the Author must prove, That this Text speaks only of such a Dominion as belongs to Christ, as a meer dignify'd Creature, and makes that the sole Foundation of the Worship that is to be given him. But this I deny. On the contrary, That every Knee shou'd bow, and every

Tongue confess to him, proves him to be that very God whom the Prophet *Esay* speaks of in the forecited Place, *ch. xlv. 23.* And indeed the former Verse plainly appropriates that Honour to the true God. *Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the Earth, for I am God, and there is none else, I have sworn by my self, &c. That to me every Knee shall bow, &c.* See *v. 22, 23.* And yet that the sole Exercise of the divine Dominion, and an Authority over Angels themselves, shou'd be committed to the Incarnate Son of God as Mediator, is the Gift of the Father, and the Reward of that Obedience that our Saviour had paid in his humane Nature. And our Acknowledgment and Subjection to that Dominion does redound to the Glory of the Father, whose Good-pleasure it was to reward the transcendent Love of the Son to us, by this Constitution, *That he the Father shou'd judge no Man, but all Judgment should be committed to the Son.*

But the Author adds, "So that however there may be the same common external Acts or Words, (such as bowing the Knee, and saying Glory, and Praise, &c.) used to God and the Mediator; as also in some Instances, they are given in common to ordinary Men; yet the Mind of a rational Worshipper will make a Distinction in his inward Intention, as no doubt but those devout Jews did, who in the same Act bowed their Heads, and worshipped both God and the King, *1 Chron. xxix. 20.*

Answ. For external Acts, such as Bowing, Kneeling, no doubt we may use them to express either Civil or Religious Worship. And therefore the Jews might both bow to God, and after that turn and bow to the King, the one to express their Religious Homage, the other their meer Civil Obedience. (For that they express'd both at once by the same individual Act of Bowing, is more than the Text asserts). And here, there was no Danger of any one's mistaking this Respect paid to the King for any other than Civil Homage. The visible Difference of the Objects does in this Case sufficiently distinguish the Nature of the external Acts. But for Words, and particularly such as the Author refers to, the saying, *All Glory and Praise, or all Glory and Dominion be ascribed to such a One for ever*, we would gladly see, what Instances the Author can give us in Scripture of such *Doxologies* being ever applied to ordinary Men, nay, or the highest Angel, or the most dignify'd Creature whatever. And much less can he give us one Instance in which God, and such a dignify'd Creature, are join'd together. Nay, for such external Acts as Bowing or Prostration, we may observe with what extraordinary Caution both good Men and good Angels refus'd them, when they seem'd to be given on any Religious Account, tho' they knew that those who offer'd them, never intended them as Acts of strictly divine Worship. St. Peter never suspected *Cornelius*, nor the Angel St. John, of mistaking either the one or the other for God, or of designing to worship either of them as God: Yet both express'd a Dislike of the external Homage, because given on a religious Account; and the latter advises St. John to appropriate all such external Religious Worship to God. And if our blessed Saviour was no more truly God, than either St. Peter or the Angel (as our Author must suppose) he should in all reason have been equally tender of the divine Honour, and refused all external Acts that look'd like religious Homage. Much more should he have rejected with the utmost Abhorrence and Zeal the irregular Devotion of such as joined him with the Father, in ascribing the same endless Glory, and Honour, and Power to the one as to the other. For here there is extreme Danger of such *Doxologies* leading us into what they account a pernicious Mistake, even to judge the Father and the Son equal in essential Perfections, when the same Glory is ascribed to both in the same Acts of solemn Devotion: Nor would a good Intention in the Worshipper at all excuse so gross Imprudence. A Man may bow his Knee both to his Father and to his Prince. But should he compliment his Father with the

same Royal Titles he gives to his Prince, and that in his very Presence, no good Intention of making a Distinction in his own Mind, would excuse his Indiscretion; no more than the Jews would have been excusable, if, when they bowed both to God and to the King, they had used the same *Doxology* to both, and said, *To God and to the King be Glory and Dominion for ever*; and gone about to justify it by pretending, that as rational Worshipers they made a Distinction in their own Minds, and ascribed this endless Glory and Dominion to the one and to the other in a very different Sense.

Having thus vindicated the divine Worship we give to our blessed Saviour, from the Author's Objection, I proceed,

II. To examine the Grounds our Adversaries go upon, in the Worship they pretend to pay to him.

Now tho' they are all agreed in assigning the same Ground of the Worship paid to Jesus Christ, viz. That Authority they suppose him advanc'd to as a dignified Creature, yet some of them think this a sufficient Ground for giving him divine Worship: Others think it does warrant only the giving him an inferior Religious Worship, but not truly Divine.

As to the former of these, there lies an obvious and insuperable Objection against their Practice, That to give divine Worship to a Creature, how dignify'd soever, is flat and plain Idolatry, if there be any such thing in the World. 'Tis the Scriptural Notion of the Idolatry of the Gentiles, That they served the Creature besides the Creator, *Rom. i. 25.* And that they did Service (or Homage) to those that by Nature were no Gods, *Gal. iv. 8.* And against this Idolatry we are solemnly caution'd in the First Command, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*, *Exod. xx. 3.*

Now to avoid the Force of this Argument there are two Things insisted on by the Socinians, which I shall briefly consider.

First, "They sometimes tell us, they own Christ to be the true God, as that is oppos'd to all false Gods, and that the most High God hath communicated both his Perfections of Power, Wisdom, &c. and his Authority to him, and therefore his peculiar Honour and Worship too.

Answ. That this is a meer Evasion will appear if we consider, that either our Adversaries take such plausible Expressions as these in their proper Sense, or not.

If they take them in their proper Sense, the Meaning must be, that the most High God has made the Man Christ Jesus, Almighty, Omniscient and Supreme Lord of all. But this is impossible, and no better than horrid Blasphemy. 'Tis to deify a Creature by ascribing infinite Perfections to a finite Being, and setting it in the place of the most High God.

But if they mean no more, by the most High God communicating his Perfections of Power and Wisdom to him, than that he employs his Power to execute what our Lord Jesus would have to be done, and reveals to him all things he is concerned to know: and if they mean no more by his Communicating his Authority to him, than that he has plac'd him in the highest subordinate Dignity; but that still Jesus Christ is no more by Nature than a Man, and no more possess'd of any divine Perfections, than Moses when God wrought Miracles by him, or the Prophets when God revealed Secrets to them, (as they must explain the Matter if they will speak consistently with themselves) then this no way takes off the Force of the Argument: For then still Jesus Christ is by Nature no God, he is a Creature, not the Creator: And to give him divine Worship, while he is such, is in the Language of the Scripture as manifest Idolatry as what the Apostle charges the Gentiles with.

But this leads me to consider their Second Plea for giving divine Worship to Jesus Christ, tho' they believe him to be no more than a Man, viz. That we Christians have God's Command for doing it,

which

which the *Heathens* never had for the Objects of their Devotion.

To shew the Absurdity of this Plea, I need only suggest;

1. That this Evasion supposes the Notion of *Idolatry* to depend on a meer *positive Command*, and not on a *moral*.

Whereas on the contrary, the Notion of *Idolatry* is founded on the *Nature of Things*. The Evil and Malignity of it arises from the manifest Unreasonableness and Incongruity of giving that Honour and Worship, which the *infinite Perfections* and *supreme Authority* of the *only true God*, claim from his *Creatures*, to a *Being* that is *incapable* of those *Perfections*, or of that *Authority*. There is such an *infinite Distance* and *Disproportion* between the *blessed God*, the *Creator* and *supreme Lord* of all, and the most excellent of his *Creatures*, how highly soever dignify'd, that nothing can be more absurd and repugnant to Reason it self, than to give the *Respect* that belongs to that *infinite and sovereign Being*, to any *finite Being whatsoever*. 'Tis most apparently equal and just, that *Beings* so infinitely different in their *Nature*, should be treated with the greatest *Difference* possible in the *Respect* that should be paid to them. To give the *infinite God* the same Honour we give to a *finite Being* is (as the Author well argues) to offer him the *highest Indignity and Affront*. And to give his *Worship* to such a *finite Being* is to *Deify* it, and make an *Idol* of it. So that God can no more be suppos'd to command us to give his *Worship* to a *Creature*, how highly dignify'd soever, than he can be suppos'd to command any other thing that is evidently *absurd* and *unsuitable* to the *Nature* of things. So that our *Adversaries* are reduc'd to a desperate Shift, when they are forc'd to deny the *Morality* of the *first Command*, which both the *Jewish* and *Christian Church* have always look'd upon as of *indispensible* and *perpetual Obligation*. And if this be all that *Socinus* meant in charging his *Brethren*, who denied *divine Worship* to *Christ*, with *Judaism*, viz. because they look'd on the *First* of the *Ten Commandments* as *Moral*, they need not be asham'd of the *Charge*, but acted far more consonantly to all sound Reason in denying *divine Worship* to *Christ*, while they thought him no more than a dignify'd *Man*, than *Socinus* in giving it. And indeed while that *Command* stands in the *Decalogue*, or till the *Socinians* have clearly proved the *Repeal* of it, they will never reconcile their *Practice* of setting up two separate Objects of *divine Worship*, (One a *God by Nature*, the other a *Man*, and a *God only by Office*) with the *Command*, of having no other *God before the Great Jehovah*. Nor will they ever prove the *Repeal* of it, while those Words of our *Saviour* stand upon Record, *Matth. iv. 10. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*. For they clearly demonstrate that the *Obligation* of the *first Command* is to us *Christians* *perpetual*, and never to be superseded.

2. If this Plea were allowable, the *Apostle* fixes his *Charge* against the *Heathens* upon a *wrong Foundation*.

He charges them as *Idolators*, because they worship'd the *Creature besides the Creator*, and because they served those that by *Nature* were no *Gods*. But if the *Socinians* be in the right, There is no harm in that at all: Because if *God* please to require it, They may give his own *Worship* to a *Creature* that is by *Nature* no more a *God* than those the *Gentiles* worship'd. (And they themselves suppose that the *Apostle* and the *Christian Church* gave it to *Jesus Christ*, tho' they apprehended him only to be a dignify'd *Creature*, and had *God's Allowance and Command* to do so.) He should therefore have only charg'd them with doing it without a *Warrant and Command* from the true *God*. Nay, whereas the *Heathens* did many of them pretend, That their *Inferior Gods* derived their *Dignity* from the *Supreme*, and had *divine Honour* pay'd them by his *Allowance*, the *Apostle* should have confuted this *Preitence*. So that according to our *Adversaries* *Opinion* and *Prac-*

tice, the *Apostle* makes that *their Crime* that might be equally objected against himself and all other *Christians*, nay, supposes it a *Sin* against the *Light and Law of Nature*, and not against any *positive Command*. As is evident from *Rom. i. 25.* compar'd with the foregoing *Verse*.

3. This Plea is inconsistent with *God's* own most express *Declarations*.

So that while those *Passages* stand in the *Bible*, That *God will not give his Glory to another*, *Ila. xlii. 8.* That the *Gods that have not made the Heavens and the Earth shall perish from the Earth, and from under these Heavens*, *Jer. x. 11.* (which *Prediction* plainly refers to the time of the *Gospel*) we can never believe, That *God* gives his own *Glory* to a dignify'd *Man*, and sets up one to be worship'd as a *God* that was so far from making the *Heavens and the Earth*, that according to the *Socinians*, he did not exist till about 1700 Years ago. Nay, we can never look upon the great *Jehovah* to be, as he so frequently declares himself, *jealous* in the *Matters* of his own *Worship*, if he admit a *Creature* to be his *Competitor* or *Associate* in it, *Exod. xx. 5.*

But because the *Author* seems rather to fall in with those *Unitarians* that deny *divine Worship* to our *blessed Saviour*, I shall proceed to consider

The *Opinion* of those *Unitarians* who think that the eminent *Dignity* and *Power* *Jesus Christ* is advanc'd to, is a sufficient *Ground* for giving him an *inferior religious Worship*, tho' not that *Worship* which is properly *divine*.

And against this, I have these two *Things* to offer.

I. If what has been produc'd from *Scripture* to prove that truly *divine Worship* belongs to our *blessed Saviour*, and that on the *Account* of the truly *divine Perfections* he is possess'd of, and of the *Right* he has to it by *Creation and Redemption*, hold good, then these *Unitarians*, who deny *divine Worship* to our *blessed Saviour*, are highly *injurious* to his *Honour*, in refusing to give it, and in putting him off with an *inferior* sort of *Worship*, even such as themselves tell us, may be paid to *Civil Power*, to a *Person in high Office and Dignity*, or to *Prophets and Holy Men*, or to such as are actually possess'd of the *heavenly Beatitudes*. For if an *higher Worship* be due to him, those that give him only an *inferior Respect*, do really offer an *Indignity and Affront* to him; and their *Worship* supposes a *Falshood*, and mingles *Reproaches with Praise*. (To use the *Author's* Expressions.) But,

II. On the other *Hand*, if our *blessed Lord* be no more than a dignify'd *Creature*, even the paying him any *religious Worship* at all does entrench upon the peculiar *Honour* of *God*, and is an *Invasion* of his incommunicable *Rights*.

To make good this *Charge*, I shall endeavour to shew, That the *Scriptures* appropriate all *religious Worship* to *God*, and allow of no *inferior religious Worship* to be given to a *Creature*; and that the giving a *religious Worship*, tho' *inferior*, to *Jesus Christ*, on *Supposition* of his being only a dignify'd *Creature*, will justify both *Pagans* and *Papists* in that *Demon Worship* which the *Scriptures* condemn.

1. The *Scriptures* appropriate all *religious Worship* to *God*, and allow of no *inferior religious Worship* to be given to a *Creature*.

By *religious Worship* (as oppos'd to *civil*) I understand such *Worship* as the *Religion* we profess directs us to pay to some *Inhabitant of the invisible World*. Now according to the *Christian Religion*, all *Worship* paid to an *Inhabitant of the invisible World*, is *God's* incommunicable *Due*, and is in the *Nature* of it truly *divine Worship*, whatever the *Intention* of those that give it may be. And this will appear if we duly consider, What all *Worship* paid to an *Inhabitant of the invisible World* supposes in the *Nature* of the *Action* it self. Now it plainly supposes the *Being* to whom we pay such *Worship* to be present with us, to understand the *Homage* we pay to him, nay, to know not only our particular *Case and Circumstances*, but even our very *Hearts*, and

and with what inward Intentions and Affections we offer such Honour and Respect to him. To pray to such an invisible Being, supposes that he can both hear and help us, and that he can judge of the Sincerity of our Devotions. Now such an unlimited Knowledge of human Affairs and Dominion over them, especially such a Knowledge of the Hearts of Men, and such a Presence with all Worshipers wherever they are, are Perfections that belong to no Inhabitant of the invisible World, but the blessed God. And 'tis because all religious Worship does in the Nature of the Act (whatever be the Intention of the Worshiper) ascribe such Perfections to the Object of it, that God has appropriated all such religious Worship to himself, and excluded all other Inhabitants of the invisible World from it. The Author, I presume, will not deny that the Jews understood this to be the true Import and Sense of the First Command, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*. They paid no religious Homage to any other Inhabitant of the invisible World, as reckoning it contrary to this first and greatest Precept of the Decalogue. And 'tis no less certain, that the Christian Church, in its first and purest Ages, were of the same Judgment, and disclaim'd on this very Account, the giving religious Worship to any but God (a). (As I might easily shew by numerous Citations from Justin Martyr, Origen, Clemens, Alexandrinus, and others, if that Matter were contested.) And the Judgment both of the Jewish and Christian Church in this Point, is abundantly confirm'd by our blessed Saviour himself: For he plainly declares his own Sentiments of the Latitude and Extent of this Command, when he repell'd the Devil's Temptation to fall down and worship him, with this Answer, *'Tis written, thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, Matt. iv. 10. For, whether we suppose our Saviour to refer to the Words of the First Command, or to those parallel Passages, Deut. vi. 13, 14. Deut. x. 20. 'tis evident, that he has determin'd this to be the Sense of them, *That all religious Worship and Homage must be given only to God*. And whereas they wou'd evade this plain Declaration, by pretending, that such Prohibitions of worshiping any other but God, must be understood of that supreme and absolute Worship that is due only to God, but not of an inferior and relative Worship, which may (as they pretend) be given to a dignify'd Creature: The Vanity of this Evasion appears from this obvious Consideration, that if this Pretence would hold, our Saviour's Answer would no way repel the Force of the Devil's Temptation: For the Devil did not claim supreme and truly divine Worship; but such an inferior Respect as was due to one, who was constituted a God over this lower World, and to whom a Power over all the Kingdoms of it was deliver'd, so that he could give it to whom he would. Nay, he demands only a relative Worship, which ultimately referr'd to the Honour of the Giver. See Luke iv. 6. And accordingly he offer'd it to our Lord Jesus on Condition of his falling down before him. Now our blessed Saviour does not alledge as a Reason of his rejecting his Proposal, *That the Devil did but falsely pretend to any such Power*, all the Power he had being only by Usurpation and divine Sufferance, for wise and holy Ends. (Tho' he might justly have alledg'd this, and should, in all Reason, according to our Adversaries, have insisted on this Ground for repelling the Temptation.) But he rejects it, by telling him, *he demanded what was due to God alone*, and was his incommunicable Right; and what Satan could lay no Claim to, had his Pretensions of such a Power being deliver'd to him been never so true. But now, according to the Author's Opinion, our blessed Saviour mis-applies this Passage from the Old Testament. For it wou'd not follow, that because we must worship and serve God only (i. e. with supreme absolute Worship) that we may not there-

fore fall down to, and pay an inferior religious Worship to a Creature whom God himself has exalted to high Dignity and Office. For, according to them, 'tis upon this very Ground that we must pay religious Worship to our blessed Saviour himself, and the Devil here desir'd it on no other Ground. So that if this Distinction of religious Worship into supreme and inferior, absolute and relative, be allowable, and we may give the latter to a dignify'd Creature, provided we reserve the former for God: Our Saviour here gave a very weak insufficient Answer, and the Devil was a weaker Disputant, that could not enforce his Temptation by the Use of so obvious a Distinction. Whereas if the Words our Lord cites, do appropriate all religious Worship to God, then indeed they are every way fit to silence the Tempter, by shewing the Unlawfulness of what he demanded, even tho' his Pretensions had been never so just. Nay, 'tis observable, that to the Passage, which our Saviour cites out of the Pentateuch, he himself has added this exclusive Particle only. Moses had said, *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him*. And our Lord, to render these Words more forcible against the Devil's Temptation, cites them thus, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*: So that if we will stand to his Determination, these Words do appropriate all religious Worship to God, and suppose the giving it to a Creature (tho' only on the Account of a Power or Authority deriv'd from him, and therefore inferior and relative) to be a Violation of the divine Law.

2. The giving religious Worship to Jesus Christ, tho' only inferior and relative, on the Supposition of his being only a dignify'd Creature, will clear both Pagans and Papists, in their Worship of Creatures, from the Charge of Idolatry.

The Apostle charges this Crime upon the Heathens, because they worship'd the Creature besides the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Amen, (i. e. who is the sole Object of our religious Adoration and Praise) Rom. i. 25. And because they served those that by Nature were no Gods, Gal. iv. 8.

Let us consider, What the Heathens reply to this Charge, when manag'd against them by those Fathers that wrote in Defence of the Christian Cause.

To this Purpose they alledge,

"That those Creatures they worship'd were *dii minores* & inferioris nota, a middle sort of Gods of inferior Note, made and advanc'd to that Rank of Gods by the supreme God, who was the God of Gods, the King of those Gods and Goddesses, that depended on him for all the Dignity they enjoy'd; and that these inferior Gods fell so far short of the supreme Deity, that they were rather to be reckon'd among Men. That the Worship of these inferior Gods tended to the Honour of the Supreme, from whom they deriv'd this Dignity, and to whom it must needs be acceptable and pleasing to pay them this Respect. This Worship being agreeable to his Orders and Council, and given on the Account of that Power and Authority he has vested them with, and of those Benefits and Blessings he has made them the Conveyers and Dispensers of (b).

Now 'tis manifest, that these their Sentiments concerning inferior Gods are very agreeable to those our late Unitarians entertain concerning our blessed Saviour, whom they suppose to be only a Creature, but constituted a God, by being advanc'd to high Dignity by the supreme God, who has therefore appointed him to be worship'd; the Worship we pay to him redounding to the Glory of the supreme God, from whom he derives his Power, and on whom he depends for all the Dignity he enjoys.

How then will our Adversaries justify the Apostle's Charge against the Heathens, without exposing their

(a) The learned Reader may see this fully prov'd by Dr. Whitby, in his *Treatatus de Deitate Christi*, Pag. 92, 93, 94, &c.

(b) Senec. Ep. 100. Justin. Mart. Exhort. ad Gr. p. 19, 22. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 9. c. 3. l. 4. c. 9. l. 8. c. 6. Lect. l. 1. c. 5. Celsus ap. Orig. l. 8. p. 381. & 421. Hierocl. in Carm. Pyth. p. 9, 10, 18. Celsus ap. Orig. l. 7. p. 377. Plato in Phædro, p. 246. Apuleius de Deo Socr. p. 45. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 631.

own Cause? For 'tis obvious, that the *Heathens* might retort on the *Apostle*, if he were of the same Mind with our late *Unitarians*, how come you to reproach us with *worshipping a Creature beside the Creator*? Do not you worship such a *Creature* too? Do you not suppose him constituted a *God by Office*, and that the *Worship* you give him tends to the Honour of the *God of Gods*, by whom he is advanc'd to that Dignity? How comes that to be *Idolatry* in us that is none in you? Again, How come you to impute it as a Crime to us that we serve those that by *Nature* are no *Gods*? Do not you serve, and pay religious Homage to one that is no more a *God by Nature and Essence*, than those we adore? Even to one that is only a *God by Courtesy*, and depends on the *supreme God* for all the Power he is vested with, and all the Honour that's paid him?

And if it be said, That *Christians* have the true *God's Command* for worshipping *Christ*, but the *Heathens* had not for worshipping their *inferior Gods* (a), the Answer is obvious, That the *Apostle* should then have fixt his Charge on their doing it, *without such a Command* and Warrant from the true *God*, and never made it their Crime to worship the *Creature beside the Creator*, and to serve such as are not *Gods by Nature*: For this, it seems, may be very lawful and commendable, when we have *God's Allowance* or Command for it; and is only sinful when we do it *without his Order*. So that all the Fault of the *Heathens* was, that they were mistaken, in pretending to such an Order from the *supreme God*, when they really had it not. And what will this lame Excuse it self signify to those *Unitarians*, that tell us, "We have no such Command to worship *Christ* himself, tho' they think it may be lawfully done, and dare not censure those that do it? And as for those other Excuses alledg'd by the fore said Author of the *Defence of the History of the Unitarians*, viz. "That the *Heathens* set up the *Creature* more than the *Creator*; That they set up an infinite Number of *Gods* who had been meer Men, and that their *Worship* is terminated on them, and so they made true *Gods of Men*: It appears by what I have already alledg'd from the Patrons of *Demon-Worship* among the *Gentiles*, that they disown'd all this; they did not set up *Creatures* above the *Creator*, (which were *Nonsense* as well as *Idolatry*) nor did they suppose their decess'd deify'd *Heroes* to be *Gods* in any other Sense than our *Adversaries* suppose the *Man Christ Jesus* to be. Nor did they so terminate their *Worship* on them, as not to refer it to the Honour of the *God of Gods*, from whom they suppos'd them to receive their Power and Dignity. So that our *Unitarians* have no way of shewing the Disparity between their Practice and that of the *Gentiles*, but by imputing to them what themselves openly disown. Whereas it appears, their Cause is the same by their making use of the same Evasions and Distinctions in defence of it.

Upon the like Grounds, we charge those of the *Romish Church* as entrenching on the incommunicable Rights and Honour of *God* in their *Invocation of Angels and glorify'd Saints*.

But our Charge is not well grounded, if the Principles of our late *Unitarians* be true. For the *Papists* may defend their Practice by the same Principles. They assign the like Grounds of their religious *Worship* to them, "That *Angels and glorify'd Saints* are advanc'd to great Dignity and Authority; That they have both vast Knowledge and vast Power communicated to them; That the *Worship* they give them is only inferior and relative, and redounds to the Honour of that *supreme God*, who has rais'd them to this Dignity and Glory. And if these be solid Grounds of giving an inferior religious *Worship* to a *Creature*,

what Ground is there to reproach their *Worship* as injurious to the Honour of *God*, and an Invasion of his peculiar Rights? So that our late *Unitarians* must, in this Point, give up the Cause to them, and must never pretend to charge their Practice as idolatrous. And accordingly, the *Apology*, which the Author of the *Defence of the brief History*, &c. makes for his Party is very lame. For all he has to say in the Matter is, "That the *Papists* have no Texts of Scripture which require them to worship *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Francis*. Were they content (saith he) to keep within the Bounds of Respect and Honour due to glorify'd *Saints*, they should be guilty of no Fault. But to pray to them as *Mediators* both of Intercession and Merit, to dedicate Churches to them, to kneel down before their Images, &c. This approaches too near to *Idolatry*.

Ans. We are not here enquiring whether the *Papists* Invocation of *Angels and Saints* be commanded or uncommanded, or in what Particulars some may exceed others in it: But whether it be in it self injurious to the Honour of *God*, and justly commendable on that Account. And if it be not injurious to *God's Honour*, to give religious *Worship* to a dignify'd *Creature*, how can it be prov'd to be so, to give it good *Angels and glorify'd Saints*? Not only does *Socinus* assert, That communicated Excellency is a just Ground of *Worship*, but even the Author of the *Defence* tells us, "That as there are divers Orders of *Creatures*, so they are to be honour'd in Proportion to their Dignity. And that if the *Papists* would keep within the Bounds of Respect and Honour due to glorify'd *Saints*, they should be guilty of no Fault. Now the *Papists* do not deny to *Jesus Christ* a higher Honour than they give to *Angels and glorify'd Saints*. What wrong then do they to the Honour of *God*, in praying to an *Angel* or a *Saint*, if praying to a *Creature* be not injurious to his Glory? If it be said, That their praying to an *Angel* or *Saint*, does in the Nature of the Action it self suppose that *Angel* or *Saint* to be present with him that prays, to understand his particular Case, nay, to know the inward Intentions and Affections of his Heart, and is therefore injurious to the Honour of *God*, by ascribing to a finite *Creature*, that unlimited Presence and Knowledge that belongs to *God* alone, and is by the Scriptures (as I have already shewn) frequently appropriated to him; then the same Charge may be brought against all religious *Worship* to *Jesus Christ*, on Supposition of his being only a dignify'd *Creature*; because on this Supposition, it ascribes to him the peculiar Excellencies of the divine Nature. Nay, if *Socinus* himself (b) and many of his Followers, besides all the Followers of *Franciscus Davidis*, &c. be in the right, That we have no Command in Scripture for praying to *Christ*, their Cause, and that of the *Papists*, in the Invocation of *Angels and Saints*, is every way built on the same Foundation, and must stand or fall with it.

But if the Grounds they go upon be true, what tolerable Reason can be given, why the *Angel* should so strictly forbid and caution *St. John* when he fell down to worship him, See thou do it not. *Worship God*, Rev. xix. 10. and xxii. 9. Can we think that *St. John*, who knew him to be an *Angel*, intended him any more than an inferior *Worship*? (And if such *Worship* be allowable to an *Angel* at any time, 'tis when he appears and is present.) Why then should the *Angel* warn him against it, and that by insinuating to him that it would be injurious to *God*, whom alone he was to pay religious Homage to?

Upon the whole, the Opinion and Practice of the *Unitarians*, plainly re-advances that *Creature-Worship* which it was one great Design of the Christian Religion to overturn and abolish. It undermines that

(a) Which is the best Excuse made for them by the Author of the *Defence of the Hist. of the Unit.* p. 54.

(b) Tho' in this (as *Niemojevius* justly tells him) he had ruin'd his own Cause, by giving those who oppos'd that divine *Worship* of *Christ* which he pleaded for, the greatest Advantage against him.

grand Article of the everlasting Gospel that was to be preach'd to every Nation, and Kindred, and Tongue, and People; Fear God, and give Glory to him, and the Hour of his Judgment is come, and worship him that made Heaven, and Earth, and the Sea, and the Fountains of Waters, Rev. xiv. 6, 7. by setting up as an Object of religious Worship a Creature to whom neither the divine Perfections nor Works belong.

Having thus clear'd the Arguments for the Deity of Christ, drawn from the divine Titles, Perfections, Works and Worship which the Scriptures ascribe to him, from the Author's Exceptions; it only remains, that I answer those few straggling Objections that he has confusedly thrown together at the End of his Book.

The most material of them is what occurs, Pag. 17, 18. where he argues against the supreme Deity of Christ from its being inconsistent with his Office as Mediator.

To this Purpose he argues, "If I must have one who is supreme God and Man for my Mediator with God, then when I address'd to Jesus Christ as the supreme God, where is the God-man that must be my Mediator with him? To say he mediates with himself, is the same as to say, I must go to him without a Mediator, &c. But the Scriptures speak of a Mediator without a God; and who is this Mediator, if we go to Jesus Christ as the ultimate Object?"

Ans. All the Force of this Objection lies in the Obscurity and Ambiguity of it. And I need do no more to discover the Weakness of it, than to distinguish those several Acts of Mediation which the Author's Objection confounds, and to shew what distinct Part his divine and human Nature act therein.

We believe, as well as the Author, *That there is one God, and one Mediator with God, the Man Christ Jesus*, 1 Tim. ii. 4. And to understand his Mediation aright, we must consider, that it may either respect his Priestly or Kingly Office.

As his Mediation respects his Priestly Office, (and to this alone the Author's Objection refers) there are two Branches of it; the one perform'd on Earth, the other in Heaven. On the Earth he offer'd himself an atoning Sacrifice for us; In Heaven he appears for us in the Presence of God as our Intercessor and Advocate. Now we grant it was the Man Jesus Christ, that became by his voluntary Sufferings and Death our atoning Sacrifice. And to this Act of Mediation the eternal Son of God concurr'd, by freely delivering up that human Nature he had assum'd to so stupendous Sufferings, and by giving a sufficient Dignity and Merit to those Sufferings, to render them a valuable Consideration for our Impunity. And on that Account the Apostle Paul speaks of the Church of God as purchas'd with his own Blood, Acts xx. 28. Again, We grant that the Man Jesus Christ does now appear in the Presence of God, as our Intercessor and Advocate with the Father. But we believe, that the eternal Word to which that human Nature was united, as it gave a sufficient Value to his Sufferings, so it consequently gives a sufficient Efficacy to his Intercession.

Now we may justly enquire of the Author, why the Man Jesus Christ should be less capable of either offering himself an atoning Sacrifice, or of appearing in the divine Presence as our successful Advocate with the Father on the Account of his Union to the eternal Word? And why may not the Man Christ Jesus, in such a Concurrency with the eternal Son of God, thus mediate with the Father, who (as I have before suggested) does, in this Oeconomy, sustain the Character of supreme Lawgiver, without supposing that God mediates with himself; if by Mediation the Author intend either dying as our Propitiation, or appearing in the divine Presence in the heavenly Sanctuary with the Blood of Atonement? For these are Acts in which the human Nature is the immediate Principle and Agent, tho' they are ascrib'd to the Person of our Lord Jesus. And sure we may easily con-

ceive how these Acts should derive a higher Value from the Union of that human Nature to the eternal Word. But against this the Author objects;

"If it be said, his human Nature only acts in this Mediation, tho' as united to the divine, I answer, That as this is still to make Christ Mediator with himself, so the human Nature is not God-man. And if the Man or human Nature alone be capable of doing the Part of a Mediator, then 'tis not necessary that Jesus Christ should be more than a Man inhabited by, and related to God, in order to that Office. Nor may it be said, That the Union to the divine Nature, gives an infinite Efficacy to those Acts, of which the human only is the Principle; for unless by that Union the human Nature was turn'd into an infinite or divine Nature, its Acts can no more be reckon'd intrinsically and properly infinite, than his Body or Understanding are infinite, because so united to an infinite Nature."

Ans. We do not say, *The human Nature only acts in this Mediation*, because we suppose the divine Nature of our Lord to consent to, and communicate a Dignity and Value to the Sufferings of his human, and to contribute thereby to the Prevalency of his Intercession. And it will not thence follow, that our Lord Jesus mediates with himself, but only with the Father. Nor will it follow, that the Mediator is not God as well as Man, or that the human Nature alone can do the Part of a Mediator, and that therefore it is not necessary that Jesus Christ should be more than a Man inhabited by, and related to God, in order to that Office. A Prophet, or Apostle, nay, every good Man, is inhabited by, and related to God: And yet, supposing them as sinless as our Lord himself, the Blood of such a one could never have been a valuable Consideration for the Redemption of Mankind; it could never have been an effectual Propitiation for Sin, or a sufficient Ransom to purchase the Church of God: And we could have had no solid Ground to depend upon any Intercession in the Virtue of it. But we can depend on the Sacrifice and Intercession of that human Nature which the eternal Son of God assum'd, and to whose Sufferings it could consent and communicate a sufficient Value for answering all the Ends of the divine Government. And we do not, as the Author pretends, assert, *That the Acts of Christ's human Nature become properly and intrinsically infinite by its Union to the divine* (for that's impossible); but only that hereby they become of infinite or unconceivable, and all-sufficient Value. The Dignity of our Lord's divine Person giving a Value to those Acts of which the human Nature is the immediate Principle.

But our Author pretends to demonstrate, *That Christ's human Nature can never be an effectual Mediator* (according to our Judgment) even tho' personally united to the divine. Because, (he saith) "We deny this human Nature so united to have the Knowledge of the secret mental Prayers, the inward Desires and Distresses of all Christians, or to know any one's Heart. And how then can he be a compassionate Intercessor in Cases that he knows nothing of? Or how can he have a fellow-feeling of their Sufferings, which he knows not that they feel at all? What Comfort is there in this Account of Christ's Mediation?"

Ans. Either the Author speaks of an immediate Knowledge of our mental Prayers; of our inward Desires, and our very Hearts; or a Knowledge by Revelation. As to the former, I have shewn him, That the Scriptures every where appropriate it to God. As to the latter, Why may not we suppose as much of this kind reveal'd to Christ's human Nature, and that in consistency with our Doctrine, as he? Will Christ's human Nature have the less reveal'd to it, because 'tis personally united to the eternal Word? So that if his human Nature be capable of such an universal Knowledge of all our particular Cases by Revelation, we have as much Reason to suppose it as he, and are willing

willing to suppose as much Knowledge of that kind communicated to it by Revelation, as can agree to the finite Capacity of his human Soul. If it be not, our Author is as much concern'd to answer this Objection as we are. And upon this Supposition, it must be answer'd by asserting, That as by one and the same Act he offer'd himself a Sacrifice for all, the Virtue whereof is applicable to every true Christian in particular: So his Intercession, so far as his human Nature acts therein, consists in his appearing in the divine Presence in the heavenly Sanctuary, (as the High-Priest did in the Holy of Holies, with the Names of the Twelve Tribes engraven on his Breast-Plate) the Benefit whereof every true Christian as truly reaps as if his particular Case were truly known to Christ's human Soul: Because in his divine Nature our Lord does understand their particular Cases, and can apply suitable Relief to them. But if his human Soul be capable of a more comprehensive and particular Knowledge by Revelation, 'tis every way as consistent with our Doctrine as with his, or rather more.

But (saith our Author) "The divine Nature is precluded from it, because they direct us to seek to that as the ultimate Object thro' a Mediator, and the human Nature (they say) may know nothing of our Case, nor knows our Hearts, whether we worship and repent sincerely, or only hypocritically, and so knows not how to represent or commend us to God. What a Case now do these Men bring us into? There is no Mediator left to interpose with the supreme God, so that we must deal with him immediately and alone, which they will own is far from the Gospel-Doctrine or Method. Thus is our Lord Jesus turned out of Office, on pretence of giving him higher Honour.

Ans. 'Tis often harder to understand the Author's Argument than to answer it. What does he mean by saying, *That the divine Nature is precluded from it*? Is it precluded from the Knowledge of our Hearts? No, sure; for we attribute to that alone the immediate Knowledge of them. And what though the divine Nature, as it subsists in the Father, be the ultimate Object of our Addresses, will it thence follow, that the same divine Nature in the Son cannot reveal to the human Nature it has assum'd, all the Knowledge of our particular Cases, and of our very Hearts, that such a finite Nature is capable of? And if it be capable of knowing them all by Revelation, then our Author's Objection vanishes; if it be not, he is (as I have shewn) as much concern'd to answer it as we. And now let him review upon what Ground he so vainly insults, when he saith, *What a Case now do these Men bring us into?* &c. We do as much assert with the Apostle as he, *That the Man Christ Jesus is our Mediator with God*; so that we do not deal immediately with him. And we suppose him the more capable to mediate effectually, because we believe the human Nature assum'd into a personal Union with the Son of God. Because the Dignity of his Person is capable of giving a Value and Merit to his Sacrifice, and a Prevalency to his Intercession. But let him consider into what a Case he brings us, who asserts what the Apostle Paul never did, *That our Mediator is only a Man*. And what is there in the Life of a meer Man to render it a sufficient Ransom for all? What Value is there in the Blood of such an one to purchase the Church of God? What Efficacy or Merit is there in such a Sacrifice to expiate and take away the Guilt of Sin, or obtain Eternal Redemption for us? And if there be no sufficient Virtue or Value in that, there can be as little Prevalency in his Intercession. So that all the Question amounts to this, Whether the Man Christ Jesus is more capable of being an effectual Mediator with the Father, consider'd as united to and acting in Concurrence with and Subordination to the eternal Son of God; or consider'd as destitute of any such Union and Relation? And that the Apostle never intended by calling the Mediator the Man Christ Jesus, to exclude his divine Nature, is so evident from his describing him elsewhere as not only the Seed of Abra-

ham, but God over all blessed for evermore, and by telling us, that the Church of God was purchas'd with his own Blood, that the Author has highly injur'd him by so grossly misinterpreting his Words; we are very willing to stand to the Apostle's account of this matter, at 1 Tim. ii. 5. if the Author will but allow him to be his own Interpreter at Rom. ix. 5. Acts xx. 28.

And what I have said does sufficiently obviate what he only repeats, "That they who hold true to the Unity of the divine Nature, or one infinite Being under three Modes, Properties or Relations, do by plain Consequence leave no place for such a Mediator as they require, viz. One who is an infinite God to be Mediator with the infinite God, when there is no infinite Being but his own, and he cannot be thought to intercede with himself neither. All this Objection turns upon the Author's not allowing such a Distinction in the divine Nature as we suppose to be between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and not distinguishing between those Acts of which the divine Nature, and those of which the human is the immediate Principle, of which Acts belonging to the latter, this of Intercession mentioned is one. And if these Distinctions be made, why may not the Man Christ Jesus, and that as united to the divine Nature, in its second manner of Subsistence and Operation (or in the Person of the Son) both offer up himself as a Sacrifice on Earth, and appear in the divine Presence in Heaven as our Advocate with the Father? Nay, how infinitely greater Reason have we to expect that his Mediation will be efficacious and successful on this Supposition, than if, with the Author, we suppose him to be only a Man?

I should here add, That as to that part of Christ's Mediation which respects his Kingly Office, and which the Author's Objection seems not to refer to, viz. His dispensing to us all Benefits and Blessings from the Father by his Royal Power; it does more fully appear, That the Discharge of it does require an unlimited and divine Power, and cannot be performed by one that is a meer Man. How can a meer Man be the Head of all vital Influences to all the Members of his Mystical Body? or exercise an Universal Providence and Care over all the Affairs both of the Church and the World?

The Author, at p. 18, 19. refers us for an Account of Christ to St. Peter's magnificent Description of him at the Day of Pentecost, before his Murderers themselves, Acts ii. 22. *Ye Men of Israel, hear these Words, Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approv'd of God among you by Wonders, Miracles and Signs, which God did by him in the midst of you. Again at ver. 36. Let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucify'd, both Lord and Christ.* Now the Author infers, "Why should the Apostle, if he had believ'd the infinite Deity of Christ, leave out that most emphatical Branch in the Description of him, that was the most terrifying Argument, and most capable to convince his Persecutors, &c. viz. *That they had shed the Blood of the Infinite God himself*? Whereas what he saith is flat and low in Comparison of this.

Ans. All the Force of this Argument turns upon this Supposition, That the Apostle design'd in these Words to describe our blessed Saviour by the highest Characters that belong to him: But this I deny; It was only his Design to represent and prove Christ to have been the true Messiah, whom they had unjustly crucify'd; and that it self was sufficient to strike Horror into their Consciences: But it was not his Design to instruct them in all the Dignity of the Messiah. For if it was, why does not the Apostle tell them, they had shed the Blood of him, that was of the Father according to the Flesh, and was over all God blessed for evermore; nay, of him in whom the Fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily; nay, of him who is the Brightness of the Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person, by whom he made the World? For these are Characters of Christ deliver'd by other inspired Writers, and more magnificent ones than what the Apostle Peter here lays down.

And

And shall we expunge them out of the Bible, because the Apostle Peter thought not fit to mention them in this Description? Nay, our Author does not consider that this Argument is as strong against himself. He seems to own that Christ had a pre-existent Nature, at p. 2. And he supposes him, One by whom God made the Worlds, as his Instrument: Nay, as One far above Angels and Arch-Angels, and over all Powers in Heaven and Earth, a God or Ruler, and the great Administrator of God's Kingdom, both in the visible and the invisible World, at p. 21. And if the Apostle Peter believed all this, was it not as necessary and as proper to have suggested such Characters of our Lord Jesus as these, to strike the greater Horror of their Crime into the Hearts of his Murderers? Is not his calling him, a Man approv'd of God, &c. all low and flat in comparison of this? Does he not see that this Argument will be as strong in the Mouth of a Socinian against Christ's having a pre-existent Nature, as 'tis in his against his having a divine Nature? And how does he prove, what he takes for granted, that the Apostle baptiz'd those he converted without ever instructing them in this Article of our Lord's Divinity? Especially since we are told, that 'tis only a part of his Discourse to them that is there related. Nay, I might here suggest to our Author, that though the Apostle Peter does not mention the Divinity of Christ as an Aggravation of the Crime of his Murderers, who perhaps did not understand that their expected Messiah was to be God as well as Man; yet another Apostle reminds them of it, when he tells them, That had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory, 1 Cor. ii. 8. a Title often given to the great Jehovah, and alluding to the Shechinah, or visible Appearance of divine Glory under the Old Testament: Nay, the same Apostle calls the Blood of Christ the Blood of God, because it was the Blood of him that was God as well as Man, Acts xx. 28.

And the same Answer to this Text, Acts ii. 22. may serve to that Text he only mentions, Acts x. 38.

He next adds, "That God and Christ are two Disparates or different things, as much as Christ's Body and Bread are, and cannot be predicated of one another in a proper Sense, or without a Figure."

Ans. That God and the Man Christ Jesus are different things we grant him, and that they cannot be predicated of one another in a proper Sense. But what signifies this to prove, That the eternal Word that was made Flesh is not God?

Why, he tells us, "To be anointed imports to be rais'd by Authority and Honour conferr'd, 'tis in effect to say, the Person is a Creature or inferior Being: And therefore to say, That Christ is most High God, is to say the inferior is supreme, and the Man is God."

Ans. How miserable Trifling is this? When the Author knows that Christ or Anointed is only a Name, that tho' given to his Person, immediately refers to his human Nature as qualify'd for his Offices of Prophet, Priest, &c. Can it be thence inferr'd, That he has no other Nature than that? We'll grant him, if it will do his Cause any Service, that the Man thus anointed is only a Creature and an inferior Being, and as such not the most High God: But will it therefore follow, that the Word or Son of God, that assum'd and acted that human Nature, is not the most high God?

But (saith he) if the Business may be solv'd here by making a personal Union between God and Christ, I see not why the Papists may not set up such an Union between Christ's Body and the Bread in the Eucharist, and then stoutly defend, that 'tis the Body of Christ.

Ans. If the Author here argue at all, 'tis thus: If Christ's human Nature may be personally united to the eternal Word, so that he may be God as well as Man, then Christ's Body and the Bread in the Sacrament may be so united, that the Bread may be his Body. But what Union will the Author find out for us to make good so strange a Consequence? Do we suppose Christ's

human Nature transubstantiated or chang'd into the Divine, as the Papists suppose the Bread to be into Christ's Body? Or would the Union of the Divine to the Human Nature, infer such a Penetration of Bodies, and all other Contradictions to Sense in a proper Object of Sense, that would follow upon the Union of Christ's Body to all the Consecrated Wafers on the Romish Altars?

And yet the Author is so pleas'd with this Shadow of an Argument, that it leads him into a long Digression concerning the Unsteadiness of many Protestant Writers, in which he would persuade us, "That the Protestants when they have answered the Papists, are forced to use those very Popish Arguments they had baffled against the Unitarians."

Let us take a short View of his Allegations.

Thus (he saith) we answer the Papist's Charge of Novelty, by telling them, our Religion was in the Bible, and yet object that very Novelty to the Unitarians.

Ans. We do not barely tell the Papists that our Religion was in the Bible: But that the Substance of it has continued and been professed ever since. That Popery is a Mass of corrupt Additions to it, which gradually crept in, all or most of which were utterly unknown to the three first Ages, nay, many of them were not introduc'd till the 7th, 8th, some not till the 12th Age, nay, many of them were not authoriz'd by any General Council (as they vainly call their pack'd Assemblies) till that scandalous one at Trent. Nay, the chief Doctrine of Popery, the Papal Headship, seems not to have been generally own'd in the Romish Church for 1000 Years after Christ, and never by the Eastern Churches at all.

And why may we not in Consistency with all this, object to the Unitarians, That as their Doctrine is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, so 'tis to the concurrent Judgment of the Universal Church (both in East and West) for so many Ages? Is there no Weight in such a Consideration? Should it not make any wise Man cautious of rejecting an Article which the whole Christian Church has for so many Ages taken to be so important a part of her Creed? And the contrary Doctrine whereto never pass'd in any Age without publick Censure? But the Author wrongs us if he pretends, that we lay the main Stress of our Cause here.

Again, he saith, "We prove that the Elements in the Eucharist are not Christ's Body and Blood, because they are by the Fathers call'd the Images thereof: But we will not allow the Unitarians Argument, that Christ is not the most High God, because the Scriptures call him his Image."

Ans. And does the Author think there is no Difference between the Notion of an Image when apply'd to a Bodily Substance, and when apply'd to an invisible Spirit? And will it follow, that an Image when apply'd to the latter, imports a differing Being from that whose Image it is, because it does import so when apply'd to the former?

Again, he tells us, "That we prove against the Papists, that St. Peter was inferior to the Church and the rest of the Apostles, because he was sent up and down by them; but we will not allow this Argument when brought to prove that the Son is inferior to the Father."

Ans. St. Peter's being sent by the Church was never brought by any Man in his Wits as an Argument to prove, that he was inferior either to the Church or to the Apostles in respect of his Nature and Essence as a Man: Nor indeed does it prove, his being inferior in Office and Dignity to any of the rest of the Apostles: No more than can the Son's being sent by the Father prove his being inferior to him in respect of his Nature and Essence, which is the Equality we assert; and yet if it will do our Author any Service, we will allow that it proves what St. Peter's being sent does not, viz. The Son to be in respect of Office inferior to the Father; the Father sustaining the Character of Supreme Lawgiver, the Son of Mediator in the Oeconomy of our Salvation.

So unhappy is the *Author* in the Choice of his Arguments, that to increase their Number he brings in such as directly make against himself.

Once more he tells us, "That against the Papists we urge People to inquire into, and to examine the Matters in Dispute. But when we have to do with the *Unitarians* we tack about, and bid them beware of Reading and Disputing, and are for implicit Faith."

Ans. The *Author* may see by this Answer (wherein he will find the most of his Book repeated *verbatim*, and I am sure not one Argument of any Moment omitted) that we are not ashamed of bringing our Cause to the Light; and are far from either hood-winking the People in Ignorance, or urging them to an implicit Faith. We are not only willing, but desirous they should compare our Doctrine in this Article with that of the Holy Scriptures. But I hope the *Author* does not expect we should advise every private Christian, that is under no Doubts in reference to his Christian Faith, or to this Article of it, to read all the Pamphlets wrote of late by the *Deists* and *Unitarians*, that tend to unhinge and unsettle his Mind in reference to the Truth of the Christian Religion, or of this particular Branch of it. Much less can he expect we should advise them to read those pernicious Papers, without reading any Answers to them; no more than we would advise them to venture on Poyson without an Antidote.

And whereas he tells us, "That upon Protestant Principles the *Unitarians* can stand their Ground, and defend themselves as well as the Protestants can against the Papists: I think our *Unitarians* should not boast so much of their Protestant Principles, when in that important Point of giving religious Worship to a Creature, they have so manifestly given up the Cause to the Papists, and clear'd them from the Charge of Idolatry in their religious Invocation of Angels and glorify'd Saints. But I must tell him, That as our Protestant Doctrine that appropriates all religious Worship to God, will stand as long as the Bible does; so it will overturn theirs, that give that religious Worship to our Saviour, while they believe him to be no more than a dignify'd Creature. And all their baffled Distinctions of supreme or inferior, absolute and ultimate or relative Worship, which in this Point they borrow from the Papists (and which are the Plaisters they use to cover this Sore) will never be able to support it. And I desire the *Author* to set this one solid Proof of his Party's Unsteadiness to the Protestant Cause, against all the imaginary Instances of ours that he has here alledg'd.

As to Primitive Antiquity, if the *Author* have a mind to try his Skill, he may enter the Lists on this Head either with Dr. Bull, or with the Bishop of Worcester, in his late *Vindication of the Trinity*. (For I hope he will never take the Triflings of his Answerer in the 4th Collect. of Unit. Tracts for a Reply to it.) Or even with Dr. Whitby in the few Citations he has from the *Anti-Nicene Fathers*, in his *Traetatus de Deitate Christi*. And when he produces any thing of Moment against the Authorities they alledge, he may expect it will be fairly consider'd. Till then, I shall only tell the *Author*, That we can have no Veneration for the great Defenders of the Christian Cause, if they so grossly abus'd and strain'd their Eloquence as to equal a Creature to the eternal God. And on the other hand, their equalling Christ with the Father in respect of his Essence, is not inconsistent with their asserting him to be inferior in respect of Office, by a voluntary Dispensation, as he may see at Pag. 24, &c.

As to the *Author's* Profession of his own Sincerity in what he writes, I do not pretend to judge him. To his own Master he stands or falls. I shall therefore only observe, That in his Description of our Saviour's Offices, he has left out his being our Propitiation or atoning Sacrifice: And that he might still have believ'd the Father to be greater than Christ, and God to be the Head of Christ (in the Sense already ex-

plain'd) without such a bold and dangerous Attempt as this, to derogate from his Honour as God over all blessed for evermore.

As to the Charity he recommends to us at Pag. 21. from the Example of *Justin Martyr*, I shall only say, that we are willing to extend it as far as Reason will allow. But he must excuse us that we dare not trust in any as our Saviour who is not the supreme God. See Tit. ii. 14. compar'd with Isa. xiv. 21, 22. *There is no God else besides me, a just God and a Saviour, there is none besides me: Look unto me, and be ye saved all the Ends of the Earth; for I am God, and there is none else.* And the Reader may compare the following Verse with Rom. xiv. 11. to convince him, that 'tis our Lord Jesus the Prophet there intends: See what is said above at Pag. 35. And we must add, that it would extremely weaken the Veneration we have for our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, if he should be prov'd to be a meer dignify'd Creature. For we cannot see how he can be excus'd from affecting divine Honour himself; or the Apostles from countenancing our giving it to him. And we judge, that the degrading him to the Rank of a dignify'd Creature, does most effectually expose him to the Scorn of Infidels, as a vain Usurper of the peculiar Rights and Glory of the great *Jehovah*. So that we think it every Way safest to adhere to the Faith and Practice of *Justin Martyr*, (how far soever we may stretch our Charity to those that differ from us in so important an Article) when he saith, "We (*Christians*) worship and adore the Father, and the Son that came from him, and taught us these Things, &c. and the Spirit of Prophecy, honouring them in Word and Truth. *Apol. 2. p. 56. C.*

Christ crucify'd is no Stumbling-block to us (as the *Author* groundlessly suggests). But yet we cannot reconcile many of those Characters the *Author* here gives him, with the Opinion of his being no more than a dignify'd Creature. We cannot allow such a Creature to be the Maker of the Worlds; for what our *Author* adds, of his being an Instrument in making them, is a Notion that destroys it self (as I have shewn already.) Nor can we believe him to be a meer Creature in whom the Fulness of the Godhead dwells; and who is One with the Father; (not One in Consent, but One in Energy and Power, as I have shewn the Context explains it at John x. 30. compar'd with Ver. 38.) Who is far above all Angels and Arch-angels, being the Object of their Worship; who is the great Administrator of the divine Kingdom both in the visible and invisible World. And we think it far more absurd to give these Characters to a meer dignify'd Creature, than (what the *Author* with so daring a Presumption represents as the most compleat Absurdity) to assert, That Christ is the same supreme God, (i. e. the same in Nature and Essence) with the Father, whose Son and Image he is. This is so far from being absurd, that our blessed Saviour cannot be his Son (in a Sense peculiar to himself, and incommunicable to any other, or, as the Scriptures speak, his only begotten Son) without a Participation of his Nature, and the essential Perfection thereof. Nor can he, without it, be the Brightness of the Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person (or Subsistence) as he is call'd, Heb. i. 2. (Not a visible Image, as the *Author* groundlessly supposes). But to give these fore-mention'd Characters to a meer exalted Man, plainly confounds God and Man, Finite and Infinite, the Creator, and the Work of his Hands, which is another kind of Absurdity than to suppose such a Distinction in the infinite yet undivided Nature of God, as the Doctrine of the Trinity implies. And if the *Author* thinks this a grievous Offence, we cannot help it: But we think it a more real and grievous Offence, that a profess'd Minister of our Lord Jesus should rob him of the Glory of his essential Deity, the Denial whereof we apprehend obscures the Glory of that marvellous Wisdom and Grace that are so conspicuously display'd in the Gospel, and takes away from that divine Institution what appears most amiable in it, even the unparallel'd Condescension and

Love of the eternal Son of God in his *Incarnation* and *Sufferings* for the Salvation of the Sons of Men.

And for what the *Author* suggests, "That this Doctrine of the *Incarnation of God* (i. e. of *God the Son*) hinders the Progress of the Gospel, and occasions the Rejection of it by *Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans*: I am so far from being of his Mind, that I know nothing (except *Popery*) more likely to obstruct the Progress of it, than the Opposition of our late *Unitarians* to this Article of our Religion. For the *Jews*, who believ'd the extraordinary Presence of God in the *Cloud of Glory*, both in the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, it can be no reasonable Objection to them against the Gospel, that God should be manifested in the *Flesh*, and dwell in that more perfect *Tabernacle* or *Temple* of an *human Soul and Body*: And for the *antient Jews*, our *Author* would do well to consider what *Bishop Kidder*, in his *Demonstration of the Messiah*, has offer'd to shew, That they had some obscurer Notices of the Christian Doctrine in reference to the *Trinity*, and particularly the Divinity of the *Word* (a). For *Pagans*, their frequent Relations of the *Descent* of their Gods should render the *Incarnation of God* no way incredible to them; and what the greatest of their *Philosophers* has deliver'd concerning a *Trinity of Principles* in the divine Nature, should rather facilitate than obstruct their Belief of what we suppose the Gospel to declare concerning it. For *Mahometans* indeed, this Doctrine may be a *Stumbling-block* in their Way; for their great Prophet has taught them an invincible Reason against *God's* having a *Son*, because he never had a *Wife*: So gross and stupid were the Apprehensions of that vile *Impostor*. But yet tho' a Coalition between the *Mahometans* and *Unitarians* may at first View seem easy and practicable, because they both perfectly agree in their Opinion of *Jesus Christ*, That he was the Son of *Mary*, and a great Prophet, but by no means the Son of *God*, by a Participation of the divine Nature; yet there are two Things in the *Unitarian* Scheme that will be as great a *Stumbling-block* to the *Mahometans* as he supposes the *Incarnation of God* to be. The one is, their making *Christ* a God by Office, and paying religious Worship to him, at the same time that they own him to be no more than a Creature. And in this Point the *Mahometans* have certainly the Advantage, that they own none as God but one, and worship no other Being, not *Mahomet* himself, whom they suppose the greatest of

Prophets. The other, that the *Unitarians* own the Truth of *Christ's Crucifixion* (tho' they deny the principal End of it.) And this it self is a great *Stumbling-block* to that ignorant, but proud People, who cannot admit it into their Thoughts, that God should permit so great a Prophet as *Jesus Christ* to suffer such Indignity from so despicable Wretches as they esteem the *Jews* to be. And for the *Jews* themselves, the giving religious Worship to *Christ* as a *Deputy-God*, is such a Scandal to them as can never be remov'd while the *First Command* stands in the *Decalogue*. But for the *Pagans*, the *Unitarians* may hope for the greatest Harvest of Proselytes among them: For they have been so kind as to justify their *Demon-Worship* from all Charge of *Idolatry*; and to oblige them the more, they have expung'd out of the *Christian Religion* all its peculiar Mysteries, leaving little in it but the Principles of natural Religion. So that the *Pagans* have now only the Doctrine of the *Cross* to get over. And as to that, they are told, That *Christ* dy'd chiefly to bear witness to those Principles their own Moralists had taught before him, concerning another Life. For the *Christian Religion* (saith a late *Unitarian Writer*) is nothing properly but *Natural Religion*, whose Light *Sin* had almost extinguish'd. And *God*, to give it its first Splendor, yielded up *Christ* to Death. See *Scandal and Folly of the Cross* remov'd, Pag. 20. And what should hinder *Pagans* from embracing *Christianity*, when 'tis presented to them in so agreeable a Dress, being really no other than *Paganism* refin'd and reviv'd? See the Preface.

Upon the whole, We are for taking *Christianity* as laid down in the *Bible*, and dare not abandon any of its sacred Truths, how sublime and mysterious soever, to accommodate it to the Gust of *Infidels*. And therefore we dare not, to please them, deny the essential Deity and Glory of the Lord that bought us; nor are we ashamed to own him as *supreme God* whom we own as the *Maker*, and *Ruler*, and *Judge* of the World, the Lord of the Quick and the Dead. So that we can in entire Consonancy with our Principles, offer that *Doxology* to our blessed Saviour, with which the *Author* concludes his Book, (tho' according to his we cannot see how he will clear that Practice from the Charge of *Idolatry*) Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our Sins in his own Blood, and has made us Kings and Priests to God and his Father, even to him be Glory and Dominion for ever, Amen, Rev. i. 6.

(a) See Part III. Chap. IV, V, VI.

SOME
IMPARTIAL REFLECTIONS
ON

Dr. MANBY's Considerations, &c.

AND

Mr. KING's Answer.

In a Letter to a Friend.

¹ Cor. i. 12, 13. Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ: Is Christ divided?

Rom. xiv. 4. Who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant? To his own Master he stands or falls; yea, he shall be bolden up: for God is able to make him stand.

³ Ep. John 9, 10. But Diotrephes, who loveth to have the Preeminence among them, receives us not. — Neither doth he himself receive the Brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the Church.

To the Reader.

THOU wilt find the worthy Author of this ensuing Tract, opposing two Persons of a very different Character. Mr. Manby, whose Scruples are so mean, and so often answered, that as they could have little Influence in his Charge, so they deserved no new Consideration. The most material of his Questions may be reduced to this, being that the Church of Rome by her usurping shifts propagated her Apostacy to her neighbour Churches, how can any of those belong to the Catholick Church if they cease that Apostacy, and regain their former State? The Answer is easie, unless Infection do for ever subject a Church to that Church which infected it. Can any Man doubt whether the British Churches had equal Authority to reform themselves for Christ's sake, as they had to admit these Corruptions for the Pope's sake.

The other Person is Mr. King, who hath needlessly, yea to the apparent Damage of his Cause, bitterly censured the whole Body of Nonconformists. Whether his novel Notions, or the unseasonable Publication of matters of Debates among us, be most culpable, it's hard determining: The sad Consequences were so obvious, that great Importunity fail'd to incline my undertaking our Vindication, though the Charge against us is great, and the Proof attempted from mistaken Principles.

But seeing the Author with others judged a Reply needful, and represented our Silence as turned to our Reproach; I am perswaded to preface the ensuing Book, wherein thou wilt find both Evidence and Candor.

I shall only hint at what the Book is concerned in, and insist on some Criminations the Author overlooks.

Mr. King's excluding us from the Catholick Church can harm us little, when he gives us a Description of this Church so entirely Popish, and opposite to the joint Testimony of Protestants, in a Controversy betwixt the Romanists and us. The Articles of the Church of Ireland define the Catholick Church in the Creed, to be the invisible Body of elected Saints in Heaven and Earth. But all of Mr. King's Description is Bellarmine's own, who strangely confounds a particular Church with the Catholick Church visible, out of which particular Churches are formed; unless you admit Infidels for Members: and into which they are resolved; unless they cease to be Catholick Members, when their Pastors die or remove. Whereas Mr. King might have known that the Catholick visible Church as entitive is made up of professing Christians, and particular Churches are but Secondary Members of this Body, as Organical by Aggregation.

But the Dissenters will deny his Charge by further proving that they are Subjects to their lawful Pastors, that such are not their Pastors whom he chargeth them with Separation from: And they can justify their Separation to be a Duty, and so no bar to their Catholick Privilege, if they had sometimes been subject to such. Yea, it's manifest, the Church of England account us within the Pale of the Church; by her calling us Brethren departed in the Faith when dead, and too oft Excommunicating us when alive. His Charge of Ecclesiastical Rebellion cannot yet affect us, when we think that we justly deny the Convocation to be a fit Representative of all the Pastors in England; and not a supreme Power over all our Churches, yea, and suspect a Definition of the Catholick

S. 68. of the Church.
4 Bell. de Eccl. milit. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Catholick Church by such regent Officers, as what favours the Universal Headship, and may well end in the Pope as principium unitatis.

His Positiveness in our Duty to be silent when suspended, without regard to the Justice of the Ground of it, imports he hath forgotten that Casuists generally determine, that an unjust Sentence binds not before God or the Church; and that Pastors Power in the Church is not of the same Extent as a King's in the State, but under the Limits of many more instituted Laws. But these Matters being debated in the Book, I proceed.

Mr. King's Sarcasm against our Cant from Mr. Manby's Allusion to a plain Scripture, p. 13. may call him to suspect what Spirit himself is of (Luke ix. 55.) and others of his sort who ridicule Scripture-Passages, though used in the Sense of the Spirit that inspired the Writers of the Scriptures, and condemn in us those Principles, which were the common Sense of Protestant Bishops, but yet these must be the only Protestant Successors, because they keep up the Ceremonies, though they despise many important Doctrines, which they more valued themselves by.

Reader, thou mayst wonder how Mr. King, that affirmeth no Ministers may reform, no nor preach against the Establish'd Church, can publish these Thoughts of his so repugnant to the Sense of the Church, and undertake to reform the very Catholick Church, by a Definition of it so opposite to that his Church hath published.

Mr. K. p. 39. He reproacheth us with the Favours we now receive from Men of Mr. Manby's Perswasion. Reply.

We thankfully own the King's Favour without ungrateful Inquiries into the Grounds of it, nor yet doubting but we shall take care not to forfeit what he thinks meet to grant. But why should you that dislike an Inquisition grudge us a little Ease? I believe you are not for blaming the Magistrate when the Rods and Axes are disused. Are not the Miseries great enough, which we have endured at your Hands for refusing to sin, in doing Things which you had nothing but the bare Authority of the Imposer to plead for? But I heartily wish all our Hardships so forgotten by us, as that they neither abate Charity, nor prevent Union on Christian Catholick Terms.

I confess it's no small Amazement to hear the Prelatists reflect on the present Liberty of Dissenters. Are we blameable for meeting now we do it with Safety, when we suffered so much rather than forbear it? Can they that have refused Preferments, indured Prisons, Reproach, and loss of Estates for their Principles, be suspected apt to renounce or betray them for a Smile?

How can these Men that the other Day resolved all Law into the King's meer Will, now brand our Meetings as unlawful? But this will convince the World, that that Party will always skew up the Point of Loyalty, whose Interest the Government promotes; and yet may challenge their own Sentiments when the Throne is less auspicious.

Finally, why will these Persons thus clamour, as if they bewailed they had lost an Opportunity to inflict the same Evils, by the interposal of a Power we might well have expected less Kindness from? Have we any Thing but Immunity from Punishment? Do we enjoy your Preferments or Places? Is it no Favour you reap whilst you enjoy your Revenues, and publick Opportunities of Service? You will esteem it so, and more pity others, if ever you come to endure the Penury, Hazard and Contempt of other faithful Ministers; which though I suggest in order to a more sober Judgment, yet I desire never to behold.

Mr. K. p. 72. Mr. King brands us as Friends to the Popish Party. Reply.

Through the Weakness of the Clergy, this silly Reproach is propagated among the People, the Falshood whereof Time may discover, more than a present flash of Heat for low Interests can do.

But wherein lyeth this Friendship, unless that you will not suffer us to be Friends with you, and therefore you conclude we must needs be one with them; I heartily wish all could acquit themselves of culpable Friendship with them as we can. I am sure we agree not in Principles with them in any thing wherein we differ from you, and we blame you for nothing, but wherein you agree with them. Let us re-

form your Church, and we promise we will remove nothing but what is Popish; Let them reform your Church, and I'll engage they will take away nothing but what is Presbyterian. Do you condemn us for any thing but that which Popery would relieve us in? Is it we that bow to the East, and to the Altar? Do we use vain Pageantry in Consecrating of Churches, and Utensils, baptizing them with Saints Names? Do we frisk from Place to Place in reading our Service, use the Sign of the Cross, kneel at the Sacrament, which never obtained in the Church before Transubstantiation? Have we Absolution of Sins to the uncensured? Is private Communion our manner? Have we Organs, Singing-boys, unscriptural Confirmation, preaching Deacons, Reading over the Dead, Holy-days, Surpluses, Responsals, and twenty more Appendants to Worship? The Romish Church hath all these; whereas we worship God without all this stuff added to Gospel-Institutions, and are content with that for Decency, the contrary whereto is indecent, by natural Light or common Usage.

Further, whether most countenance the universal Headship, your Diocesans or our plain Presbyter? Have we Deans and Chapters, Chancellors of Bishops-Courts (the prime Managers of Discipline) Pluralities, &c.

What common Interest can we have with them, unless as Subjects to the same King? And how little some of the Non-Conformists befriended their Interest, these very Men lately reproach'd us with, and it's Christian and Generous in his Majesty to overlook.

Few considering Men will think, that we who have endured so much under you for dislike to the Remains of Popery, will espouse that Church Form, where we must meet with all your Faults, and much greater. Nor is it probable we should do any thing unbecoming sincere and discerning Protestants, though we profess due Loyalty, both from Conscience, and from grateful Resentments.

What then can be the Matter? That whilst the Hind commends you as next of kin; your Worship, Practices, Constitutions, yea, Doctrines of late, do so exceed in Harmony with the Popish Party, above us; while Mr. Manby tells you their Flowers are your Ornament, yea, the World knoweth they love most of you and your ways better than us; and many of your own proclaim, they would be Papists rather than Presbyterians; that yet we must still in Talk, Sermons, and Print, have this Character of great Friendship fastned on us. It seemeth to have its rise from this, you had cast us out of all Places, and possessed them your selves, whereby you apprehend us now less envied, and so less exposed to the first Attack of Covetousness or Ambition in your Rivals. But is it fair in you, first to set us below Envy, and then fret that we are not made a Sacrifice to preserve your Grandure?

I shall conclude these Remarks I have made on Mr. King's unseasonable Provocations, with my hearty Prayers to God that he would discover to the Church of England, and to us, whatever our Mistakes have been, that by his present Dealings, he would dispose us to true Repentance for our foolish as well as sinful Heats, and our valuing any Interest above Christ's: And that he would give all a more truly Catholick Spirit, which will be found the serviceable as well as Christian Temper; and is so needful to revive the bleeding Interest of Religion among us. That I may contribute my Mite to this, and the Peace which would result therefrom, permit me to hint,

1. The Terms imposed on the Nonconformists were amazingly severe, and certain to make the Number of the Scrupulous considerable.

No Church under Heaven, except the Popish, ever imposed Assent and Consent to so many disputable Things. We must solemnly assent to many Doctrines we cannot own; and to many Practices which we always scrupled, and much more their Revival after they were once removed. We must be re-ordained, we must solemnly declare the Covenant bound to Man, when as a Vow it must bind to all that was lawful in it; and we know some who were sui juris when they took it. We must swear never to endeavour Alteration in the Church as establish'd, whereas it owns in its Preface to the Curses in the Liturgy, that its Discipline is defective: and we believe the same of many other things.

to say nothing of the many Disorders apparent in it. The Presbyterians, on the King's Return, proposed to use the Liturgy with some Amendments, and to submit to the Model of Episcopacy, drawn up by the peaceable Bishop Usher; but availed not.

2. The Consequences of the Divisions produced by these severe Terms, have been dismal. How much of Mens Ministry hath been wasted on these Matters, which might have been employed to more edifying Purposes? The Profane have had an Engine to exert their inbred Enmity against the Serious. Was it not come to that pass, that one was jeered as a Phanatick, if he dared not to be profane? Yea, under the shadow of Zeal against Nonconformists; Men became light in their gravest Employ, heterodox in their Notions, and too many did ridicule all Religion in the most probable Evidences of it, as Cant and Hypocrisy. What need I enlarge any more? Were the Things contended for, by the Imposer, valuable, so as to countervail the least of these Mischiefs?

3. It is necessary for Church and State, that the Union of Ministers and Communion of Saints be provided for, on more comprehensive Terms.

All our Study and Prayers, back'd with sore Hardships, have not, nor ever can bring us to comply with these; the Churches strongest Arguments for them be, that they are indifferent, and surely the Churches necessity will at last convince her that's a poor Plea: Religion must decay, and the Strength of the Church will abate, whilst the Number of Dissenters is so great. Gross Errors will prevail much, while Dissenter is the common odious Name of all; and bad Men will influence, when the Terms of Union are so hard, as to exclude the Good. Let the Terms of Peace be once such, that wise and good Men need not scruple; and Separation will grow so odious a Name, as will expose the Guilty, were the Tolerable entertain'd, how would Love flourish, and all be useful to the Churches real Interest? Shall we then provoke God to desert us by our Quarrels, and lose the very Name of Protestant, by contending for Things that are of no use to us, either as Protestants or Christians?

The Kingdoms Interest concurs as an Argument to it. Where could be the Policy of cutting off so considerable a Part of the Nation from Serviceableness to the State, because they could not agree to some Forms? Which had no Influence to make them good Christians, or good Subjects. Strange was the Impression of the Clergy, (or some others) that the fittest Man must not serve the State, if he scrupled the Cross in Baptism. Tho' I am no Errastian, yet I cannot but persuade the Magistrate, not to interrupt Trade, harass his Subjects, keep his Treasures empty, give his Enemies the Advantage of a discontented Party, tempt them to Irregularities and Dislikes of his Government; and all this for some Oaths and Ceremonies valuable only as the Out-works of excessive Grandure, or a distinguishing Mark between them that fear an Oath, and them that fear it too little.

May not we expect the Government to say in due time,

it can be no Sin against God, to take away those Things which the Lovers of them call Indifferent; and therefore cannot quarrel against the Removal of, nor separate if they be removed. It is not our Interest to keep out so great a Body of Dissenters, whose Compliance it is vain to expect, when they suffered so many Years testifying against them as sinful: Let therefore the Peace of the Church, and Prosperity of the State be provided for, by Things of more Moment, and less disputable.

4. The Terms that would be comprehensive of the most considerable Part of Dissenters, are neither difficult nor dangerous.

It was not a peaceable or prudent Suggestion, that every little Change is fatal; tho' Men's Interest do not tempt them to make it so. Must the Body die, if the Hair or Nails be par'd? I will not dare to make Proposals so unseasonably; but I think it easy to demonstrate, that no greater a Change is needful than will consist with Decency in Worship, Restraint of fundamental Errors, the Churches Peace and truest Glory, the Magistrates tranquil Security, and the just Credit and Power of the Clergy.

It's our Temper or selfish Respects, not our Differences, which have kept us so long asunder. Could we but stoop less than our Lord's Example calls us to, when he wash'd his Disciples Feet, the Debates would soon be at an end. Were we weaned from the Love of Dominion, which he expressly forbids, and inspired with that Love he declares so essential to his Followers: It were impossible for us to un-church each other, who can subscribe all the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and all the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England; as we can and will do.

I might hope a little Prudence (which God seems about to furnish us all with) could not fail to make us one; in the mean while, and as fit means conducive to it, let us attend to our more needful Work, valuing each other as Christian Societies, though under some pardonable Mistakes.

That God would shew all of us the Pattern of his House, and establish us in his Truth, is the Prayer of him, who longeth to see Peace within the Gates of Zion, owneth all for Catholick Members who are baptized visible Christians, tho' fixed in no particular Church, and so not subject to any stated Pastors: Blesseth God for our Reformation, tho' Instruments might be culpable; acknowledgeth all Christian Societies to be Churches, where the Word is truly preached, and Sacraments administred, by duly qualified Pastors, tho' a Canonical Right be disputable; so that no contradictory Thing be added which dissolves their Church-state, and dare not exclude from the Catholick Church foreign Protestants, who reformed by God's Word, tho' without the Consent of the major Part of a corrupt Clergy: Yea, will not stake the Reformation in our Lands on a casting Vote in the Convocation, but its correspondency to Christ's Rules, who alone is supreme Ruler in his House; and by whose Laws the Fidelity of his Stewards, and their Actings is determined.

SOME

Impartial Reflections, &c.

S I R,



Have according to your Desire perus'd Dr. Manby's Considerations, and Mr. King's Answer, and shall here give you my Thoughts of them.

For the Doctor's Considerations, I never imagined the Protestant Cause in any danger by so weak an Assault. If these be the strongest Reasons he has to produce, he seems to be as yet but a *Novice* in the Roman School, and arriv'd no higher than the young Fry of *Missionaries*, whom the *Fathers* furnish with such Questions as these, to accost ignorant People with. There is nothing in that Paper, but what more learned Champions for the Church of *Rome* have more plausibly urg'd, and our Protestant Divines both at home and abroad as solidly refuted. So that it seem'd to me a needless expence of Time, to repeat the Answers so often given to those Questions, because Mr. Manby was pleas'd to ask them over again. And I should have been still of that Mind, if Mr. King's Answer had not alter'd my Thoughts. 'Tis indeed judicious and clear enough, wherever he defends the Church of *England*, upon those Principles which are common to her with other reformed Churches; but where his narrow Affection to a Party has byast his Judgment, he has unhappily founded the Justice of the Reformation on such Principles as are only calculated for the Vindication of the Church of *England*, and (what is much worse) such as cast disingenuous Reflections upon the rest of the reformed Churches. I shall therefore in these *Remarks* suggest such truly *Catholic Principles* as justify all the reformed Churches both as to their Reformation, and their Claim to be a true Part of the Catholic Church; which, if I mistake not, Mr. King's as well as Mr. Manby's Paper would exclude some of them from; for the Notions of the one as well as the other turn the Catholic Church into a Sect, and are injurious to Christian Charity in its due extent, though not both in an equal Degree. And I undertake this the more willingly, because 'tis truly Catholic Principles must cement the Affections of Protestants, and dispose them to as near an Union in Practice as can be expected, under the unavoidable Differences of our Judgment about Matters of less Importance. And in pursuance of this Design, I shall follow the Order of Mr. King's Answer, who puts Dr. Manby's Paper into all the Method 'tis capable of, and only take notice of those Answers wherein Mr. King's either Judgment or Charity seems to fail him.

The 1st Question propos'd by D. Manby in his Preface is, *What is meant by the Catholic Church?*

Mr. King's Answer is, 'Tis the whole Body of Men professing the Religion of Christ, and living under their lawful spiritual Governors, p. 4.

There is no doubt he intends this for the Description of the Catholic Church here on Earth, as mea-

sured by a Judgment of Charity, and comprising all credible Professors of the Christian Religion. Here are two Characters to distinguish the Members of it, *Professing the Religion of Christ, and living under lawful spiritual Governors.*

Now that which I chiefly dislike in this Description is, that this latter Mark of the Catholic Church [*Living under lawful spiritual Governors*] gives us a Notion of it not only very *obscure*, but too *narrow*. Nor does he find any such Mark assign'd either in that Text he quotes, *Eph. iv. 3, 4, 5.* or in that Passage he cites out of St. *Augustin*. And 'tis the more necessary to insist on this, because every Notion of the Catholic Church, which is too narrow, is so far *schismatical*; for it cuts off those from their relation to the Catholic Church, who are Members of it, and Mr. King himself does afterwards apply it to that ill purpose.

That this Notion of the Catholic Church is too narrow (on Supposition Mr. King mean no better than he speaks) is hence evident, because there are many who are true Members of the Catholic Church, who live under no Pastors or spiritual Governors at all, nor indeed have the Opportunity to do so. What does he think of many Christians that live in some foreign Plantations, where they are not furnish'd with them. Nay, to propose an Instance much more considerable. What does Mr. King think of all the Protestants who are yet in *France*, and because they will not change their Religion, are confin'd to Gallies, Prisons, or Convents? Are all these, by the Banishment of their Ministers, excluded from the Catholic Church? Has the *French King's Edict* so malignant an Influence as to cut them off from the Body of Christ, by depriving them of their lawful Pastors? If so, Popish Princes have a more formidable Power, and Protestants may well dread their *Edicts* upon a *Spiritual* as well as *Temporal* Account, more than all the *Thunders* of the *Vatican*.

But I fear Mr. King would scarce allow the reformed Churches in *France*, to be any Part of the Catholic Church, if they had their Pastors again: If we compare this Description of it with other Passages in his Answer. For this Description is very *obscure*; and, if I conjecture right, Mr. King's Notion of lawful spiritual Governors much more *narrow*.

What does he mean by *Lawful spiritual Governors*? Are they to be estimated such by the Law of the Land, or by the Law of the Church, or by the Law of Christ?

Does he mean such spiritual Governors as are establish'd in every Nation, by the Authority of the Civil Magistrate? If so, then the *Arrian* Bishops, when establish'd by the Emperors, of their Opinion, were the only lawful Pastors, and all that Part of the People that adher'd to their Orthodox Pastors, ceas'd to be Members of the Catholic Church. Then the Popish Clergy in *France* are the only lawful spiritual Governors, and the Protestants there are no Part of the Catholic Church.

Church; because they separate from them. And shou'd the *Popish* Clergy be establish'd in these Kingdoms by Law, all that should adhere to their Protestant Pastors (even those whom Mr. King now thinks their only lawful ones) wou'd cease to be Members of the Body of Christ. So that the supreme Magistrate might make Pastors lawful or unlawful at his Pleasure, and make those that are this Month, Members of the Catholick Church, cease to be so the next. But this is a Principle I would hope fitter for Mr. Hobbs than for Mr. King to defend.

Is it then the *Laws* of the Church that must determine who are the lawful Pastors? If this be his Notion of them (as his following Discourse would incline one to think) what Church does he mean, whose Laws must determine this great Debate? If the *Universal* Church? I know none can make Laws to oblige all the Members of it but Christ himself, whom Mr. King grants to be the only Head of it, p. 55. And how should we know the Sense of the universal Church in this Matter, when there has been no *General Council* these many hundred Years, nay, when there never was any such thing at all. The largest Councils that Church-History records, being summon'd by the *Roman* Emperors, whose *Mandates* could not reach the *Extra-imperial* Churches. What is this Church then, whose Laws or Judgment must determine who are lawful Pastors? Is it every *National* Church? If so, 'tis a difficult Matter to know what that is. For unless Mr. King would give such a schismatical Notion of it, as the Papists give of the Catholick Church, it must include all the particular Christians and particular Societies of such, within the Bounds of that Nation, who profess the true Christian Religion in all its Essentials, (for all true Churches do not profess it in equal Purity). Such a National Church is not of divine Institution, and is indeed only a Combination of Churches as united under one Civil Sovereign. Its true Notion lies not in any Combination purely Ecclesiastical and Intrinsecal, but Civil and Extrinsecal: As the true *National Church* of *England* (unless we will confine the Name to a Sect or Party) denotes all the Churches in *England* as united under one King, that has a Civil Supremacy over them. But what if in the same Nation there be a Division about some disputable Doctrine, as betwixt *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, in the Dominions of several *German* Princes, or about Church-Government and Modes of Worship, &c. as in these Nations? What if the several particular Churches, according to these Differences in their Judgment, fix under different Pastors? Who are the Church, whose Laws must decide this Debate about lawful Pastors? Is it such an Assembly of the Clergy as our *Convocation*? But what if both Parties have such Assemblies? Is it that Party of the Clergy which the Civil Magistrate does establish, and not the other; then the Civil Magistrate may in *Germany* make both the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* lawful Pastors; and here both the *Conformists* and the *Nonconformists*, nay, and unmake them at his Pleasure, and so make their Churches a part or no part of the Catholick Church. Nay, if this be true, then in *France* the general Assembly of the *Popish* Clergy must determine who are lawful Pastors, and were the Protestant Ministers there now, for the People to adhere to them would not only be unlawful, but (what is worse) such a Sin as would cut them off from the Catholick Church. And does Mr. King really think so? What, would they cease to be the Subjects of Christ because they prefer those Pastors who teach his Doctrine, and administer his Sacraments, and Discipline according to the Rules of the Gospel, before those who grossly corrupt them, and impose those Corruptions? He must have a very odd Understanding that can assent to so senseless, not to say so wicked, an Assertion: For this were no better than to set up a Point of meer human Order, in opposition to the Interest of Truth and Holiness. I might here instance again in the *Arrian* Bishops, who had not only the Countenance of the Emperors, but got

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Imperial Councils (call'd General, as that of *Arminius* and *Syrmsium*) on their side; and according to this Principle, they were the only lawful Pastors, and those that separated from them were no Part of the Catholick Church.

I know not how Mr. King will like these Consequences; but he cannot avoid them, unless he will say, That where there are in a Nation two divided Parties of Christians fix'd under different Pastors, those are the only lawful Pastors who are on the side of Truth in the Points controverted betwixt them, whether they have the *Civil Magistrates* Countenance or no. And if he say this, 'twill follow on the other hand, that in those *Popish* Kingdoms where there are any *Protestant Ministers*, they are the only lawful Pastors, and the *Popish Churches* that live not under them, no Part of the Catholick Church. Nay, in those Parts of *Germany* where there are *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, if the *Calvinists* be in the right, the *Lutherans* for separating from the *Calvinist* Ministers, forfeit all relation to the Catholick Church. And to add no more, if the *Nonconformists* be in the right, in the Matters debated betwixt them and the *Conformists* about Church-Government, &c. they are the only lawful Pastors, and the *Prelatical Churches* no Part of the Catholick Church.

Or lastly, Must the *Laws* of Christ determine who are lawful Pastors? Then those are the only lawful spiritual Governors in his Church whose Office he has instituted, who have all the *Qualifications* requir'd, 1 *Tim.* iii. Tit. i. Who are ordain'd to their Office by such as he has entrusted the Power of Ordination to, (where such Ordination can be had) and who have the Consent of that Flock they take the Oversight of. If these be the *Laws* of Christ (as it were easy to prove if that were deny'd) then all *Diocesan Prelates* must be cashier'd from the Number of lawful Pastors, unless they can prove their Office instituted by Christ, and so must all the *Parish-Ministers* who want the *Qualifications* mention'd, 1 *Tim.* iii. or who are impos'd on the People without their Consent, nay, too often against it. And if Mr. King's Notion of the Catholick Church be true, then all the Churches that live under *Diocesan Prelates* as their spiritual Governors, or such unqualify'd obtruded *Parish-Ministers*, are no Part of the Catholick Church. So that if he retract not this new Description of the Catholick Church, 'tis like to fall heavy on his own Party; and because I would not be so uncharitable to the Church of *England*, as he is to the Churches of Dissenters, I advise him the next time he undertakes to define the Catholick Church, to leave out this dangerous Mark of it. At least he ought to apply this Mark to the *Papists* as well as *Dissenters*; whereas among the *Latin Questions*; The 14th is, *Whether that be a true Church which has not lawful Pastors?* And Mr. King thus answers, *It may be a true Church, witness the Church of Rome, which has had so many heretical, schismatical, simoniacal ones, who were not all lawful Pastors; But did there therefore cease to be a Church at Rome?* But I perceive this is a true Mark when he would vent his Spleen against the *Presbyterian Churches* at home and abroad; but a false or uncertain one, when it would unchurch the *Papists*. The best of it is, if it be a true Mark, the *Papal* and *Diocesan Churches* are most concern'd in the dangerous Consequences of it.

All therefore I shall add on this Head, is a brief Answer to Mr. Manby's Question, What that Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church is, which we profess to believe in the Creed?

Ans. We need go no further for the Resolution of this Question, than the Text quoted by Mr. King, *Eph.* iv. 3, 4, 5. Only I must premise, that the Catholick Church in its true Extent, includes the Church Triumphant as well as the Church Militant; nay, all the Saints that have been, are, or shall be on Earth to the End of the World; see Mr. Claud's *Reponse au livre de Mons. l'Evesq; de Meaux*, &c. p. 7, 8, 9, &c.

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But if we speak of the *Catholic Church* as militant on Earth, it must be considered either as measured by the *Judgment of God*, which discerns the Truth of Things from all hypocritical Disguises, or as measur'd by the *Judgment of human Charity*. As measur'd by the Judgment of God, 'tis according to the fore-quoted Text, *One Body or Society animated by one holy Spirit, having one heavenly Hope, subjected to one Lord Jesus, believing the same revealed Doctrine as to all necessary Articles, and devoted by one baptismal Covenant to one heavenly Father.* This Body is call'd *Invisible*, or *Mystical*, from that internal Faith and Holiness which are Invisible; and 'tis also *Visible*, by the external Profession of that true Faith and Holiness. And this is that Church which we profess to believe in the Creed, in which alone we can expect to find the true Communion of Saints; and not the Catholic Church, as visible, or as measur'd by a Judgment of Charity, as the Papists assert, and Mr. King with them, contrary to the Stream of Protestant Writers on that Controversie. And to this Church alone all Promises of saving Blessings are made in the holy Scriptures. * But the Catholic Church, as measur'd by the *Judgment of human Charity*, comprizes all that make a credible Profession of Christian Faith and Holiness. For we are incapable to distinguish the true and living Members of the Church, from those that only appear to be so. And therefore the Catholic Church, as estimated by our Charity, is more *large* and *comprehensive* than the *real* Body of Christ. For *Hypocrites* are no true Members of his Body, tho' mixt with them in the same external Society by their external Profession; or as St. John distinguishes, they are among them, but not of them, 1 John ii. 19. They are but *blasted* Ears, not the true *Wheat*; they are Members of the Church Catholic in *Appearance*, not in *Reality*. The Church Catholic, as measur'd by our charitable Judgment, is I know commonly call'd the Church Catholic-Visible, i. e. the Church Catholic, as estimated by an external or visible Profession. But I would choose rather, for avoiding Confusion, to call it the Visible Church Catholic mixt: For the Church Catholic in the proper Sense (as constituted of its living, or as the Schools speak, its univocal Members, real Saints) is also *Visible*, because its Members not only believe with the Heart, but confess with the Mouth to Salvation, as the Apostle Paul speaks, Rom. x. 10. But these real Saints do not make up one *distinct* external Society by themselves, but as mixt with a crowd of Hypocrites, who joyn with them in the same external Profession of Christianity; nor are they exactly distinguishable from Hypocrites in our Judgment, which cannot pierce into the Hearts of Men, and only looks at the Credibility of their external Profession. If therefore it be inquir'd, what is the true Catholic Church? We must answer, All sincere Christians, who are *one* Body or Society by their Belief of, and Subjection to Jesus Christ their common Head and Centre of Unity. If it be inquir'd, whom should we in Charity judge to be Members of the Catholic Church, the Answer is obvious; All that make a credible Profession of that Faith and that Subjection. If it be ask'd further, what is a credible Profession? 'Tis answer'd, A Profession not contradicted by notorious Ignorance of the *Essentials* of Christianity, by *fundamental* Errors, or by notorious *Wickedness*. And he that would prove any particular Church or Churches, that call themselves Christian, to be no Parts of the Catholic Church, must prove that they deny, or at least do not profess some essential Article of the Christian Faith, or are notoriously ungodly. (I add notoriously ungodly, because Subjection to the Laws of Christ is as necessary to our being the true Members of his Church, as Belief of his Doctrine; and consequently a credible Profession of that Subjection, as requisite to our being esteemed such). And therefore Dr.

Manby has very little Reason to value himself upon this Question: And the Church of Rome has so little Reason to arrogate to her self the Title of the Church Catholic, that a Man must be very charitable to allow her to be a Part of it; but no wise Man will allow her to be any other than the most corrupt and unsound Part of it. For that Church has gone so near towards the subverting the essential Truths and Laws of Christianity, by their dangerous Corruptions in Doctrine, Worship and Practice, that it would be the best Service Dr. Manby can do her, to demonstrate clearly that there is a credible Profession of Christianity left amongst those that practically hold all the Decisions of the Council of Trent, ex. gr. To reconcile that Doctrine of their Council, that *imperfect Contrition or Attrition, is sufficient to dispose a Man for Absolution in the Sacrament of Penance*, Council of Trent, Sess. 4 cap. 4. with that necessary Doctrine of the Gospel, *Without Repentance there is no Remission of Sins*. To reconcile the Worship of the Church of Rome with the second Commandment, &c. is a Task well worthy of Dr. Manby's Pains. But I hope in many that live in the Communion of the Church of Rome, the common Principles of Christianity which they retain, prevail against the poisonous Additions of *Popery*; and all the Doctrines of that and other Councils are not practically held by them. But their Claim to be a Part of the Church Catholic, is not near so clear and indisputable as that of the reformed Churches, whose Doctrine and Worship compar'd with the holy Scriptures, evidence them to be an incomparably sounder Part of it; tho' even all the reformed Churches are not equal in their Soundness and Purity.

This Catholic Church hath only one universal Head Jesus Christ, and is one Body only on the Account of its Union with, and Subjection to him. Nor is there any *Vicarious* universal Head under Christ, to which the Government of the Church Catholic is committed, whether *Pope*, *General Council*, or *College of Prelates*; Nor can any such human Head make Laws obligatory to the universal Church. For any to pretend to it, is an *Usurpation* of Christ's Legislative Power; and 'tis chiefly on the Account of that *Usurpation*, and employing that usurped Power to deprave the Church, and destroy its soundest Members, that the Protestants have call'd the Pope *Antichrist*. Particular Churches are the chief integrating Parts of the Church Catholic; (I speak of it here as measur'd by the Judgment of Charity). As to any of these particular Churches, if the Question be, Are they a Part of the Catholic Church; It must be resolv'd by the Credibility of their Christian Profession. If the Question be, Are they Churches regularly constituted or organiz'd? 'Tis in the Resolution of this Question. We must consider, whether they be a Society of Christians united under one or more such Pastors as Christ has appointed, for personal Communion in Faith, Worship and holy Living; and whether their Pastors were in a regular Manner set over them. And here the Dispute about *lawful spiritual Governors* must come in. For that a particular Church have a *lawful Pastor*, is not absolutely necessary to its being a true Church, and consequently a true Part of the Catholic Church (as Mr. King himself acknowledges in the fore-quoted Place, p. 90. tho' how he will reconcile that Concession with his Description of the Catholic Church, I do not understand): 'Tis only necessary to its being a Church regularly constituted. And who are such lawful Pastors, there will be occasion to discuss in Answer to the 4th Question.

The Second Question is, Whether by the Church Catholic be meant the Church of England alone, or the Church of England in Communion with other Churches?

Mr. King well replies, The Church of England is no more the Catholic Church, than the *British Seas* are

* The Judgment of several Fathers to this purpose, and particularly St. Aug. see quoted in that forecited Discourse of Mr. Claud, from p. 45 to 68. the

the whole Ocean. But he does ill to found its being a Part of the Catholick Church on its Subjection to Catholick Bishops. I suppose he means Diocesan Bishops. For it would not cease to be a Part of the Catholick Church, if it should disown Diocesan Prelacy. And if Mr. King think otherwise, he has these two difficult Propositions to prove; First, that Jesus Christ has instituted the Office of Diocesan Prelates in his Church; and secondly, that he has made such Prelates the Centre of Catholick Unity, and Subjection to them necessary to our being Members of the Catholick Church. Now if Mr. King will undertake the Defence of these two Propositions, he not only unchurches all the reformed Churches that want Diocesan Prelacy, but even the Catholick Church it self for a Century or two at least, as I offer to evince, if Mr. King please to demand it. For Communion with other Churches, it must be understood in the Essentials of Christian Religion; for it can scarce be expected in all its Integrals in this imperfect State, but much less in unnecessary human Additions to Christianity: And we must not confound Communion with Subjection; the former may be due where the latter is not.

The third Question is, With what other Church does the Church of England communicate in Sacraments and Liturgy?

Mr. King well answers, That Unity in Liturgy is no Part of Communion of Churches; and that the Church of England (and had his Charity been wide enough, he might safely have added also, the Churches call'd Presbyterian and Independent) is united with all other Christians in the Participation of the same Sacraments: And I doubt not the Presbyterian and Independent Churches administer them as agreeably to our Saviour's Institution as any other. I come therefore to the

4th Question, Whether by the Catholick Church be meant the variety of all Protestants, since they want her essential Mark, Unity?

Before I consider Mr. King's Answer to the Question, I shall offer one that is very obvious, and (I doubt not) more agreeable to the Temper of every true Catholick and charitable Christian, viz.

That all the reformed Churches whose publick Confessions of Faith are extant, are true Parts of the Catholick Church; tho' some of them may be more, others less pure and uncorrupted. (Of Quakers we can make no Judgment, because we know not what their Opinions are, and 'tis well if they do so themselves. For Fifth-Monarchy Men, I know no distinct Churches constituted of them; and if they hold no other Notion of a Fifth-Monarchy, than the learned Mr. Mede on the Revelations seems inclin'd to believe, I hope Mr. King will not think it inconsistent with Salvation.)

If Dr. Manby ask where is the essential Mark of the Church Catholick, viz. Unity among the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent and Anabaptist Churches?

Ans. What Unity does he mean? If an Unity in the Essentials of Christian Faith and Holiness, let him name me one of these Churches that denies any essential Article of the Christian Religion, or one Precept of the moral Law; nay, or one essential Part of divine Worship, as Praise, Prayer, Preaching; or one Sacrament instituted by Jesus Christ? For tho' the Anabaptists deny the Baptizing of Infants, yet they do not deny Baptism it self; and however I may judge them mistaken in that Point, I should think him more dangerously mistaken that should on the Account of their Error in so intricate a Controversy, condemn them as no Part of the Catholick Church. I will not patronize all the Irregularities that may be objected in some of these Churches, but my Charity does oblige me to add, that they are not such as invalidate the Credibility of their Christian Profession, nor the thousand Part so gross as the Corruptions of the Greek and Roman Churches.

Or does Mr. Manby mean by Catholick Unity, an Unity in a human universal Head of the Church, as Pope or Council? This is no better than an Unity in

owning a gross Usurper that invades the Prerogatives of our blessed Lord, the only Head of his Church, that claims an universal Power over his Church, without any Commission from him. Or does he mean, an Unity in all the Errors, Idolatry, Superstition, and corrupt Practices that have by Degrees crept into the Church, and over-run any considerable Part of it? I hope he will not make this the Mark of the Catholick Church's Unity, no more than he would make Mens Diseases a Mark of their Unity in the human Nature. This is an Unity to be avoided, not courted or desired. Or does he mean an Unity in human unnecessary Canons, that shall reduce all Christians to an exact Uniformity in the external Modes of Religion? This is an Unity never to be effected, but either by reducing Mens Judgments to an Uniformity about those Matters, or by forcing them to comply with what their Judgments condemn. The former is morally impossible, considering the different Degrees of our Knowledge in this imperfect State on Earth; and one might as wisely attempt to bring all Nations to affect the same civil Customs, Ceremonies, or Garb. The latter is a Lording it over God's Heritage, and exercising a Dominion over the Faith of Christians in the highest Degree, which the Apostles themselves disclaim and forbid, 2 Cor. i. 24. 2 Pet. v. 3. An Uniformity in human Rites is no Unity prescribed in the Word of God; and consequently not necessary to the Constitution of the Catholick Church. The Laws of Christ, which alone are obligatory to the Catholick Church, have made sufficient Provision for its Unity as far as it is attainable on Earth; (for perfect Unity is the Effect of the perfect Light and Love of Heaven). And for any single Person, or collective Body of Pastors to prescribe other Terms of Unity to the Catholick Church than Christ hath done, is not only an Usurpation of his legislative Power, but one of the most effectual Methods that Hell has found out to raise Schisms and Divisions in it, and thereby to destroy Christian Love. And he that knows not how fatal an Engine, the needless and corrupt Impositions of ambitious Prelates and their Councils, have been above these 1300 Years, to deprave and tear the Christian Church, under pretence of reducing it to an impossible Uniformity, is either a stranger to Church-History, or has too deep a Tincture of that wretched Pride and Ignorance, that has animated imperious Patriarchs and Popes.

I proceed now to consider Mr. King's Answer to Dr. Manby's Question, which I shall transcribe at large.

Neither are all Protestants Catholick Members of the Church, nor they only. Those among Protestants that embrace the Catholick Faith, and make no Separation from their lawful Governors, and that live in Unity of Faith and Charity with their neighbour Churches, are Catholick Members; and have that Unity which is essential to the Catholick Church. But these are not to be confounded with Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy Men, Quakers, &c. since these have separated themselves from their lawful Governors, as much as Mr. Manby himself; though their Crime be less than his; as he is less Guilty that makes a Rebellion, than he who joyns with a Forreigner to enslave his Country.

I did not expect a Man of Mr. King's Abilities cou'd have betray'd so much Ignorance or Uncharitableness, or both, in answering so easy a Question. If the Dissenters be guilty of Schism, I am sure 'tis not half so gross and palpable as what this one Paragraph contains, nor so opposite to true Christian Love.

Mr. King who charges Dr. Manby for talking of Things without clearing them, would do well to take his own Advice. 'Tis hard to imagine what he means by Catholick Members of the Church. Does he mean the same by it, as Members of the Catholick Church, or no?

If he do not, what signifies his Answer to Dr. Manby's Question, which was, Whether the Church Catholick contain all the variety of Protestants, who want her essential Mark, viz. Unity? Nay, why does he assert those Pro-

testants only, whom he here describes to have that Unity which is essential to the Catholick Church? For none can be Members of the Catholick Church, but such as are united with their Fellow-Members in those Things which essentially constitute them one Church or Body. *Catholick Members* of the Church is no very proper Expression, 'tis like *total Parts*, and can have no tolerable Sense distinct from that plainer Expression, *Members of the Catholick Church*. If Mr. King make any distinction bewixt these two Phrases, it must be founded on the Supposition of some vicarious Head of Unity to the Catholick Church, which we condemn the Church of Rome for setting up, and Mr. King himself seems to disown, p. 55. Nor would that Hypothesis itself justify the Distinction; because if Christ have made any vicarious Head or Centre of Unity to the Catholick Church, we could not be united to him as his Members, without Union with that vicarious Head. So that to be Catholick Members of the Church, and Members of the Catholick Church, are the same Thing.

And if Mr. King use that Expression in this Sense, let us consider a little the Description he gives of those who are Catholick Members of the Church. Here are three Characters to know them by; Their embracing the Catholick Faith, their making no Separation from their lawful Governors, their living in Charity with their neighbour Churches.

The first is, *Embracing the Catholick Faith* (and he should have added, *Professing Catholick Holiness of Life*). For this Character 'tis undeniable, and I hope Mr. King will not exclude any of the forementioned Protestant Churches, from being Catholick Members of the Church on this score.

The two latter, Mr. King himself will find too dangerous, and too schismatical to own upon second Thoughts.

For from the third, viz. *living in Charity with their neighbour Churches*, I infer;

1. That this Character does exclude all the *Papists* from being Catholick Members of the Church; for they are so far from living in Charity with their neighbour Churches, that their *Trent-creed* does assert its Articles to be that Catholick Faith, without which no Man can be saved, and consequently damns all the Churches in the World besides their own.

2. On Supposition the reformed Churches abroad which have not Diocesan Bishops, be true Churches, this Character excludes all those of the Church of England from being Catholick Members of the Church, who do, with Mr. Dodwell, un-church all those reformed Churches that want Prelatical Ordination. For to un-church them, is not to live in Charity with them.

3. If the Churches of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* here be true Churches, (as I shall in this Paper evince they are) then Mr. King and all that are of his Mind, are no Catholick Members of the Church, because they live not in Charity with their neighbour Churches. (And I hope there is not the less Charity due to them, for being of the same Country or Nation) for Mr. King makes Subjection to lawful Pastors, a Mark of the Members of the Catholick Church, p. 4. and declares the *Presbyterian*, &c. destitute of that Mark, p. 6. And consequently denies them to be Members of the Catholick Church, which is the highest Breach of Charity imaginable. And what if the *Presbyterian* should treat Mr. King according to his own Principle, and declare him no Catholick Member, because he lives not in Charity with them? They would but use his own Weapons against himself. But (however they have been misrepresented) they are not of that schismatical Humour as some are, who have long made a loud out-cry against Schism.

4. Nay, if this Character be true, then in all those Contentions that have happen'd in the Church where the contending Parties have been so uncharitable as to Excommunicate one another, 'tho sometimes about meer Trifles; the one Party or both, have ceas'd to be Catholick Members of the Church. And so when

Pope Victor excommunicated the *Eastern Churches*, for not keeping *Easter* on the same Day with him, he, and all that joyn'd with him, ceas'd to be Catholick Members of the Church. And if to be *Catholick Members of the Church*, and *Members of the Catholick Church* be the same, what a vast Part of the Christian World has been un-church'd in every Age, by the uncharitable Censures of proud contentious Prelates!

I suppose Mr. King never considered these Consequences, or else he would never have made living in Charity with neighbour Churches, a necessary Mark of the Catholick Members of the Church. As if the legitimate Children of the same Father, might not in an angry Mood call one another *Bastards*, or the Subjects of the same King in a peevish Humour, nick-name their Fellow-Subjects, Rebels, without any just cause. I am sure, the *Presbyterian* Churches both at home and abroad, are the least concern'd in this Character; for they have never un-church'd the *Prelatical Churches*, even when they have met with the most harsh and unreasonable Treatment from them.

But Mr. King has given us another Character to distinguish the Catholick Members of the Church by, which he imagines will exclude all the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. from that Number, viz.

That they are such as make no Separation from their lawful Governors.

All this is founded on his schismatical Mark of the Catholick Church, viz. *That its Members live under their lawful spiritual Governors*. Here therefore all those Difficulties occur about the Meaning of lawful spiritual Governors, which were propos'd, p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And which Sense soever Mr. King chooses, he will find it does oblige him to un-church a great Part of the Catholick Church, i. e. to be a *Schismatick* of the worst sort. And if the Laws of Christ must determine the Debate, he will give the Dissenters such an Argument against *Prelatical Churches* being Members of the Catholick, as he will never be able to answer: And Mr. Baxter's *Treatise*, which proves the *Unlawfulness of Diocesan Prelacy*, has, according to Mr. King, done what that charitable Man never intended, un-church'd all our Diocesan Churches, and cashier'd them from being any Part of the Church Catholick.

There is no doubt but unjust Separation from any lawful spiritual Governors is a sinful Practice: And particular Churches gather'd by such a sinful Separation, are not gather'd in a regular way. And therefore an unjust Violation of due Order, is all that Mr. King can justly pretend to charge the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* with, and perhaps will find it a more difficult Task than he imagines, to make good that Charge.

And therefore to clear this Matter, let me premise; Particular Churches are the chief integrating Parts of the Church Catholick. These Churches consist of one or more Pastors, and a Christian Flock associated under his or their Oversight for personal Communion in Faith, Worship, and holy Living. These Churches are obliged by the very Dictates of the Light of Nature, and general Rules of the holy Scripture, to endeavour the Preservation of all necessary Unity, by the amicable Consultations of their associated Pastors. The Judgment of such associated Pastors should be submitted to by the People under their Care, when 'tis not repugnant to the Word of God, and contrary to the Interest of Religion. But the People do not owe them a blind Obedience, nor have such Pastors any Power but for Edification. Much less can such Bishops pretend to an higher Power, whose very Office Christ never instituted, whose pretended Relation to their Dioceses, is not founded on the Peoples Consent to it; and if such Bishops should claim the sole Power of Church-Government in a Nation, and exercise it against the Will of Christ, to the notorious Detriment of Souls, (as by unjust silencing of faithful Pastors when their Labours are highly conducive to the Churches Good, by imposing on the People sinful Conditions of Church Communion, by obtruding unqualified

unqualify'd Pastors on the People against their Consent, &c.) To separate from such Bishops so far as to disobey these unjust Commands, is no Separation from our lawful Governors; and is no more a *Rebellion in the Church*, than 'tis a Rebellion in the State to disobey one that usurps a Power he never receiv'd from the King, and which he exercises against the Laws and Interest of the Kingdom.

And therefore I would propose these two Questions to Mr. King in reference to this Head.

Quest. 1. On supposition the *Presbyterians and Independents* have made an unjust Separation from their lawful Governors, whom they should have submitted to, *Whether this be such a Crime as will exclude them from being Catholick Members of the Church?*

To resolve that, We must consider the Nature of their Separation. Their Ministers separate from the Bishops, i. e. they are not willing to obey them in what they account a sinful and dangerous Usurpation, viz. the assuming the sole Power of Church-Government, and depriving the Pastors of particular Churches of an essential Part of their Office, and suspending them unjustly. Their People separate from the Parish-Ministers, but 'tis not by disowning them, as no true Ministers, but by refusing to receive them as *theirs*, because they judge they have a Right to choose a Physician for their Souls as well as for their Bodies; and therefore think not themselves bound to acquiesce in the *Patrons or Bishops* Choice, when contrary to their own Edification; especially when there are Terms of Parish-communion impos'd, to some *unlawful*, to others greatly *suspected*; and all true Church-discipline is cast out or neglected. They separate not from the conforming Churches as no true Churches, but as preferring the ordinary Communion of *purer*; because they judge the Laws about Parish-order do not oblige, when injurious to the Interest of Religion and Souls. Now suppose them mistaken in these Matters through the Weakness of their Judgment; will this sort of Separation make them cease to be *Catholick Members of the Church*? 'Tis not a Separation from any thing *Christ* has made necessary to the Unity of his Church, 'tis only a Separation from some human Order, which they dare not comply with, because they apprehend it contrary to the Laws of *Christ*. And is this to be compar'd to a Rebellion in the State? (as he is pleas'd to do, p. 6.) Is the Convocation, *Christ*? or their *Canons* equally obligatory to his Laws? Or do those that disobey the *Canons* of the Convocation, because they judge them opposite to the Laws of *Christ*, renounce their Allegiance to him, as the Head of his Church? Are their *Canons* even about Things they call *Indifferent*, as necessary to be obey'd, as the undoubted Rules of the Gospel, by all that would be *Catholick Members* of the Church, when those that are requir'd to obey them, fear the Things commanded are unlawful? When I read such Expressions as these about *Church-Rebellion*, I cannot but lament the Effects of human Ignorance and Pride, and observe in such as Mr. King, some Degrees of that Spirit that has acted Papal Councils, who made no Scruple of treating all that would not pay them a blind Obedience with such Characters as these. And I know no better way to convince Mr. King of the Folly of this Principle I am opposing, than by shewing him how pernicious the Consequences of it are to his own Party.

For if this sort of Schism which he supposes the Dissenters guilty of, prove them to be no Catholick Members of the Church, then sure more heinous Schism will prove those to be in the same Condition who are guilty of it. Greater Schism is more opposite to *Catholick Unity* than lesser. But the *Prelates* are guilty of more heinous Schism than this of the *Dissenters* (supposing it to be Schism); and consequently if Mr. King's Principle be true, are no Catholick Members of the Church. That the *Prelates* are guilty of more heinous Schism, I offer this Argument to evince. Those who impose unnecessary and doubtful Terms of Church-Com-

munion, nay, who declare many Thousands of true Christians *ipso facto* excommunicated, are greater Schismatics than those, who only scruple those Terms, tho' through Mistake, and who un-church not those Churches which they are thus forc'd to separate from. For the Schism of the *Imposers* is more *voluntary* and curable by forbearing to prescribe such Terms of *Communion*, as are more likely to prove Engines of Division; the Schism of the *Refusers* is more *involuntary*, and in doubtful Cases often incurable. And 'tis more opposite to *Christian Love* to excommunicate Thousands of sincere Christians, than 'tis to prefer those Churches which we upon the best Enquiry judge more pure, before those that seem more corrupt, without un-churching them; even tho' in so doing, we should be guilty of some Breach of the Churches Peace, by violating a tolerable human Order: So that all Mr. King will gain by excluding *Dissenters* from the *Catholick Church* on the Account of their Schism, will be, that by the same reason our *Convocation* were no *Catholick Members* of it; and if so, I am sure they are no lawful Governors in it.

For what I have here asserted, that the *Convocation* have excommunicated Thousands of sincere Christians, and that *ipso facto*, I appeal to their *Canons*, and to the Consciences of any that peruse them, and know the *Nonconformists* in these Kingdoms, few whereof are not by some of these *Canons ipso facto* excommunicated. See Mr. Baxter's *English Schismatick detected*, who from p. 42, to the 50th, recites the particular *Canons*.

Nay, if all that are guilty of equal Schism with that of the *Dissenters* (supposing them guilty) be no Catholick Members of the Church, I fear there are few such in the World. Sure the Schism of the *Papists* is of a more monstrous Nature, who un-church all the Churches on Earth besides themselves. And the *Greeks* pay them in the same Coin. And if other of the *Eastern Churches* do not un-church one another, they have lost their old wont. What dreadful Work Councils have made in *Hereticating* and *Un-churching* one another upon very unjustifiable Grounds, fills up both Pages in *Church-History*. And as such were more heinous Schismatics than those that are guilty only of *passive Separation*, (i. e. Separation occasion'd by Mens scrupling the Lawfulness of some human *Canons*) so according to this Notion, they were no Catholick Members of the Church: And at this senseless rate, we may soon reduce the Catholick Church to a small Compass. And what would become even of the Christian World, if the Compassions of our blessed Lord were as narrow as the Cnarity of such censorious Christians?

The 2d Question I would propose to Mr. King is,

Upon what Grounds does he assert that the *Presbyterians, Independents, &c.* have made a Separation from their lawful Spiritual Governors?

This Question relates to the regular Constitution of their Churches; Who then are the *lawful Pastors* of these *Presbyterians, &c.* from whom they have separated? Does he mean the *Bishops*, or the *Parish Ministers*?

If the *Bishops*, they must be consider'd, either as the King's Officers, to execute that civil Power which he has *circa sacra*; and so the *Presbyterians* submit to them, and separate not from them; Or they must be consider'd as *Christ's Officers*, to exercise that spiritual Power which his *Charter* gives; and as such, the *Presbyterians* are very ready to submit to them, when they have prov'd the *divine Right* of their Office: Or they must be consider'd as the *Churches Officers*; and if so, 'tis requisite, that Church should obey them; who assign them their Office, or consent to be their Subjects; not those who account their Office a sinful Usurpation, and are the more unwilling to become their Subjects, because they cannot be so without complying with sinful Impositions, and even approving their Usurpation. And that any Church may lawfully constitute new Officers whom *Christ* never appointed, and subject his undoubted Officers to their Authority, especially

cially such as Diocesan Prelates, who by engrossing the Power of the Keys, render Church-Discipline impracticable, is a Proposition Mr. King will hardly prove.

If the *Parish-Ministers* be the *lawful Governors* they separate from, I would willingly know how they come to be the *lawful Governors* or *Pastors* to those that consent not to their Pastoral Relation, and have sufficient Reasons why they do not? Will Mr. King say, that all Persons ought to commit the Conduct of their Souls to that Minister whom the *Bishops* or *Patron* chooses? And that 'tis sinful Separation not to do so? I would then enquire; what does he think of those *Parishes* that are so large, that scarce the tenth Part of the People can enjoy the Labours of the *Parish-Ministers*, as *Stepney*, *Giles*, *Martins*, and *Cripplegate* *Parishes* in *London*, which have one with another 30000 or 40000 Souls in each of them? Does he think it an unlawful Separation for that Part of the People, that cannot have room in the *Parish-Churches*, to attend the Ministrations of other pious and judicious Pastors? Is this such a Separation too as will exclude them from the *Catholick Church*? To assert this, is to prefer a Point of human Order (or rather Disorder) about *Parish-bounds*, before the *Salvation of Souls*; and in Effect to say, that it were better all those People should want the ordinary means of Salvation, and live like *Pagans* or *Atheists*, without any publick Worship of God, than such a Point of Church-order be violated. And if any can believe all this, 'tis very much to be doubted, whether they know what *Souls* and their *Salvation* are.

Again, What does Mr. King think of such *Parish-Ministers* as want the necessary Qualifications, such as are notoriously ignorant, or scandalously wicked? Do those in their *Parishes*, who after having sought Redress in vain, choose other Ministers of eminent Learning and Holiness, make a sinful Separation, even such as will argue them no *Catholick Members* of the Church? If he say this, he still prefers a meer Point of human Order before the end of it, the *Edification of Souls*; and had rather hazard their Damnation, than have a scandalous *Parish-Minister* disown'd, whose Life is more likely to debauch, than his Doctrine to reform his Hearers.

I might insist on many such Questions as these; but because Mr. King has not thought fit to give us any Reason why he takes the *Parish-Ministers* for the only *lawful Governors*, even to those *Nonconformists* that consent not to their pastoral Relation, I shall for their Vindication offer this Argument, to prove that the *Nonconformists* live under their *lawful spiritual Governors* or *Pastors*, and consequently make no Separation from them.

I instance in the *Presbyterians*;

Those are the lawful spiritual Governors of particular Christian Flocks or Churches, who have all the Qualifications requisite, a valid Ordination, the Consent of those Churches, and who in taking the Over-sight of them violate no Law of God, nor any just Law of Man.

But such are the *Pastors* of the *Presbyterian Churches* in these Kingdoms; Ergo, they are the *lawful Pastors* of those Churches.

The minor Proposition alone needs Proof, viz. That the *Pastors* of the *Presbyterian Churches* are such as are here describ'd.

For their *Qualifications*, and the *Consent of the People*; that is matter of Fact, concerning which they may safely appeal to those that know them: Only I would here suggest, that a considerable Number of Ministers who prescribe various difficult Exercises to a Candidate for the Trial of his Abilities, are as likely to judge of them as one single *Bishop*, who usually commits the Examination of them to his Chaplain. For the *Validity of their Ordination*, I undertake to make that good in Answer to the Questions about *Mission*. The only Doubt then remaining is, *Whether these Pastors in taking the Over-sight of their Flocks, do violate any Law of God, or any just Law of Man?*

1. For the *Laws of God*, I cannot understand any that they should be supposed to violate, but either that *Law* that enjoins us to obey Superiors, or such as enjoin the *Preservation of the Churches Peace*.

For the former, it falls in with what Doubt may arise concerning the *Laws of Men*.

For the latter, the Precepts of God which concern the *Churches Peace*, I need only say these two Things to clear them from the Suspicion of violating them.

1. That the great Duties recommended in the holy Scriptures, in order to the *Preservation of the Churches Peace*, are a mutual Forbearance in things Indifferent, and a charitable Judgment of each other in lesser Differences.

This is evident from the 14th Chap. of the Epistle to the *Romans*, to the 7th ver. of the 15th. where these Duties are at large press'd from great variety of Topics, and urg'd on those that had Pastors among them. And to say, this great Rule only oblig'd Christians to these Duties till the Clergy had determin'd those indifferent Things, and by their imposing them, cast out all Dissenters, is too like the Confidence of those Gentlemen, who own Christ instituted the Communion in both kinds: But tell us his Institution obliges not, now the Church has pleas'd to command it shall be otherwise. And I do appeal to any impartial Judge, whether the *Convocation* or the *Presbyterians* have better observ'd this great Rule that concerns the *Churches Peace*. But,

2. No Law of God enjoins us to do any thing sinful for the *Churches Peace*.

But for the *Pastors* of the *Presbyterian Churches* to desert their ministerial Office when never justly forbidden, and when their Labours were highly conducive to the Interest of Religion and the Salvation of Souls, were sinful: Methinks those Men that are so zealous to exclaim against all Alienation of Churchlands and Utensils as Sacrilege, and a very horrid Sin, should see something equally heinous, if not more so, in Mens alienating those excellent Gifts God has endued them with for the Churches Edification, when never justly forbidden the Exercise of that Ministry to which they are devoted. They who are justly call'd to that Office by Men, are call'd by Christ, and are bound to be true and faithful to him. And where there is a true necessity of their Labours, they may answer their unjust Silencers, as Peter and John did; Acts iv. 19. *Whether it be right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* Timothy, who was ordain'd by Men, yet has that solemn Charge given him, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2. that is sufficient to deter Ministers from denying their Lord the Service they have vow'd him, to please the unjust Will of Men. I know but one Case that will excuse a Minister unjustly silenc'd in forbearing the Exercise of his Ministry, viz. when there is no necessity of his Labours, and the Exercise of his Ministry would, by violating publick Order, do more hurt than good in his present Circumstances. But 'tis too evident, this was not the Case of those 2000 Ministers silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity. To that purpose, let the Consequences of their continuing or forbearing their Ministry be compar'd. What was the Inconvenience of their Preaching more than this, that a Point of human Order was violated; some needless Impositions (so speak the mildest) not comply'd with, (which were design'd to promote an impracticable Uniformity, but were more likely to prove Engines of corrupting and dividing the Church) and the unjust Will of the Silencers disobey'd. What was the Advantage of their continuing their Ministry? It may be justly said to the Honour of God, that many Thousands of ignorant Souls have been instructed in the Truths of the Gospel, and by true Conversion or Repentance added to the Number of Christ's mystical Body; the Honour of Christianity has been promoted by the Purity of their Societies, through the faithful Exercise of Church-discipline; the serious Practice of Religion has been more effectually maintain'd in a profane and debauched Age;

Age; and (what I would chiefly recommend to your Consideration) a vast Number of Souls have enjoy'd the sutable and successful Means of their Edification and Salvation, who, either thro' the Irregularity of Parish-Bounds, or thro' their own Scruples about the Terms of Parish-Communion, must else have wanted them; or thro' the ill Provision of Parish-Ministers, must have sat under such Pastors, as no Man concern'd for his own eternal Happiness should be satisfy'd with, where he may have better. For the Truth of these Things, the silenc'd Ministers may freely appeal to those that know them, and have any serious Sense of these Matters. But they will not much regard the Judgment of those who think there's no need of any other Conversion, than from the external Profession of a false Religion, to the Profession of a true; and no Regeneration but external Baptism, who account all sufficiently qualify'd to take a Pastoral Charge of Souls who have got into Holy Orders, and think the People bound, in Complaisance to the Patron, or the Bishop, to acquiesce in their Choice, tho' it deprive them of the most probable Means of their Salvation, and oblige them to sit under those as their Pastors, from whose Labours little Success can be rationally expected. But for such as understand the real Necessities and Value of Souls, and know how much the Success of Ministers does ordinarily depend on their moral Aptitude and Abilities for that sacred Office, and have learnt to prefer the Edification and Salvation of Souls before external Order, when inconsistent with it: Let them judge, whether the foresaid Ministers had not sinned, had they in these Circumstances deserted their Ministry, and denied their Help to those that needed, and earnestly crav'd it? *i. e.* Whether it were better, that in our large Parish-Churches, Thousands should live without any publick Worship of God, or Means of Salvation? Or, that all who scruple the impos'd Conditions of *Lay-Communion*, should live without Pastors till they can change their Judgment? Or that the People in a vast Number of Parishes should live under such as their Pastors, as no serious Christian would commit the Conduct of his Soul to, where he may have better? Or, that Irreligion should prevail, thro' the total Neglect of *Church-Discipline*? In a Word, whether it were better all the Souls, whom the *Nonconformist's Ministry* has been the Instrument, within these Twenty Five Years, to enlighten, sanctify, and prepare for Heaven, had never enjoy'd their Labours, than the external Order of Parish-Bounds should be violated, and the suspected Impositions (of Things own'd by the Imposers for indifferent) disobey'd?

Now if it were sinful for the silenc'd Ministers to desert their Office in such Circumstances, because of an unjust Prohibition; then no Law of God, that concerns the Churches Peace, does oblige them to it. And that they were unjustly prohibited the Exercise of their Office, belongs to the next Head.

2. *The foresaid Ministers do in the Exercise of their Ministry violate no just Law of Man.*

The human Law which they violate, enjoins such Conditions of their Office as these among others.

1. *A Declaration of unfeign'd Assent and Consent to all Things contained in, and prescribed by the Book, entituled, The Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, &c. and in the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*

2. *The Oxford Oath, or, swearing never to endeavour any Alteration of the present Church-Government.*

3. *Re-ordination, as to those that had not prelatical Ordination.*

4. *The Oath of Canonical Obedience, &c.*

Now if these Conditions of the Ministry be sinful, I would gladly know, whether any human Law be just, that forbids the Ministers of our Lord Jesus to preach his Gospel, unless they will comply with sinful Terms, or that makes *sinning* the Condition of the Ex-

ercise of their Ministry? I hope none will presume to say that which sets up the Authority of Man against God's. I would therefore inquire further, *Ought all to forbear the Exercise of their Ministry who are forbidden by an unjust human Law?* If so, why did not Christian Pastors forbear it under Pagan Emperors, or the Orthodox under the *Arrian*, or reformed Pastors under Popish Princes, where the Law forbids them? Or will Mr. King say, all these ought to have forborn and deserted their Office. What! has God left it at the Will of Men whether he shall be publicly worship'd, whether his Gospel shall be preach'd, whether the Office he has call'd Men to shall be discharg'd, whether Souls shall enjoy the sutable Means of their Salvation, or the Number of Ministers shall be proportionable to the real Necessity of Souls? Has he given Men any Power against his own Interest, or to promote the Damnation of Souls, by imposing such Terms of the Ministry, as Christ's own Laws forbid his Ministers to obey? If all ought not to forbear their Ministry who are forbidden by an unjust Law, *What is there in the Case of the silenc'd Ministers that should oblige them to it?* I know nothing can be imagin'd but this, That Obedience to that Law, tho' unjust, would, in their Circumstances, tend more to the Good of the Church and Souls, than all their ministerial Labours. And if any can make this good, I doubt not but they will forbear. For Proof of the contrary, see *Pag. 27, 28* under the former Head.

All the Question therefore will be concerning the Conditions of the Ministry, that by the foresaid Law were impos'd upon them.

For the First mention'd, the *Declaration of Assent and Consent, &c.*

Are there not many Thousands of sincere and upright Christians in these Kingdoms, who do really judge kneeling at the Sacrament unlawful, because they account it a symbolizing with the Church of Rome in a Ceremony abus'd to Idolatry? Who judge the Cross in Baptism unlawful, because it is a new *Tessera* or Symbol of our Christian Profession of human Institution, to which those very Duties and Blessings of the Gospel are annex'd, which our Lord has annex'd to Baptism, especially when the Words of the Canon are, [*To dedicate them by that Badge (the Sign of the Cross) to the Service of Christ, whose Benefits bestow'd on them in Baptism, the Name of the Cross does represent?*] Or, who scruple the Use of Sponsors in Baptism, to undertake that Work which is the Parents Duty, and not theirs, unless the Parent be incapable; and the more, because the 29th Canon of the Church saith, [*No Parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as Godfather for his own Child?*] He that knows not, there are many Thousands who judge these Things unlawful, and yet are Persons as eminent for their Piety, as those that are otherwise minded, is either a Stranger to these Nations, or has very little Charity left. Whether these Persons be mistaken in these Scruples or no, I do not now dispute, nor is it necessary to my Argument to suppose them in the right: But I would hope it will be granted me, that their credible Profession of Religion gives them a Right to all the Seals of the Covenant; and that it is not lawful to debar them from the Lord's Supper, or their Children from Baptism, on the Account of these Scruples. To say otherwise, were to make it lawful for the Ministers of Christ to reject those whom they have all imaginable Reason to believe that their Lord receives; nay, whom he has commanded them to receive, *Rom. xiv. 1.* Whereas to reject such, is a heinous Degree of Schism, and opposite to the great Law of Charity and Christian-Forbearance, which Pastors as well as People are concern'd in. 'Tis the very Sin *Diotrephes* is charg'd with, in the 3d Epistle of John, ver. 10.

Now if it be unlawful to deprive such of external Church-Privileges, as in the Judgment of rational Charity have a Right to them, then 'tis unlawful to profess

profess our Assent and Consent to a Book which obliges us to this uncharitable and schismatical Practice: For the Book obliges us to administer the Sacraments only in the Manner there prescribed, and by the Canons of the Church those Ministers incur the Danger of Suspension that do otherwise. So that we cannot be Ministers, without approving these schismatical Conditions of Church-Communion, and perhaps excluding the most sober Part of a Parish on the Account of them. Whereas Christian Love forbids us to exclude such, and much more forbids us to assent and consent to their Exclusion.

For the second Condition of the Ministry, *That Clause in the Oxford Oath, wherein we must swear never to endeavour any Alteration of Government in the Church.*

Does Mr. King think there are no Corruptions in the Government of the Church, which if alter'd and reform'd would greatly conduce to the Advancement of real Religion? Is the Exercise of Church-Government by a Lay-Chancellor, and the Manner of their Process in the Spiritual Courts, no Corruption that needs Amendment? What, when so solemn a Thing as the Censures of the Church is manag'd more like a Design to correct Men's Purfes, than either the Errors of their Judgment, or Disorders of their Practice; and as Dr. Burnet, in the Life of Bishop Bedel complains, *That Excommunication had lost all its Force as a spiritual Censure, and was dreaded only on the Account of the Effects it produc'd in Law.* And these Matters are not since chang'd for the better. Is that Discipline by which every particular Church should be, as much as possible, preserv'd from the Infection and Scandal of notoriously wicked Members, possible to be exercised by a Bishop or his Lay-Chancellor for a whole Diocese, containing three or four Hundred, or perhaps as many more particular Churches? For Instance, is the Bishop of Lincoln, whose Diocese contains in it 1000 or 1100 Parish Churches, capable to call all the scandalous Sinners within that vast Precinct to Repentance, to examine the Crimes alledg'd against them, use all the Admonitions and Reproofs that tend to reclaim them; and after due Evidence of their Impenitency, cast them out of Church-Communion? How many Thousands must he have at once in his Court, if he exercised Church Discipline as strictly as the Holy Scriptures enjoyn, or as the Common-Prayer-Book owns it was practis'd in the primitive Church. See Preface to the Communion used in Lent. And does there need any plainer Argument of the Impossibility of it, than that this Discipline was never actually exercised by the Bishops to any Purpose, nor one scandalous Sinner of a Thousand in a Diocese, ever call'd to Repentance for his notorious Crimes, or censured for his continuing in them, unless it were some scrupulous Nonconformist. And does Mr. King think these Things need no Alteration? If he doth so, I would gladly know, what Church-Government or Discipline signifies? To what Purpose then is all this Stir about an empty Name, when there is no use to be made of the Thing to the great Purposes it is intended for? when 'tis not exercised to preserve the Honour of Religion, by a credible Profession of it in particular Churches, and to secure those Churches from the pernicious Influence of such, whom their Heresies, or their scandalous Crimes render unfit for Christian Society?

If these Things be gross Abuses, if the present Church-Government render Discipline impracticable, and deprive Parish-Ministers of an essential Part of their Office, is it lawful to swear we will never endeavour an Alteration of this, and that without any Limitation signified, as [*in an irregular Manner, or beyond our particular Sphere?*] Is it lawful for those who know these to be Corruptions which have greatly depraved the Church, and dishonour'd Christianity, to swear they will never endeavour to amend them? They might as well bind themselves by Oath never to repent, nor promote the Repentance of others.

If any say the Meaning of the Oath is, only that they will never endeavour this [*by any sinful Means, or beyond their private Sphere*] why could not these necessary Words be put in? And that this dangerous Sense was never intended by the Convocation, is evident from the 7th Canon, where they thus speak; [*Whoever shall hereafter affirm that the Government of the Church of England, under his Majesty, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and the rest that bear Office in the same, is Anti-christian, or repugnant to the Word of God, let him be excommunicate ipso facto, and so continue till he repent, and revoke such his wicked Error.*] They that thus suppos'd nothing in their Government repugnant to the Word of God, did, without doubt, intend to bind the inferior Clergy from all Attempts to alter it; and so contriv'd this Oath, that an Allegiance might be in these Nations sworn to the Bishops, as well as the King.

For the Third, viz. *Re-ordination.* The Divines of the Church of England generally own it unlawful; and consequently, the Imposition of it supposes Ordination by Presbyters a Nullity. For such therefore as were so ordain'd to consent to *Re-ordination*, is to own the Nullity of their former Administrations, and cast the basest Slur on a great Part of the Reformed Ministry. And this reminds me of a Passage in the Preface to the Book of Ordination, which acquaints us with the Judgment of those that compos'd it, viz. [*And to this Intent, that these Orders be reverently esteem'd, no Man shall be accounted or taken for a lawful Priest in the Church of England, or be suffer'd to execute the Function, except he be called according to this Form, or hath had formerly Episcopal Ordination.*] And this we must profess our Assent and Consent to, which he that can do, (and makes Conscience of declaring nothing but what he really believes) has either a large Stock of Ignorance, or very little Charity; (as will appear by what is said on the Head about *Mission*). The Authors of that Preface could not but foresee, that such Declarations would effectually choke a great Part of the Ministers in England and Ireland, and 'tis hard to imagine what other Design they could have, in requiring their Assent and Consent to such Passages as these.

For the Oath of Canonical Obedience, viz. *That the Priests or Deacons will reverently obey their Ordinary and other chief Ministers to whom is committed the Charge and Government over them.*

I suppose 'tis meant of Obedience to their Ordinary, in what he prescribes agreeably to the Canon, which are the known Rule he governs by. And so we should be obliged to read the Sentence of Excommunication against all that the Bishop or his Chancellor may according to those Canons excommunicate, now he may excommunicate all Nonconformists.

And we that know them to be Men of holy and blameless Lives, must swear to obey the Bishop, by publishing his schismatical Sentence.

I might have added several Things more on this Head, were it necessary.

I know some have told the World freely, that in their Declaration of Assent, &c. they intend no more than to receive those Books as an Instrument of Peace; so that they will not preach against any Thing contain'd in them, as some subscribe even the Articles themselves: To which I need only answer,

1. It us'd to be acknowledg'd by Protestant Casuists, (as 'tis largely asserted by Bishop Sanderson de Joram.) that to stretch the Words of Laws, Oaths, and Promises, to Meanings different from their common Use, is sinful; and a Practice fitter for those that own the Doctrine of Equivocations, &c. than sincere Christians, or good Subjects. Now if to assent and consent to all Things contain'd in, and prescrib'd by a Book, be not an Assent to them as true, and Consent to them as good or lawful, 'tis impossible to understand the Sense of those two Words. And what might not a Man in this lax Sense declare his Assent and Consent to, tho' never so

so much against his Judgment, provided he did not think himself oblig'd to speak publicly against it. That the *Parliament* never intended that *lax* Sense, appears hence; That when the *House of Lords* added a *Proviso*, that the Declaration in the *Act of Uniformity* should be understood but as obliging Men to the Use of the Book, the *House of Commons* refus'd it, at a Conference about it, and gave such Reasons against that Sense and *Proviso* to the *Lords*; upon which they acquiesc'd, and cast it out.

2. Whatever Meaning be put on the foremention'd Declarations and Oaths, none can exercise his Ministry in the *Church of England*, without denying the Privileges of Christianity to those that have a Right to them, and without quitting an essential Part of his Office as Pastor of a particular Church, or incurring the Danger of Suspension for doing otherwise. And the Ministers of Christ must not put themselves under such a necessity of acting uncharitably and schismatically towards his true Members, nor thus wilfully maim and deprave their Pastoral Office.

I appeal then to the Judgment of all, whether if these Conditions of the Ministry be sinful, that Law be just that shall enjoin them, and make Men's forswearing themselves necessary to the Preaching of the Gospel?

I am very sorry Mr. King and some of his Coat should so often necessitate their Brethren to harp on this ungrateful String. They pay too great a Deference to the Laws of the Land, to cast any needless Reflections on them. But Men ought not to bear silently the Charge of *Schism* and *Church-Rebellion*, who are no way guilty of it. Especially when their Silence and Neglect to vindicate themselves, may tempt others who are not acquainted with their Case, to censure and hate them wrongfully, as cloth'd with these odious Characters. I hope the precedent Discourse has evidenc'd the Charge to be undeserved and false. And therefore, whatever Expressions seem to grate on the Laws, must be imputed to the unhappy Necessity put upon them to give a true Representation of their Case, by the virulent Accusations of their Brethren, from whom, one wou'd think, they might rather expect some Pity. I doubt not, but the moderate and charitable Part of the *Conforming Clergy* have other Apprehensions of their Brethren, and are asham'd of these Passages in Mr. King's Answer. But for those that approve the silencing Laws, arraign their Brethren as *Church-Rebels* for not obeying them, and condemn those Societies that need and embrace their Help meerly on that Score, as no Parts of the *Catholick Church*, even when they exclude not the *Papish Churches*; it will appear, I think, from this Paper, that their Arguments are not so strong as their Passion, and a little more Charity would advance the Reputation of their *Intellectuals* as well as *Morals*: Such Men may long exclaim against our *Divisions*, but their own Principles and Temper are the most insuperable Obstacle to the healing of them.

Having consider'd the Questions in the Preface, I come to examine the first Set of those in the Pamphlet it self, which concern the Mission of the first Reformers, and they are by Mr. King reduc'd to these five.

1. What Priesthood or Holy Orders had the first Reformers, but what they receiv'd from the Hands of Roman-Catholick Bishops?

2. Who authoriz'd the first Reformers to preach their Protestant Doctrine, and administer their Protestant Sacraments?

3. Whether Cranmer and his Associates could condemn the Church of Rome by Pretence of the Mission they received from her Bishops?

4. Whether a Presbyterian Minister having received Orders from a Protestant Bishop, can, by Virtue of such Orders, pronounce the Church of England a corrupt Church?

5. Whether an Act of Parliament in France, Spain, or Germany, be not as good an Authority for Popery there, as in England for Protestantism?

These are Questions, one would think, too ridiculous

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to be seriously propos'd. But I am heartily sorry Mr. King can find no better Answer to them than what he has given, which in several Passages runs too much on the same wretched Mistakes, that led Dr. Manby to offer them with so much Confidence.

And therefore I need say little more to expose them, than, first state the Controversy about *Mission*, and then apply the true Notion of it to these Questions.

There is a twofold *Mission*, *Immediate*, or *Mediate*.

1. *Immediate*. Which those had whom God sent to deliver some extraordinary Message, or some new Revelation of his Will to Men. Such a *Mission* had the extraordinary Prophets under the Old Testament, the Apostles and Evangelists under the New. And these brought some Credentials of their *Mission* to convince Men of the Truth of it. That immediate *Mission* is now ceas'd; the Revelation of the divine Will being compleated in the Holy Scriptures, and Directions given for the Continuance of a Ministry in the Church. There is therefore,

2. A *Mediate Mission*, or Call to the Pastoral Office. (For we are not here concern'd with the Office of Deacons) I mean that Office of Bishops, or Elders, or Ministers, (for they are but several Names to import the same Thing) so often describ'd in the Holy Scriptures. The Office contains in it many great and laborious Works, To teach the Flock committed to their Charge, be their Guides in publick Worship, and rule them by Evangelical Discipline. A Call to this Office gives the Person call'd, Authority to do those Works; and lays on him a personal Obligation to do them: 'Tis from Christ alone that Power is deriv'd, by which Men are authoriz'd and oblig'd. 'Tis his Will, express'd in the Gospel-Charter, constitutes Men his Ministers. And all that is further requisite, is, to know how he signifies his Will concerning this or that particular Person, being one of his Ministers.

To that Purpose we must consider, What Christ has done already in the Gospel-Charter, and what he has left for Men to do.

Christ has already determin'd in the Gospel, that there shall be a Ministry in his Church to the End of the World: He has describ'd their Office, and all the particular Works of it; as what Doctrine they shall preach, what Worship they shall celebrate, how they shall rule the Church they over-see, and what Discipline they shall administer in it: He has left them sufficient Rules in all Matters of universal constant Necessity, for performing these Works: He has describ'd the Duties which Christian Flocks owe to such Pastors: He has assigned the Qualifications of such Pastors: He has made it the Duty of People that need the Labours of such qualify'd Persons to seek their Help, and of Ministers to call them out, approve, and invest them in that Office, and of the Civil Magistrate to protect the Worthy.

It belongs not therefore to any Men, to appoint any new Office in the Church of Christ, or maim that Office he has instituted, or impose sinful Conditions in order to its Exercise, or impose any other Duties on the People than he has done; much less does it belong to them to determine, whether the Gospel shall be preach'd, or the Necessities of Souls who want such Pastors supply'd.

All therefore that the Gospel has left to the Ordainers, is, the Designation of the Person to whom Christ's Charter shall convey the Power, the Approbation of his Qualifications, and the Investiture of him, or solemnizing his Admittance. The Ordainers therefore do not give the Power to others as from themselves, nor does it pass thro' their Hands, nor can they diminish it, as ex gr. should the Ordainers say, [Receive thou Power to preach and administer the Sacraments, but not to rule the Flock:] This Restraint or Diminution is null, as being contrary to the Charter of Christ. They are but Instruments of Inauguration, as a Recorder that invests a Mayor in that Office which the King's Charter gives him; and the great Design of the

the *Interposition* of Pastors in this Matter is, to secure to the Church a Succession of able and blameless Pastors, of which they are supposed most fit to judge. *Ordination by Pastors*, is God's ordinary regular way of Admittance, to prevent the Churches being deprav'd and injur'd, by the *Intrusion* of unqualified Persons. And therefore it should not be neglected wherever it may be had. Only it must be added, that the *Law of Christ* which determines, that the Gospel shall be preach'd by Persons so qualified, is founded on the necessity of Souls, and the great Law of Charity; and therefore is of constant and indispensable Necessity in the Church. But the Command of their being ordain'd by Pastors, is but subservient to the former, and relates only to the ordinary regular Execution of it; and does not oblige, where there is a physical or moral Impossibility of observing it, and yet a necessity of the Ministry. For *Ordination by Pastors*, is not of absolute Necessity to the Being of the Ministry; there have been and may be extraordinary Cases, wherein a Man may be obliged to be a Minister without it: To instance in two Cases;

What if many Christians should be cast on the Shore of some Pagan Nation, where they are forc'd to stay a considerable time, and one among them be more eminently qualified than the rest, to be their Minister; the rest intreat his Help; and will any say, that the Providence of God, which has given him such Abilities, does not sufficiently authorize him to exercise them in this Case of Necessity? When the Work of the Ministry is of so much greater Importance and Necessity, than that positive Precept about the ordering of it. Nay, to propose a Case far more considerable:

What if all the present Pastors in a Nation should corrupt the Christian Doctrine and Worship, and impose those Corruptions on the People, as Terms of Church-Communion? What if they refuse to ordain any that will not joyn with them herein? The People dare not comply with those Terms, and because they would not live without the Advantages of the publick Ministry and Worship, they invite such to take the Pastoral Care of their Souls as are duly qualified; that such qualified Persons should not accept *Ordination* on such wicked Terms, is past doubt; but what if they live so remote from any other Christian Kingdom, that they cannot have Ministerial Ordination elsewhere. Will any say, that in this Case, those qualified Persons for want of this Ordination ought not to take on them the Pastoral Charge of those People, which God has given them such Abilities for, and such a Call by his Providence to? To say this, were to set up the Rule about the regular ordering the Ministry above the Ends of the Ministry it self, and oppose the Circumstances of the Duty to the Substance of it. Whereas positive Precepts must always yield to moral, and Matters of meer Order to the End of the Duty ordered; and the former must never be pleaded against the latter. Ordination by Pastors is not therefore there necessary, where it cannot be had without Sin; and yet without a Ministry, the Interest of the Gospel, and the Salvation of Souls, are like to suffer the most visible Prejudice and Detriment. For these are Matters infinitely more precious and valuable than any Rules of external Order, and the very End those Rules aim at, and are subservient to. And if this be not granted, it must be left to the Pleasure of such corrupt Pastors, whether the People who cannot joyn in Communion with them, shall enjoy the Means of their Salvation, or be obliged to live like Atheists without any publick Worship of God. And he that asserts this, may next assert, that God has left it to their Pleasure, whether the People shall be sav'd or damn'd; and that 'tis better they should be canonically damn'd than uncanonically sav'd. I propose these Cases to shew the Vanity and Falshood of that Notion some make such a Noise about, viz. The Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession of Ordination. And if that Principle be false, much more is theirs who assert the necessity of successive prelatical Ordination.

But tho' in such extraordinary Cases, the extraordinary Call of God's Providence is sufficient to authorize a Man to the sacred Office, and supplies the Defect of Ministerial Ordination; yet the Command of God which enjoins such Ordination, does oblige where it may be had; and the Neglect of it would bring great Confusion and Disorder into the Church, and expose it to the Danger of being corrupted and divided, by unqualified Intruders.

The only Thing that remains to be consider'd under this Head is, *Who are entrusted with the Power of Ordination?* Or whom has Christ appointed to approve and invest others in the Ministerial Office?

Ans^r. Those are entrusted with this Power, and appointed to this Work, who are themselves such Bishops or Elders, or Pastors, as the holy Scriptures describe, he that denies this, is oblig'd to acquaint us what other Officers the Apostles left in the Church, to whom this sole Power of Ordination was entrusted then; or what other Officers claimed and exercised it in the primitive Church, which none that I know of ever pretended to do.

But now those whom the holy Scriptures call Bishops or Elders, were the stated Pastors of particular Congregations.

That the same Persons are in Scripture call'd Bishops and Elders, is too palpable to be denied (However the Authors of the Preface to the Book of Ordination are pleas'd to say the contrary, viz. That 'tis evident to all Men diligently reading the holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, (as several Offices) and even this palpable Mistake among the rest we are required to declare our Assent to.) Those who are, *Acts xx. 17.* called the Elders of the Church of Ephesus, are commanded, *ver. 28.* to take heed to all the Flock, over whom the holy Ghost had made them Overseers or Bishops. The Description of a Bishop, *1 Tim. iii.* and of an Elder, *Tit. 1.* are the same; and Titus when directed to ordain Elders, must see that they be blameless, for a Bishop must be blameless as the Steward of God, *ver. 6, 7.*

That these Bishops or Elders were Pastors of single Congregations, is evident from the Duties enjoyn'd them towards those under their Care, and from the Duties which the Flocks are required to pay them.

They are to labour among the People and admonish them, and the People were to know and esteem them highly in Love for their Works sake, *1 Thes. v. 12, 13.* They were to rule their Flock, speak the Word of God to them, and to watch over their Souls, as those that must give an Account, *Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24.* They were to take heed to all the Flock, over whom the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers, *Acts xx. 28.* Wherein the Apostle proposes his own Practice, (while he stay'd among them as their temporary Pastor) for their Imitation, viz. That he taught them publickly, and from House to House, and ceased not to warn every one with Tears Day and Night, *Acts xx. 20, 31.* They were to be Examples to the Flock, who were to follow their Faith, considering the End of their Conversation, *1 Pet. v. 3.* compar'd with *Heb. xiii. 7.* They were to visit the Sick, and pray for them, *James v. 14* see Dr. Hammond's Annotations on these Places applying them to Bishops.

Now let us consider whether these mutual Duties, betwixt Pastor and Flock, were to be performed betwixt the Pastor or Pastors of a single Congregation, and the Congregation committed to their Care, or betwixt a Diocesan Bishop, and so vast a Flock as his Diocese.

That one or more Pastors of a single Congregation associated for personal Communion, are capable of performing these Duties to their Flock, and their Flock to them, is past all doubt.

But can these mutual Duties be perform'd betwixt a Diocesan Bishop, and his Diocese? Is he capable of labouring amongst them in Word, and being esteem'd of them highly for his Works sake, when very few, comparatively of his Diocese, ever saw him, or heard him preach?

preach? Can he watch over the Souls of all in his Diocess as his Flock, and warn them of their evil Courses, when he knows not one of them in many score Thousands? Can the Diocess follow the Faith of such Bishops, and consider the End of their Conversation, and purpose them as their Patterns, when not one in many Thousands know any more of the Life of their Bishop, than if he lived at the other end of the World? Are such Bishops obliged to visit the Sick of their Diocess? Can they rule them by the Exercise of Church-discipline against the notoriously Scandalous, when perhaps there are forty or fifty Thousand such in their Diocess? Can they use all the due Process of serious Reproofs and Persuasions, that are requisite to be used for reclaiming such Sinners, when there is so vast a Number of them, and those so remote in their Habitations, and the Bishops wholly Strangers to the most of them? These are so palpable Impossibilities, as to an unbiassed Considerer, are instead of a thousand Arguments; that the Bishops or Elders which these Texts speak of, were not *Diocesan Bishops*, i. e. they were not the Overseers or Rulers of many Score or Hundreds of Churches, as their Flocks, to whom they were to perform all these Pastoral Works, and the Flocks to pay them the forementioned Duties; but the Pastors of such a Number of People as they could thus personally oversee, teach, rule, watch over, visit, &c. and such a Number as could pay them that Love, Submission, Imitation, &c. prescribed in the fore-quoted Texts. Especially when 'tis so expressly asserted, *Acts* xiv. 23. *That such Elders were ordained in every Church*, which Titus is also appointed to do in every City, *Tit.* i. v. And 'tis well known every Town, equal to our usual Market-Towns in England, was then called Πόλις, or City; and but a few comparatively of the Inhabitants at first converted to Christianity.

I grant, that soon after the Apostles time, the Name of Bishop and Presbyter, or Elder, begun to be distinguish'd, and that of Bishop apply'd to a stated Preses or Moderator of a Presbytery or certain Number of Elders. But 'tis as evident, that the Bishop and his Presbyters in the Primitive Church, were but the Rulers of one single Congregation, capable of personal Communion, not of many Score or Hundred Churches. How plain to this purpose is that known Passage of Ignatius (whose Authority the Defenders of Prelacy have so vainly boasted of) who in his Epistle to the Philadelphians, gives this certain Mark of every Churches Individuation, viz. *There is to every Church one Altar, and one Bishop, together with the Presbytery (or Eldership) and the Deacons my Fellow-Servants.* The same Author in his Epistle to Polycarp, advises that good Bishop to have frequent Church-Assemblies, and to enquire after all by Name, and not to despise Servants and Maids: So in his Epistle to the Smyrnenes, Follow all of you the Bishop as Jesus Christ does the Father, and the Presbytery as the Apostles, and reverence the Deacons, as the Appointment of God. Let none without the Bishop transact the Affairs of the Church. Let that be accounted a valid Communion which is in his Presence, or by his Permission; for where the Bishop is, there let the Multitude be. 'Tis not lawful, without the Bishop, to baptize, or make a Love-Feast.

Nothing can more fully evidence that the Church of Smyrna had their Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons; and 'twere ridiculous to apply these Passages to a modern Bishop and his Diocess.

Justin Martyr's known Account of Church-Assemblies evinces the Truth of this, which the learned Mr. Joseph Mede in his Discourse of Churches quotes, Page 48, 49,

50. and from thence acknowledges, they had then but one Altar, (or Place of Communion) to a Church, taken for the Company or Corporation of the Faithful, as united under one Bishop.

Tertullian's Account of particular Church-Assemblies assures us, that Church-discipline was *Apol. cap. exercis'd in them*, and that by the *probati seniores*, or approved Elders, (among whom we own the Preses was called Bishop). Even in Cyprian's time, his famous Church of Carthage was not so great, but that he frequently professes he would do nothing in Church-Affairs, without the Consent of his Presbyters, and all the People, especially in the Censuring of Offenders. As in his *Ep.* 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 26, 27, 28, &c. *Edit. Goul.* And *Ep.* 68. as he there declares, the People have the chiefest Power of choosing worthy Priests, and refusing the unworthy; so when he relates the Manner of the Ordination of a Bishop, he tells us, *All the next Bishops of the same Province, do come together to that People over whom the Bishop is set, and the Bishop is appointed, the People being present, who fulliest know the Life of every one, and have thoroughly seen the Act of every one's Conversation.* Which also we saw done with you in the Ordination of Sabinus our Colleague, that the Office of a Bishop was given him, and Hands imposed on him in the Place of Basilides, by the Suffrage of the whole Fraternity, and by the Judgment of the Bishops that had met together, &c.

We may easily gather what the Bishop's Church was when all the People must be present, and judge of his Life, and are supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with it. A Diocess of the modern Extent would be hard put to it to meet together for this purpose, and pass their Judgment concerning the Life of their Bishop.

The Constitutions and Canons called Apostolical, assign such Duties to the Bishop, as plainly imply his relation to a Congregation capable of personal Communion, as his Charge or Flock.

And (to give a brief Summary of those Proofs, which it would require a large Volume to insist fully on) if we consider impartially all the Duties which the most ancient Christian Writers describe, as belonging to the Office of a Bishop, viz. [To be the ordinary publick Teacher of his Flock (a), and Baptizer of those that were received into his Church (b). To confirm the Baptized, to reconcile and absolve all Penitents, to administer the Lord's Supper (c). To receive all Oblations, &c. and distribute them, to take care of the Poor, and Sick, and Strangers, as their Overseer and Curator (d). To try all Causes about Scandal in his Church, with his Presbyters in the Presence of his Flock (e). To ordain other Bishops and Elders, to keep Synods among his neighbour Bishops, to grant communicatory Letters, (f) &c.] And to how great a Flock one Man is capable to perform them: If we consider further, that the Bishop and his Presbyters liv'd usually in the same House, and in common, at least near the Church, and that in the Distribution of their Maintenance one half of it was destin'd to repair the Fabrick or Temple, and maintain the Poor; the other half to the Bishop and his Clergy, or Presbyters (g); that it was the common Custom for the Presbyters to sit in the same Seat with the Bishop, (in a Semicircle) and the Deacons below them (h); That the Deacons are always mentioned as Officers in the same Church with the Bishop (i). That the Love-feasts were not to be kept without the Bishop's Permission, and he was to have his Share sent him, if absent (k). That the way of Strangers Communicating, was by communicatory Letters or Certificates, which were to be shewed to the Bishop of the Church where they desir'd

(a) *Constit. Apost.* c. 26. *Just. Mart. Apol.* 2. (b) *Tertull. de Cor. Mil.* c. 3. (c) *Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn.* p. 4. *Just. Mart. Apol.* 2. (d) *Just. Mart. ibid. Constit. Apost.* c. 27. *Apost. Can.* 5. (e) See *Cypr. Ep. passim*, *Tertull. Apol.* c. 39. and many more in *Blondel de Jure plebis*, &c. (f) See *Albasp. Observ.* p. 254, 255. (g) See *Tolet de sacerdot. lib.* 5. cap. 4. n. 15. and *Pad. Paul Sarpi's Tract of Church-benefices* translated by Dr. Denton. (h) *Constit. Apost.* c. 57. *Conc. Carth.* 4. *Can.* 35. (i) *Phil.* i. 1. *Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor.* p. 54, 55. *Pius in Ep. Justo Episc. Biblioth. Patr. Tom.* 3. p. 15. *Constit. Apost.* c. 30 & 44. (k) *Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn.* forequoted. *Constit. Apost.* c. 28.

to communicate (l). That a Schism was describ'd by setting up *Altar* against *Altar*, every communicating Church having its *Altar* (or *Table*, for celebrating the Lord's-Supper) and Bishop (m).

That the Bishop was chosen by the *Suffrages* or *Votes* of the People he took the Charge of (n), and (as was said before) administred Church-censures in the Presence of his Flock, whose Judgment he consulted (o). That Presbyters did but seldom preach publicly in the two or three first Ages, except in *Alexandria* or some few Churches that had Presbyters of more than ordinary Learning and Abilities; *Chrysostom's* preaching at *Antioch*, and *Austin's* at *Hippo*, while Presbyters are noted as unusual; That every City had its Bishop, is granted by all; (and *Dr. Hammond* and *Grotius* own many had two, nay, some had more, as might appear by many Instances, were it needful.) And every Town of any Bigness was then called *πóλις*, or City, and the Number of Christians did not of a long time even in the larger Cities, exceed that of our larger Parishes. Nor were Bishops confin'd to Cities or Towns; for the Country Villages (where there were any tolerable Number of Christians to make a Church or Congregation) had long their Bishops also, who were not put down till Ambition had begun to deprave the Church, and for a Reason agreeable to the Humour of those that did it, *ne vilescat nomen Episcopi* (p): If we consider the Nearness of Episcopal Sees, of which we read many that were much nearer one another than our Market-Towns, perhaps one, two, or a few more Miles distant (q): If we observe all the small inconsiderable Places that were the Sees of many famous ancient Bishops, not half so big as our lesser sort of Parishes (r): If we consider the vast Number of Bishops, mention'd within a narrow Compass of Ground.

Binnius tells us, of *Sylvester* calling together 284 Bishops, of which 139 were out of *Rome*, or not far from it. A Council of *Donatists* at *Carthage* had 270 Bishops (as *Austin* tells us, *Ep.* 68.) about the Year 308, and yet they were the smaller Number, and complain'd of Persecution. *Victor. Utic. in Persec. Vand.* acquaints us, that in that Part of *Africa* 660 Bishops fled, besides the great Number murdered and imprisoned, and many tolerated, the 6th Provincial Council of *Carthage* had 217 Bishops. And to give an Instance of later Date, which we are more capable to judge of, even *Patrick* is said to have founded here in *Ireland* 365 Churches, ordain'd so many Bishops, besides 3000 *Presbyters*, *Usher de Eccles. Brit. Primord.* p. 950. If we add hereto the late Date of Parishes, as distinguished from the Bishop's Church, (the Government of the Cathedral by the Bishop, with the Dean and Chapters being a Relict of the ancient Episcopal Government.) From these Evidences (and many more might be added) duly weigh'd, we may easily judge what the ancient Churches and Bishops were. A primitive Bishop had no more than one Church, or Assembly capable of personal Communion under his Charge, which he rul'd with the joint Concurrence of his *Presbyters* or *Elders*. The first that set up more Assemblies under one Bishop, were *Rome* and *Alexandria*, and no other Church can be prov'd to have done so for near 300 Years, nor many Churches for 4 or 5 Hundred. And even those Assemblies did but long make up one communicating Church, and were but to the Bishop's Church, as Chapels of Ease are to our larger Parish Churches. But for Diocesan

Churches and Bishops, 'tis evident from these few Remarks, that they are intire Strangers to the primitive Church in its first and purest Ages. 'Twas only Ambition (striving to model the Ecclesiastical Government by the Civil) that first gave rise to them, and from the same Ambition in the Empire, sprung up *Metropolitans*, *Patriarchs* and *Popes*, (the last of these long claiming only a Primacy of Order among the rest of the Bishops in the Empire, for which *Constantinople* long vy'd with them; 'tis but of late they have improv'd their Pretensions into a claim of Supremacy over the Catholick Church, as the *Vicars* of Christ.) And 'tis too observable in Church History, that as the Seats of Bishops swell'd, and their Power increas'd, by engrossing to themselves that Work, which a score or hundred Bishops cou'd hardly discharge, so all true Discipline was gradually dis-us'd and lost, and the Church miserably deprav'd by the Corruption of it, as well as divided by the Contentions of aspiring Bishops, about their Primacy and usurped Power.

If you desire further Satisfaction on this Head, I refer you to *Mr. Baxter's Treatise of Episcopacy*, who in the 2d Part, ch. 5, 6, 7. has given as satisfactory an Account of the ancient Episcopacy as can be expected of any matter of Fact at that distance. The few slender Exceptions produc'd by *Dr. Stillingfleet* in his *Unreason. of Separ.* (which yet do not reach the two first Centuries) are so clearly invalidated and expos'd by *Mr. Baxter's Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet*, p. 100, 101, &c. and by *Mr. Clarkson* in his, *No Evidence of Diocesan Churches in Antiq. &c.* that I shall take it for granted that *Diocesan Bishops* and *Churches* are Strangers to Antiquity, and shall look on that Cause as desperate and lost, unless some of its *Patrons* cou'd disprove that full Stream of Evidence he has brought against it, from the most ancient Christian Writers, in the formation'd Treatise. There are few considerable Defenders of Prelacy, whose Writings he has not animadverted on.

And 'tis strange to observe, how far the most of them mistake the true State of the Controversie. Some go about to prove a sort of general Superintendents, Arch-Bishops, or *Metropolitans*, who had some Inspection over the Bishops of particular Churches within their Province, and presid'd in their Synods, but did not put down the Government and Exercise of Church-Discipline in those particular Churches, as if this were a Proof of those *Diocesan Bishops*, that do cast out all Government and Exercise of Discipline, by the Bishops or Pastors of particular Churches, and pretend to be the sole Pastors of the Dioceses. And yet the Jurisdiction of such *Metropolitans* is of no very ancient Date, and quite contrary to the Judgment of *Cyprian*, who disowns any *Bishop of Bishops*, and owns only Bishops or Overseers of Flocks or Churches. Others take a great deal of pains to prove the stated Presidency of one, (by the Name of *Bishop*) in a *Con-sessus* or Bench of *Presbyters*, who had but all one communicating Church under their Charge, which is not deny'd to have begun early in the Church as a Remedy of *Schism*. But that Difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyters*, when both were but joynt Rulers of a Congregation, is so far from being a Proof of modern Prelacy, that such *Diocesan Bishops* have put down the primitive Parish-Bishops, and monopoliz'd the Power of many Score, or Hundreds of such Bishops to themselves, and thereby rendred true Church-government impracticable. Nay, that very Difference betwixt the *Bishop* and

(l) *Albasp. Observ.* p. 254, 255. (m) *Ignat. Ep. ad Philad.* forecited. *Cypr. Ep.* 40, 72, 73. The ancient Description of a Church is well known, *Plebs Episcopo coadunata*. See *Dr. Stil. Iren.* p. 416. (n) See *Cypr. Ep.* 68. forecited, and many more Testimonies in *Baxter's Church-History*, and Answer to *Stillingfleet*, from p. 128 to 133. and in *Blondel de Jure plebis*, &c. (o) See *Blondel, ibid.* (p) *Concil. Laod. Can.* 57. (q) To give a few Instances; in *Palestine*, *Diospolis* or *Lydda* was but six Miles from *Joppa*, *Joppa* four Miles from *Jannia*; *Rhinocorua* four Miles from *Antbedon*, and *Antbedon* not three Miles from *Gaza*, and *Gaza* twenty Furlongs from *Constantia* (anciently called *Majuma*). So in *Egypt*, *Nicopolis* was twenty Furlongs from *Alexandria*, and *Tapefiris*, *Canopus*, *Heraclia* and *Naucratis* not much farther from one another; and yet all these Episcopal Sees (r). *Mr. Thorndike, Right of Churches reviewed*, tells us, p. 53. that in *Africa* Bishops were so plentiful, that every good Village must needs be the Seat of an Episcopal Church; and the *African Church*, as *Dr. Stillingfleet* tells us, *Iren.* p. 375. longed retain'd the primitive Simplicity and Humility.

Presbyters of a particular Church, seems to have had its rise wholly in the notorious Disparity of his Gifts, Learning, Age, &c. above the rest, but was never esteemed by them a Difference in Office or Power, nor is it ascrib'd to any higher Original than human Constitution, by Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, &c. not to mention Elder Writers.

If then Ordination belong to scriptural Bishops, and such be the Pastors of particular Churches, if none else did ordain in the Primitive Church in its purest Ages, then all such Bishops have that Power. Nor indeed have any Power to ordain, but on the Account of their being such Scriptural Bishops. The Office of *Diocesan Prelates* being a manifest Usurpation in the Church, which had its rise in human Ambition, that Usurpation cannot rightfully deprive the true Bishops or Pastors of that Power of Church-government, which is as essential to their Office as the Power of Teaching or being Guides in Worship. And whatever may be said for Parish-Bishops, submitting for Peace sake, to the Usurpation of a *Diocesan*, (ex. gr. when he claims the sole Power of Ordination) where the true Ends of it are attain'd, yet they have no reason to submit to it, when *Diocesan Bishops* shall so abuse that usurped Power, as to corrupt and deprave the Ministry by imposing sinful Terms, and hazard the Ruin of Souls by neglecting to provide a Number of faithful Pastors suitable to their real Necessities. The Ordination therefore of the Pastors or Bishops of particular Churches, is more agreeable to the holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity, and consequently more unexceptionably *valid*, than that of a single *Diocesan*.

From whence it follows, That the Ordination of Pastors in the Presbyterian Churches is *valid*; because either they are ordain'd by *Diocesan Bishops*, who had Power to ordain on the Account of that Office they have in common with *Scriptural Bishops*, tho' they have none as *Diocesan*; or they are ordain'd by a Concurrence of *Scriptural Bishops*, to whose Office the Power of Ordination was annexed by divine Institution, and cannot be alienated by any human Usurpation. For Christ has given none Power to change his Institutions. Nor can the Will of the Ordainers debar his Officers from any Part of that Authority, which his Charter conveys to them. And if the Validity of Ordination by such scriptural Bishops be deny'd, the Church had no ordained Ministers for a Century or two at least.

Having laid down these Notions about *Mission*, I come to examine Dr. Manby's Questions.

Question 1. *What Priesthood or holy Orders had the first Reformers, but what they received from the Hands of Roman Catholick Bishops?*

Ans. If Dr. Manby mean, that their Priesthood or ministerial Office was convey'd to them by the Bishops, as the *Givers* of it, they receiv'd it from none at all; nor has any that Power to give; 'tis given by Christ in his Charter: But if he mean, that the Roman Catholick, or Popish Bishops did invest them in that Office: 'Tis own'd, that most of the reformed Ministers were ordain'd by them; and 'tis not material, whether they were Roman Catholick Bishops of the same rigid Stamp as those of the present Age, or no; for the Validity of their Ordination depends on the Essentials of the Pastoral Office retain'd, and not on their horrid Corruption of it. And as Mr. King well observes, they ordain'd as *Christian*, not as *Roman Bishops*. But what if some of the Reformers became Pastors to the People upon their Necessities and Call, who durst not comply with the sinful Terms of Ordination in the Church of Rome, and yet could have no other? They would not be in this Case destitute of a true *Mission*: For the evident Necessities of the Peoples Souls (who earnestly desir'd to have the Truths of the Gospel purely preach'd, and divine Worship purely celebrated; and who could not with a safe

Conscience continue in the Communion of the Roman Church) and their Qualifications for so necessary a Work were a sufficient Signification of the Will of Christ, that they should undertake it. For the Precept about the ordinary regular way of Admission to the Ministry, did not oblige where it could not be lawfully observed, and where there was a far greater necessity of a pure untainted Ministry, than of that positive Point of Order. For else, on Supposition, no Pastors had embraced the Reformation, the People who did, would have been obliged to have lived like *Atheists* without publick Worship.

Question 2. *Who authorized the first Reformers to preach their Protestant Doctrine, and administer their Protestant Sacraments?*

Ans. It does not belong to the Ordainers to determine what Doctrine the Person ordained shall preach, but to Christ who has determined that Matter already. And therefore if the Doctrine which our first Reformers preach'd, and the Sacraments they administered be *Christ's*, as Mr. King well argues, 'tis ridiculous to ask who authoriz'd them to preach the one, or administer the other. *Christ* did; and no Men can authorize any to preach any other Doctrine, or administer any other Sacraments. The Bishops or Priests in the *Roman Church* had no Right or *Mission* from Christ to preach *Popish* Doctrine, or administer *Popish* Sacraments, or celebrate *Popish* Worship so far as these are contrary to the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Worship contain'd in the Gospel. These were gross Corruptions of their Office; and therefore when any of them embrac'd the Reformation, when they begun to preach the Gospel more purely, and to celebrate divine Worship more free from the idolatrous and superstitious Mixtures that had prevail'd in the *Roman Church*, they restor'd their Ministry to its true Use, and so far purg'd it from that wretched Depravation. And in this Debate Mr. King need not be asham'd to defend either Luther, or Calvin, or Zuinglius. For Soci-nus or his Followers, they can produce no *Mission* to preach against the Divinity and Satisfaction of the Son of God, no more than Dr. Manby to preach up the Worship of Images, or Invocation of Angels and Saints, or Adoration of the Host, &c.

For the 3d and 4th Question I shall joyn them.

Whether Cranmer and his Associates could condemn the Church of Rome by pretence of the *Mission* they received from her Bishops. If so, whether a Presbyterian Minister having received Orders from a Protestant Bishop, can by vertue of such Orders pronounce the Church of England a corrupt Church?

'Tis evident both these Questions are founded on this ridiculous Fancy, that the Person ordained, is obliged to conform his Ministrations to the Judgment or Humour of the Ordainers. 'Tis true indeed, if in any Church, the Ministers that are ordained be obliged to subscribe a Confession of Faith, or observe any publick Rules in their Worship, they ought not to be ordain'd on these Terms, if they think any thing in the Doctrine of that Church, or the Rules of its Worship, contrary to the Doctrine of Christ, or the Gospel Rule of Worship. Much less should they enter into that Obligation with a Design to break it afterwards. This were odious Dissimulation. But if any have been ordain'd in a Church, that has obliged them to subscribe certain Articles of Faith, and Rules of Worship, which at their Ordination they had no Scruple against, and shall upon deeper Study, find many of those Articles were gross and dangerous Errors, and those Rules of Worship idolatrous or superstitious, they are not obliged to preach those Errors, or practise those Rules, against the Dictates of their own Conscience. Nay, if those Errors and Corruptions endanger the Salvation of their Flock, they ought to preach against them, and warn Souls of their Danger. And not to do this, is to betray those Souls, to desert the Cause and Testimony of Christ, and fail of that Fidelity he expects in the Discharge of their Office.

They

They ought to do all in their *Sphere* towards a Reformation; and if they should be *suspended* for the doing that which *Christ* has made their *Duty*, the *Suspension* is unjust and null, as being opposite to the *Laws* and *Interest* of *Christ*, and is indeed a *Rebellion* against him. If therefore the *Doctrines* and *Worship* of the *Roman Church* were pernicious, and endangered the *Salvation* of *Souls*, and our *Reformers* had just *Ground* to account them such, they were bound by the *Laws* of *Christ* to preach against them, and warn the *People* of them, and in their *Sphere* attempt a *Reformation*. Nor would any *Suspension* or *Excommunication* of those *Popish Bishops* that *ordain'd* them, justify their deserting their *Ministry*, and betraying the *Interest* of *Christ* and *Souls*. And they might do this without assuming any *Authority* over the *Church* of *Rome*; they only refused *Subjection* to her unjust *Impositions*. And so may *Presbyterian* Ministers refuse *Subjection* to the *sinful Impositions* of those *Prelates* that *ordain'd* them, and are not obliged to lay down their *Office* whenever their *Ordainers* shall unjustly silence them, as we proved before.

But Mr. King I perceive likes not this Answer, and therefore chooses to justify the *Church* of *England* upon narrower *Grounds*; and therefore in his Reply to these *Questions*,

1. He grants, That a *Presbyter* or *Bishop* ought not to preach against the *Constitution* of the *Church* whereof they are *Members*.

2. He asserts, This was not the *Reformers* Case, and therefore he founds the *Lawfulness* of the *Reformation* entirely upon its being made by the *Convocation*, in whom he supposes the *supreme Church-Government* lodged in this *Nation*.

Had Mr. King only argued, that the *Reformation* in *England* was not only *lawful*, but effected in the most *regular* Way with the *Concurrence* of the *Civil Magistrate* upon the *Advice* of so considerable a Part of the *Clergy*, none could have blam'd him for taking in all the *Considerations* that prove the *Reformation* in *England* to have been the most unexceptionably *regular* and *orderly*. But that in his eager *Zeal* to defend the *Prelates* of the *Church* of *England* in silencing their *Brethren*, he should make such a *Concession* to the *Papists* as may be used against the *Reformation* elsewhere with so great *Advantage*, was not *ingenuous*. But we must excuse him, that he had rather wound the *Reformed Churches* abroad, than not gratify his *Spleen* against the *Presbyterians* at home, and car'd not whom he made *Schismatics*, provided he fastned that *Character* on his *Brethren*.

Let us therefore examine this *Concession* of his, *Pag. 27.* A *Presbyter* or *Bishop* ought not to preach against the *Constitution* of that *Church* of which they are *Members*. The *Reason* he gives is, *Because there is a regular Way* wherein they may endeavour a *Reformation*, viz. If they find any *Thing* amiss in her *Doctrine* or *Discipline*, they may make their *Application* for the *Redress* of it to those that have *Power* to reform it, but must not presume, being *Subjects*, to usurp their *Governors* *Power*.

But what if their *Governors* refuse to reform, and silence those that desire, or in their own *Sphere* attempt it? All the Answer is,

But if such a *Bishop* or *Presbyter* be censur'd and suspended, he is thereby discharg'd from the *Execution* of his *Office*, and he must no more make a *Schism* to regain it, than one must make a *Rebellion* in the *State* to regain a *Civil Office*. This we urge, and I think with *Reason*, against the *Presbyterians* and other *Sects* among us, that either have no *Ordination* or *Appointment* to their *Offices* from the *Church* of *England* or *Ireland*, or else abuse the *Power* against her, which was once given them by her, and from which they are again legally suspended. And as we urge this against them, so likewise against *Dr. Manby*, &c.

Let us briefly consider the *Consequences* of this *Concession*, and the *Grounds* of it.

1. Its *Consequences*.

The first *Protestant* Pastors in *France*, and most other

Parts of *Europe*, were before the *Reformation*, *Members* of those *Churches* where they lived, and subject to their *Governors*; they had received *Ordination* by the *Hands* of *Popish Prelates*. God was pleased so to bless their *Studies*, and *Search* after *Truth*, that they begun to discover abundance of gross and pernicious *Errors* in the *Doctrine*, and a wretched Mixture of *Idolatry* and *Superstition* in the *Worship* of the *Church* they lived in. What should they do? they were but particular *Presbyters*, and therefore should not, according to Mr. King's Principle, preach against the *Constitution* of the *Church* which gave them their *Office*. Many of them try'd his *Remedy*; they represented these *Things* to their *Ecclesiastical Superiors*, as *Luther* to the *Archbishop* of *Mentz*, and the *Bishop* of *Brandenburg*, and the *Pope* himself. But they soon learnt, by dear *Experience*, how averse the *Court* of *Rome* was to any *Reformation*, and how little it was to be expected from the *Prelates*, who either had no *Will* or no *Courage* to attempt a *Reformation* against the *Will* of the *Pope*. *Luther* and all his *Followers*, instead of prevailing with those that had the *Conduct* of the *Church*, were excommunicated as *Hereticks*. Now according to Mr. King's Principle, these *Reformers* being censured and suspended by the *Prelates* to whom they were subject, were discharged from the *Execution* of their *Office*, and should no more have made a *Schism* in the *Church* to regain it, than one must make a *Rebellion* in the *State* to regain a *Civil Office*. And since they did not desert their *Office*, but went on to preach against the *Constitution* of the *Romish Church*, and the *Will* of their *Superiors*, the *Popish Prelates*, they were no better than *Schismatics* and *Church-Rebels*; nay, if his *Notion* of the *Catholic Church* be true, the *People* that separated from the *Popish Prelates*, and adher'd to their excommunicated *Pastors*, ceas'd to be *Members* of the *Body* of *Christ*. And how great a Part of the *Reformed Churches* and their *Pastors* fall under this heavy *Charge*? And will Mr. King own all these unavoidable *Consequences*, upon mature *Deliberation*? What if we should once more have a *Popish Convocation* in *England*, and these should restore the *Romish Religion*, and suspend all the present *Parish-Ministers* (whom Mr. King thinks now lawful *Pastors*) according to his Principle they being but *Presbyters*, and the *Bishop's Subjects*, must not preach against the *Constitution* of the *Church* of *England*, declaring her *Judgment* by a *Convocation* in whom the *supreme Government* of the *Church* is lodg'd; they must therefore cease their *Ministry*, and no more make a *Schism* by the Exercise of it, than they must make a *Rebellion* in the *State* to regain a *Civil Office*. Nay, to separate from such *Governors* of the *Church* of *England*, will prove those that do it no *Catholic Members* of the *Church*. The same Principles may be apply'd to the *Arrians*, who got imperial *Councils*, and consequently the *Government* of the imperial *Church* into their *Hands*, and for such *Pastors* as *Athanasius* to preach against *Arrianism*, which was then the *Doctrine* of the *Church*, was *Schism* and *Church-Rebellion*: In a Word, according to these Principles, 'tis in the *Power* of a *Convocation* to damn many *Thousand Souls*, by suspending an *Orthodox*, and substituting a corrupt *Ministry*; and for those *Orthodox Pastors*, when suspended, to endeavour their *Salvation* by the Exercise of their *Ministry*, is to be *Schismatics* and *Church-Rebels*. And what is this less than to set up the *Will* of such *Church-Governors* above the *Will* and *Laws* of *Christ*, above the *Salvation* of *Souls*, and above the *Interest* of *Truth* and *Holiness*? Therefore,

3. Let us examine the *Grounds* of this strange Assertion, viz. *Because there is a regular Way* for reforming *Abuses*, and for particular *Presbyters* to do it against the *Will* of the *Bishops*, whose *Subjects* they are, is like reforming *Abuses* in the *State*, in spite of the *King*, a *Remedy* generally worse than the *Disease*, &c.

Ans. 1. All that these *Reasons* prove, is, that *Reformation* should be first sought, by humble addressing to our *Superiors*. But Mr. King plainly leaves it impossible if they refuse.

2. They

2. They are founded on this wretched Mistake; that the Authority of *Bishops* in the Church, does resemble that of a *King* in the State, and so to reform Abuses in the Church against their Will, is like reforming Abuses in the State, in spite of the *King*. Whereas 'tis *Christ's* Authority in the Church, that does resemble the *King's* in the State. And therefore if he would rightly state the Comparison, it runs thus; *Christ*, the *King* of his Church, requires all his *Officers* to preach the pure Doctrine, and administer the pure Institutions deliver'd in his Gospel, (which is his universal Law) let us suppose, there are in this or that particular Part of the Church dangerous Corruptions crept in, the Law of *Christ* obliges these his *Officers* to disown them, and reform them, but the major Part of these will not, but presume to silence those that do it according to his Command. Now the Question is, whether those that obey the Command of *Christ* be the *Rebels* against him, or those that neither will obey his Commands themselves, nor allow others to do so. One would think, that such as refuse to reform and silence all that in their own Place attempt it, according to the Tenour of their Commission, are like to prove the Church *Rebels*. But no doubt the Pastors of a Church may disown and excommunicate one, that abuses his Office to the perverting the Church, and for him to continue to pervert the Church by such *Male-administration*, is to rebel against *Christ* and his Laws. The Charge of *Rebellion* therefore must arise from the Violation of *Christ's* Authority, not Mens, which the major Part of Pastors may be guilty of in a Nation as well as the lesser.

3. He seems to confound a private and a public Reformation.

4. The Reason given, why a Bishop or Presbyter when censur'd, is discharg'd from his Office, viz. *Because to regain it is like making a Rebellion to regain a Civil Office*, does suppose two great Mistakes.

1. That the Ordainers give a spiritual Office in the Church, as the *King* gives a Civil Office in the State; and this is no less a Mistake, than to set the Ordainers in the Place of *Christ*. 'Tis his Charter gives the sacred Office, as the *King's* does the Civil, and the Ordainers do but for Orders sake approve, and ceremonially invest the Person, as the Recorder does the Mayor of a Town, whom the *Burgesses* choose. And herein Mr. *King* seems to own that very Error, which is the Ground of all Mr. *Manby's* impertinent Questions.

2. He supposes, that the *Bishops* who ordain *Presbyters*, have equal Power to depose them from their Ministerial Office; as the *King* has to take away a Civil Commission. And thus, pag. 27. he tells us, *That the present Dissenters were the Bishops Subjects, accountable to them as their Superiors, and liable to be discharg'd from their Office, and the Benefits of the Communion of the Church by their Censure.*

Whereas 'tis plain, that it is the Charter of *Christ* gives the sacred Office, as the *King's* does the Civil; and as none can take a civil Commission given by the *King* to any Subject, but by the *King's* Orders and Command: So none can take away that spiritual Commission *Christ* has given any Officer in his Church; but by his Orders. But now he has given none Leave or Authority to depose his Officers, but for evident *Male-administration*, as preaching *Heresie*, gross *Scandal*, &c. And if in any part of his Church, the Major Number of Pastors should depose the *Minor* for doing their Duty, or without a just Cause, their doing so is a bold and wicked Usurpation, for which they may expect their Lord will call them to an Account, as he threatens the evil Servant, who unmindful of his Lord's coming, begun to smite his Fellow-Servants; Matt. xxiv. 48, 49. But for the innocent Pastors thus wrongfully deposed, to disobey their usurping Deposers, is to obey *Christ*, who never warranted them to desert their Office, and betray Souls, because they are unjustly forbidden to do what his Charter has made their Duty. 'Tis therefore the unjust Deposers are the *Rebels* against *Christ*, and their Usurpation is, as if the Mayor of a County Town should without any Orders from the *King*, pre-

sume to turn out all the *Mayors* of the particular Corporations in that County at his own pleasure; and I imagine the *King* would in all probability take him for the *Rebel*, who would thus under pretence of his Authority, usurp a Power never given him, and exercise it to the Violation of his Charter, and the Laws of the Land. This is the true State of the Case, and Mr. *King's* Mistakes about it are so palpable, that 'tis a wonder how a Man of his Judgment could fall into them. And I must needs add here, that as the *Dissenters* were never the *Bishops* Subjects, as they are any Officers of *Christ*, and Mr. *King* will never prove them to be so; so they will be more afraid of submitting to their Usurpation, if they arrogate to themselves such an unlimited Power of deposing his undoubted Officers, particular, Church *Bishops*, and claim a blind Obedience to their deposing Sentence, be it right or wrong: And 'tis but Fidelity to our Lord, to disown such palpable and dangerous Usurpation.

The Grounds then of Mr. *King's* Principles being false, they will not serve him to condemn the *Presbyterian* Ministers as either *Schismatics* or *Church-Rebels*; and the Charge is likeliest to fall heavy on those that presum'd to suspend them, against the known Laws of *Christ*, from whom they received their Commission. Mr. *King* very gravely takes for granted, what he will never prove.

1. That the Convocation are by the Laws of *Christ*, the Supreme Governors of all the Christians in England.

2. That either the Convocation did justly, according to the Laws of *Christ*, suspend the Nonconforming Ministers, or that an absolute Obedience was due to their Censure, whether just or unjust.

1. He takes it for granted, That the Convocation are, by the Laws of *Christ*, the Supreme Governors of all the Christians in England.

Does not Mr. *King* know, that the *Divines* of his own Church are not agreed about this Matter. The Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet*, when posed by Mr. *Baxter* about this Question, Who was the Ecclesiastical governing Head of the Church of England, as one Body politic, does very fairly

Unreas. of
Separ. p.
127, 128.

deny that the Church of England has any such Head or regent Part, nay, denies the Necessity of such an Head. So that according to him, the Church of England can be no Political Church, made up of a governing and a governed Part; and consequently all the Noise of its Government, Constitutions and Laws, as such a Political Church, is at an end. But now Mr. *King* comes and tells us without Scruple, That the supreme Government of our Church, has always been in a National Council, or Convocation of our Clergy. If so, I would gladly know, whether Mr. *King* does think that the Laws or Canons of a Convocation, would oblige the Consciences of all the Christians in England; tho' they were not enacted and ratified by the Civil Authority? If they would not, 'tis evident, that the Church of England has no Ecclesiastical Head of Government, because none that can make Laws obligatory to all the Christians in England; and so the Convocation are but the *King's* Ecclesiastical Council (which is indeed the true Notion of them) to advise him what Laws he shall establish by Civil Authority, relating to Church Government. If he say, the Canons of the Convocation would oblige, whether the Civil Authority ratified them or no; I ask, *Quo jure*? All Obligation to obey any Church-governors as such, must arise from the Command of *Christ*. Now where has he commanded, that in every Nation such a small Part of the Clergy, as our Convocation consists of, shall be supreme Governors of all the rest. When perhaps they are as unfit to represent the Judgment of all the Pastors (not to mention the People) in England, as the Council of Trent all the Churches in Europe. I am confident, besides the 2000 silenced Ministers, the far greater Part of the Conforming Clergy would never have consented to all the late excommunicating Canons, had their Vote been requir'd. And the chief

chief Members of the Convocation are so far from being Christ's Officers, that I despair their ever defending the Lawfulness, and much more the divine Right of their Office against Mr. Baxter's Arguments, in his foresaid *Treatise of Episcopacy*. Neither the Light of Nature, nor general Laws of Scripture, would suggest such an Assembly, as the governing Head of the Church of England. A duly elected Synod of Pastors in a Nation, to endeavour the nearest Unity and Concord of the particular Churches (as far as 'tis to be expected on Earth) by their amicable Consultations, we grant to be most desirable and eligible wherever it may be had; and the Judgment of such a Synod should be comply'd with, in all Things not repugnant to the Word of God. But we cannot say so of an Assembly compos'd chiefly of Men, whose Office is not only an Usurpation, but such as renders true Church-government impossible, and whose Interest and Grandure inclines them to keep up the Divisions and Corruptions which they have made. And to such a Convocation's being intrusted by Christ with the National Church-government, which Mr. King is pleased to assert, I oppose the Judgment of the truly learned Archbishop Usher, which he often professes to Mr. Baxter, viz. *That Church-Councils are not for Government, but for Unity; Not as being in Order of Government over the several Bishops, but that by Consultation they may know their Duty more clearly, and by Agreement maintain Unity, and to that End they were anciently celebrated.*

2. Mr. King takes it for granted also, *That either the Convocation did justly, according to the Laws of Christ, suspend the Nonconforming Ministers, or that those Ministers were bound however to obey their Sentence, whether right or wrong.*

For the first, If he will indeed prove their silencing to have been just, i. e. that the Nonconforming Ministers were guilty of such *Male-administration* as forfeited their Office, and warranted the Prelates by the Laws of Christ to depose them, I will assure him, they will quit their Office rather than rebel against Christ, or any just deposing Sentence of Men. But I have already prov'd the Sentence to be unjust. And the silencing such a Number of Ministers on such Grounds, was a Crime of that Nature, that I would in Charity to Mr. King, warn him to draw the Guilt of it no further on his own Head, by undertaking to justify or defend it.

For the Second, That these Ministers, tho' unjustly suspended, were bound to obey the Sentence, is to give the Suspenders the same absolute Authority claim'd by Popish Prelates and Councils; and on the same Grounds, all the Protestant Ministers in France and other reformed Churches, were bound to cease their Ministry when first suspended by Popish Prelates, and so their Reformation was only founded on Church-Rebellion. Nay, if this be true, it will be in the Power of a Convocation in England, by imposing such sinful Terms of Church-Communion as few of the People dare submit to, and silencing all the Pastors that will not approve of them, to oblige the greatest Part of the Nation to live without the publick Worship of God (as the Popes did sometimes thus interdict a whole Kingdom). And he that can believe this, may next be perswaded, that Christ has put the Power of damning Men into the Hands of a Convocation, and the People must not endeavour their own Salvation, against the Will of such a Convocation, tho' even the Apostles themselves had no Power but for Edification.

Question 5. *Whether an Act of Parliament be not as good in France, Spain, or Germany, for the Popish Religion, as in England for Protestantism?*

Ans. Mr. King justly saith, that 'tis not sufficient the Power which establishes a Religion be competent, and the Methods of settling it regular; but 'tis likewise necessary the Religion it self be true, page 33. No humane Laws can justly establish a false Religion, because God has given no Man Power to contradict his Revelation and Laws. And tho' Subjection be due

to the Magistrate, yet his Authority cannot oblige us to formal Obedience, when he commands us to profess Error, or practise false Worship, or forbids us to confess with the Mouth, what we believe with the Heart to Salvation.

The only Question here is, Whether the Popish or the Protestant Religion be the more agreeable to the holy Scriptures, the only infallible Test of all revealed Religion? Which Question Dr. Manby should have attempted to resolve by coming to the Merits of the Cause, and entering into a particular Discussion of the Controversies betwixt the Church of Rome, and those that have embrac'd the Reformation. Had he done this, he might have spar'd all these impertinent Questions about *Mission*, which are but as Mr. King calls them, meer Banter, and contriv'd only to divert People from a necessary Enquiry into the Principles of the Popish Religion.

Only there is one Passage that occasionally drops from Mr. King's Pen in Answer to this last Question, which I would take notice of, pag. 33. *'Tis one Principle of the Christian Religion, that the Professors thereof ought to associate into a Body, and that Christ the Author thereof has appointed Governors who are to descend by Succession, and that to these regularly appointed, due Obedience is to be paid, as Men value the Rewards and Punishments of another Life.*

'Tis strange to me, that Mr. King should think any Man able to know what he meant by these Words.

If he means, that all the Christians throughout the World must associate in a General Council, to set up some universal Officers that shall govern the Church-Catholick, as one political Society subject to them, or that the Church-Catholick must become one Body by a Subjection to any human Head, Pope, Council, or College of Prelates, this is plainly to set up a *Vicar-Christ*, and to make a human Center of Unity to the Catholick Church, which he seems honestly to disclaim, pag. 55. If he mean not thus, why does he talk of Governors appointed to this Catholick Body. So for these Governors descending by Succession, if he mean that none are lawful Governors, but such as can plead an *uninterrupted Succession of Prelatical Ordination*, (as Mr. Dodwell seems to dream) it will hence follow, that 'tis a meer Uncertainty whether there be any lawful Governors in the Church at all; and if such Prelates were not known in the primitive Church, either they or the succeeding Ages had no lawful Governors. So when he makes Obedience due to these Governors, as Men value the Rewards or Punishments of another Life; I hope he means Obedience to them so far as they deliver those Laws of Christ, which he enforces with that solemn Sanction; and not Obedience to every unnecessary or sinful Injunction of their own. And I hope he will not think that Christ has appointed such our Governors, whose very Office he never instituted.

And if the meaning of this fine Principle be no more than this, that all Christians must unite in Christ as their Head, and all endeavour to live under such Pastors as he has instituted, and the Pastors endeavour all necessary Concord by their mutual Consultations, and be careful to provide such as shall succeed them in the same Office; and that to disobey such Pastors when they urge the necessary Doctrines and Laws of Christ, is to forfeit the Rewards, and incur the Punishments of another Life; then indeed I see no danger in this Principle. But without all this Allowance and Explication, it has a very dangerous Sound, and Mr. King was not aware what Use Dr. Manby might make of it.

For the 2d and 3d Points of Mr. Manby's Paper about *Auricular Confession*, and the Catholick Church, Mr. King's Answer is so judicious and clear, (bating a Passage or two that relate to his schismatical Notion of the Catholick Church) that I shall not needlessly undertake what he has so well perform'd. The same I may say concerning his Answer to that wild Discourse of the Dean's in Vindication of the Church of Rome, and

Accusation

Accusation of the Reformed, except what Mr. King has, pag. 79, 80, 81, 82. which runs on the Mistakes I have already animadverted on. And 'tis strange Mr. King should, pag. 82. quote *Phil. iii. 15.* to that purpose he there does, which may be applied to the quite contrary with far greater Advantage, as the Answerers of Dr. Stillingfleet's Sermon have at large evinc'd. The Rule the Apostle there speaks of, is, what God has prescrib'd to his Church, not the unnecessary, and much less the sinful Canons of Men. And for those that are otherwise minded, he leaves them to God's Instruction, and does not immediately go about to open their Eyes by an Excommunication *ipso facto*, much less by a *Writ de Excom. capiendo*. And if other Church-governors had used the same Forbearance, there had been fewer Schisms and Divisions in the Christian World.

For Mr. King's Answer to the Latin Questions, there occurs nothing in them disagreeable to the common Protestant Doctrine, which does not refer to the fore-mentioned Mistakes.

Having (Honoured Sir) offered you my Sense of these Passages in Mr. King's Answer, wherein I thought his immoderate Affection to a Party perverted his Judgment; I shall now put an end to this long Letter, by a few Reflections on these Matters.

1. I could heartily with Mr. King, and all that approve these Passages in his Book, to consider seriously, whether they are acted by true Christian Charity and Love, whilst they deny so many Christian Churches in these Kingdoms, living under the Pastoral Care of Orthodox and Pious Ministers, never justly silenc'd, to be any Part of the Catholick Church; and that upon such Principles, as pass the same hard Censure on all the reformed Churches, that were set up as separate from Popish National Churches? To unchurch true Churches, is the most opposite to that Love, which is the Life of Christian Unity, and is the highest Degree of Schism. How much more to unchurch so many, and those so Eminent for the Purity of Faith, Worship, and Practice; nay, for their Charity too towards those Parts of the Catholick Church, that are less pure than themselves. I should heartily rejoyce if any one could shew me any Churches on this Earth, wherein there is a more pure, peaceable and credible Profession of Christianity made, (as to its Integrals as well as Essentials) than in those reformed Churches abroad, and those at home, which I have been obliged to defend from the Assault of a Protestant Divine. I am far from denying our Parish Churches to be true Parts of the Catholick Church, and I hope all that account themselves oblig'd on the Reasons suggested in this Paper, to frequent other Christian Societies, do esteem them as such, and own all the credible Profession of Religion made among them. Though there are many Things wherein they could desire them reform'd, especially they could wish them that Liberty of consenting to their own Pastors, which was the general Practice of the Catholick Church in its purest Ages, and was confirm'd by the Judgment of so many Councils; See Mr. Baxter's Church History passim, and his Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet, Page 128, 129, &c. and Blondel de jure plebis, &c. And they would be glad to see some tolerable Exercise of that true and godly Discipline, which the Common-Prayer Book acknowledges was practis'd in the primitive Church, and the Restoration whereof, it saith, is much to be wished. But the Mischief is, tho' they have profess'd their Assent and Consent to this, 'tis only to wish it, for they have sworn to endeavour no Alteration, how desirable soever.

2. I would hope that long Experience will convince us all of the Necessity of more large and comprehensive Terms of Christian Concord, as far as that is to be expected or attain'd on Earth. I hope the Churches Unity will no more be lay'd by Protestants, on such human Canons as are not only unnecessary, but contrary to the Churches Interest and Edification. Nor the Breach of such a sinful Unity, be branded as Schism

and Church-Rebellion: Mr. Hales of Eaton, and Dr. Stillingfleet (once) were of another Mind, and lay'd the Charge of Schism, in all such Cases, at the right Door, viz. the Imposers.

3. Though I can expect no perfect Cure of our Divisions, (unless the Churches in these Nations were cemented on a more wide and Catholick Foundation, I mean not the schismatical Terms of the Roman Church.) Yet I would humbly propose it to the Consideration, both of the sober charitable Conformists and Nonconformists, whether something may not be done to promote some considerable Degrees of Concord, even while the Differences of our Judgment and Practice do remain.

May they not publicly declare, they own each others Assemblies for true Christian Churches? May not their Members, to testify a true Catholick Charity, maintain occasional Communion? Should it not be own'd Schismatical on either hand, to confine that Part of Christ's Catholick Church which is in these Kingdoms to either Party? May not the Pastors own each other for true Ministers of the Gospel, and Pastors to such as consent to their Pastoral Relation? (I speak of such as want not the necessary Qualifications.) May they not rejoyce in the Success of each others Labours, for promoting that common Interest of Christianity, wherein both are agreed? For sure that ought to be infinitely dearer to us, than the narrow Interest of a Party, or the Interest of more dubious Opinions and Modes of Worship. May they not concur to promote each others just Esteem and Reputation, in order to the Success of their Labours? May they not maintain a more amicable Correspondence, in order to a nearer Union of their Affections, and if possible of their Judgment and Practice too? May they not forbear unjust Calumnies and reviling Language, to render each other odious? May they not love and honour in each other whatever there appears of the Image of their Lord and Master, his Gifts and Graces? May they not both joyn in the Defence of the reformed Religion, upon the common Principles wherein the Protestant Churches agreed? And would not so much of mutual Affection and Concord, tend more to credit true Religion, and strengthen its real Interest, than the contrary uncharitable, narrow, and irreconcilable Temper? I doubt not but the truly Moderate on both sides, are acted by this truly Catholick and Christian Temper: And it would be a comfortable Presage to these Churches, to see this Temper more generally diffus'd and prevalent among us. But for those that will still fancy Christ has every where committed the Government of his Church to Diocesan Prelates, and by Catholick Unity, mean a Subjection to all their Canons and Censures, and make all Disobedience to their Commands, when contrary to the Commands of Christ, Schism and Church Rebellion, they may long talk of Catholick Unity and Peace, but they are next to the Papists, the most dangerous Enemies of it: For they have too deep a Tincture of their Humour, who make a mighty Noise about Unity, but when we come to enquire where it lies, they mean a Subjection to a certain Gentleman that dwells at Rome, or at best to that Clergy who adhere to him in all the Corruptions of Christian Doctrine, Worship and Practice.

Lastly, I would advise all of Mr. King's Mind, to consider well the Catholick Principles suggested in this Paper, (in Opposition to his schismatical ones) to the Case of a Popish Convocation in England or Ireland; should such a Convocation suspend him from preaching his Protestant Doctrine, and Administring Protestant Sacraments (as Dr. Manby calls them) and he go on to do it, by his own Notions, he would be a Schismatick and Church-Rebel, by mine a faithful Pastor to his Flock, and a Loyal Subject of Jesus Christ. And therefore whether his Principles or mine be more honest, more agreeable to the holy Scriptures, more serviceable to advance the Authority and Interest of Christ, more conducive to the Welfare of Souls, I leave to his own Conscience to deter-

determine on second Thoughts; and doubt not but most of his own Brethren will acknowledge mine to be so.

I cannot but reflect on these Debates with deep Regret, that I am put on so unhappy Necessity, not only of opposing Mr. King, but saying so much against the present Church-Government, in order to the Vindication of the Reformed Churches both at home and abroad, and the Truth it self. But as these Principles I have here reflected on, have been the fatal Engines of Church Tyranny and Divisions these many Ages, and belong to the Roman Arsenal, so 'tis the necessary Work of a Peacemaker, who proposes a Catholick Unity and Love as his great Aim, to batter them down. I had not so long delay'd the sending this Paper, but that I still hoped some abler Pen would have undertaken what mine is so unfit for, however I hope I have asserted nothing contrary either to Truth or Peace, or if I have, I am willing to receive better Information.

I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, &c.

A POSTSCRIPT.

THE Person to whom the Letter was address'd desiring me to publish it, I thought it requisite upon a Review of it, to add a few Things relating to some Passages in it. The Opposition of Mr. King's Notion of the Catholick Church, to the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and the Agreeableness of mine to them, is observ'd in the Preface.

To what is said about Mr. King's Mark of the Catholick Church, viz. (*living under lawful spiritual Governors*) I add, that this renders the Relation of all true Christians to our blessed Lord (as his Members) as questionable as the Title of the Pastor under whom they live; and consequently exposes their Right to all the Benefits of the Gospel, even to the Kingdom of

Heaven it self, to the same Uncertainties and Doubts, as the Regularity of his Admission to his Office. And if those ancient Canons repeated in so many Councils be of any Force, which declare all Elections of the Clergy by Magistrates, or without the Consent of the People, void; what a desperate Case has almost all the Christian World been in ever since the old way of Elections was alter'd! Nay, the Church of England it self, where the Bishops are chosen by the King, and Parsons by Patron, is in a miserable plight. So severe is this Mark of the Catholick Church on those for whose secular Interest Mr. King seems to have calculated it, and so over-favourable to those whom he design'd to exclude from the Catholick Church by it.

For what is said on behalf of all the reformed Churches, Page 11, &c. It is not intended to include the Socinians, who deny an essential Article of the Christian Faith, the Deity of Christ, and all the Doctrines of his Satisfaction, &c. that depend on it.

Against Mr. King's Notion of the supreme Government over all the Christians in England being lodg'd in the Convocation, touch'd on Page 57. I add this Argument *ad hominem*; The General-Assembly in Scotland have equal Pretensions to the Supreme Government of all Christians in that Nation, as the Convocation has in England. Now if the Laws of the Convocation would oblige the Consciences of all the Christians in England (as the Laws of the Church) whether ratified by the Civil Authority or no, then the Acts of the General Assembly in Scotland have the same Force there; now that General Assembly which sat there in the Year 1639. (whose Acts were also ratified afterwards by King Charles the First in Person, present in his Parliament there) abolish'd Prelacy, and set up the Presbyterian Government there. The Prelates were, according to Mr. King's Principles, discharg'd from their Office, and since they regain'd it not only without the Allowance of any General Assembly, but against the Acts or Laws of all that sat there since, they were therein guilty of Schism or Church-Rebellion. Mr. King's Notions are as unmerciful to the Bishops there, as to Presbyters here: So little does he regard where those envenom'd Darts may fall, which he levels against his Dissenting Brethren.

REMARKS

REMARKS

On a Late

DISCOURSE

OF

WILLIAM Lord Bishop of DERRY:

CONCERNING

The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God.

The PREFACE.

I AM so averse to all Controversies in general, and particularly to those less momentous ones, that are still continued between the Establish'd Church and Protestant Dissenters, that 'tis not without great Reluctancy and Regret, that I am once more engag'd in them by the following

Remarks on the late celebrated Discourse of the Bishop of Derry, concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God. For I look on that Revival of these Debates amongst us, which his Lordship's Discourse has given occasion for, as very unseasonable in this Kingdom; and particularly at this Juncture. We have here so valuable a common Interest (even a Conjunction of our religious and civil ones) that requires all our joint Endeavours to promote, that we have no need to be diverted from them, by awakening any dormant Contests about the Interest of lesser Opinions and Practices. And this seems the more improper at such a Time, when there was a Prospect of a Parliament being call'd here, and of the same Bill of Indulgence for Protestant Dissenters coming before them, that is already pass'd in England. A Bill that seems most necessary here to encourage the replanting this impoverish'd and desolate Kingdom with Protestants, by providing that legal Security for all of them that would beget a mutual Confidence in each other, facilitate a nearer Union of our Affections, and bind us all in more inviolable Duty to their Majesties; under whose indulgent Government we should all enjoy both Protection and Favour. Whereas the renewing these Disputes has too probable a Tendency to put the Spirits of Men into a new Ferment, in which they will be less dispos'd for so calm and peaceable, so charitable and healing Counsels. For 'tis rare to find these publick Debates so manag'd, as not to widen Differences rather than compose them, and heighten, rather than allay the Animosities of the contending Parties.

But yet I humbly conceive, that his Lordship has, by this Discourse, laid the Dissenters under an unavoidable Ne-

cessity of resuming these Debates, so far as they are handled therein: And accordingly there are two Reasons that I shall offer for the Publication of these Remarks.

1. The Protestant Dissenters could not omit this Attempt to defend themselves, without betraying both the Interest of Truth, and that of their own Innocence and just Reputation.

For his Lordship's Discourse having charg'd us in so many Instances with casting God's own Appointments out of his Worship, and with introducing so great a Mixture of human Inventions, has brought us under this unhappy Dilemma, that either we must seem to own the Truth and Justice of so heavy a Charge by our Silence; or if we think our selves greatly wrong'd, must appear, tho' unwillingly and unseasonably, in our own Vindication. For as the Bishop, by his former Attempt, (without any Occasion given him) to dis-seize us of our spiritual Birthright, (I mean to exclude us from the Catholick Church) oblig'd us to assert our just Claim to that invaluable Privilege: So by this new Essay to represent our Worship as so miserably corrupted with human Inventions, and disagreeable to the Directions of Scripture, he has laid us under the same Obligation, to assert its Purity and Conformity to that sacred Rule, so far as we think it unjustly accus'd of deviating from it. So that I hope our moderate Conforming Brethren (towards whom we bear the most charitable Disposition) will by no means be offended with us, for our modest Endeavours, to clear our selves from so invidious a Charge, or to retort it on our Accuser, where his Arguments are more cogent against the Practices he undertakes to defend, than those he opposes. Nay, we think the Bishop himself cannot blame us for this, who has so frequently urg'd us to examine what he has alledg'd against us; demanded our Proof of such Principles as he imputes to us; and hereby signify'd that he expects from us the Result of our serious Thoughts on what he has offer'd to our View. So that we cannot refuse to oblige him herein, without failing of the

Respect we owe to his Lordship, as well as the Justice we owe to Truth, and to our Selves. And even Charity it self seems to prompt us to it; for as we would be glad to reconcile his Lordship, and all that applaud his Book, to a more favourable Opinion of our Worship than is therein suggested, so we are necessitated in order thereto, to shew him those Mistakes on which his Prejudices against it are founded.

2. The Bishop's Manner of treating this Subject, seems too disingenuous to pass without some just Animadversions upon it.

'Tis indeed true, that his Lordship has shewn great Dexterity of Wit, in treating of this Controversy in so new a Method and Tour, as to put the Dissenters on the Necessity of defending themselves from the Force of an Argument, in which they thought hitherto they had rather the Advantage of being Assailants. And he has, for the most Part, wrote with an Air of Seriousness and Gravity, becoming the Weight of the Subject, as well as the Dignity of his Character. Nor do there want some kind Expressions that seem to argue, that his former Censoriousness and Rigour is allay'd, since in this Discourse he so often treats us with the obliging Appellation of his Friends and his Brethren. 'Tis true, some jealous People think it doubtful, because, tho' he call us Friends in one Place, he seems to explain it of Back-Friends, Pag. 169. in another, and tho' he often style us his Brethren, that may be only in the same Sense as Heathens and Publicans are, since he still speaks of us as fallen off from the Church, and disbelieving the Report of the Gospel, Pag. 166. But I am willing rather to measure his Inclinations by those kind and charitable Words that seem to drop from his Pen, when his Thoughts are cool, than by those harsher ones that the Heat of Dispute may suggest. Only his Brethren would have been greatly satisfy'd, to have found some more explicate Declaration of his Charity, by his owning us to be a Part of the Catholick Church, and think he would have best consulted his own Reputation, by repairing the Wrong done to so many excellent Churches, in casting them so peremptorily out of it.

But there are these following Instances of so great Disingenuity in his Discourse, as deserve some just Reflections on them. As,

1. He has, in every Part of it, run into many Mistakes about Matter of Fact, and some of them so gross, that a very ordinary Care and Diligence in his Enquiries might have prevented. Nor needed he have gone farther to have rectify'd many of those Mistakes, than (not only the Diocess, but) the City where he now resides, and yet in some of those Mistakes, he speaks with so great a Height of Assurance, as is enough to possess all those Readers with the Belief of the Truth of what he delivers, who take these Matters on the Credit of his Testimony and Relation. But 'tis well for us, that the strongest Asseverations will not change the Nature of Things, nor weigh down the Evidence of Sense in Matters of Fact. And therefore I hope that his Lordship will not misinterpret it as a Failure in the Deference we owe to his Character, if we call such palpable Misrepresentations of our Principles or Practices, Calumnies, and urge him either to prove or retract them. For sure he that unjustly accuses others, has no Right to blame them for telling him that he does so; and cannot expect that those he accuses should out of Excess of Civility and Complement, seem to countenance his groundless Accusations, by a cold and faint Denial, and forbear to manifest their own Innocence, for fear of exposing thereby the Reputation of their Reverend Accuser. And therefore, if the Charge of Injustice and Wrong done us, in his Accounts of us, that so often occurs in these Remarks, may seem harsh and severe, he must thank himself for it, and has no Ground to complain, if the Charge it self be true.

2. He has taken occasion from such palpable Mistakes in

Matters of Fact, to fasten upon us the most invidious, but the most unjust Reflections, tho' gilded over with smooth and specious Language (like bitter Pills cover'd with Leaf Gold) to make them go the more easily down. And of these so many will occur under each Chapter, as will supersede the Necessity of mentioning them here.

3. Where he mistakes our Principles and Practices, he frequently feigns a great many Reasons, as alleg'd by us in defence of those he groundlessly imputes to us, and spends a great Part of his Book in Confutation of them; whereby his ignorant Readers, that take these Matters on trust from him, are tempted to imagine he is confuting us, when he is only fighting with his own Shadow, and answering Objections, which himself does not pretend to produce any Author for. See the Chapter of Prayer, from pag. 57, to pag. 67. See the Chapter of Hearing, from pag. 86, to pag. 101. See the Chapter of Bodily Worship, from pag. 130, to pag. 142.

Now I take this Method of treating such Controversies, wherein the Reputation of a great Body of Protestants are concern'd, to be so highly disingenuous, that as such Authors deserve a gentle Reproof, so 'tis necessary, out of regard to Charity and Peace it self, to obviate the pernicious Influence of such Writings. For such Writings tend to make Differences between us seem greater than they are, and to exasperate rather than heal the Wounds caus'd by them. Whereas a contrary, judicious, and fair stating of Controversies tends to narrow them, and seldom fails to bring the contending Parties to a nearer Agreement of Judgment as well as Affection. And this I can truly profess to be the principal Design of these Remarks. And tho' I am conscious of the Weakness of my own Abilities for such an Undertaking, yet I am not of any Inclination to set Protestants at a greater Distance from one another. On the contrary, I shall think my Time in writing these Remarks well employ'd, if they contribute any thing to reconcile sober Protestants to more favourable and charitable Thoughts of those different Modes of Worship that yet remain among them, and to convince them how little these Differences should signify to abate our Esteem and Love for such who are agreed with us in those far more important Matters, wherein the Kingdom of God chiefly consists. For as all that in these Things serve our common Master, are herein acceptable to God, so they should be (on the same Score) approv'd and affectionately honour'd by one another, Rom. xiv. 18. And therefore if his Lordship can shew me any Thing in these Papers contrary to this Design, or any such Misrepresentation of their Principles and Practices, as I have here charg'd him with in reference to ours, I shall most readily retract it, as I humbly expect the like Candor from himself.

Having truly propos'd what were my Inducements to publish these Remarks, I shall only add one Observation necessary to prevent Mistakes, viz. That the Matters treated on in this Discourse of the Bishop's, are by no means the main hinge on which the Controversy between the Establish'd Church and the Dissenters turns. So that his Lordship has only acted in this Defence of the Establish'd Church like the Governor of a Garrison, that takes the greatest Pains to maintain the best fortify'd Parts of it, while he leaves those feeble Places unguarded, against which the strongest Batteries are plac'd. But none can blame his Lordship's Prudence in choosing a Post which he thought himself most capable to make good. And if he not only defend that, but in a resolute Sally seize some of the Enemy's Canon, and turn it against themselves, it must be own'd for a considerable Service. No doubt he supposes he has done so; how justly, I shall leave to the Reader's unbiass'd Judgment when he has perus'd these Remarks, in which I shall trace his Lordship's Steps in the clear and accurate Method he has laid down.



REMARKS

UPON THE

INTRODUCTION.

UPON the Review of the Introduction, and comparing it with the following Chapters, I was greatly surpriz'd to find these three unusual and palpable Defects in it, than which, I scarce know three more inexcusable ones a Writer can be guilty of, that pretends to treat a controversial Subject, viz.

1. Tho' he styles his Book, *A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, yet he has not in all those 188 Pages, of which it consists, so much as once stated the true Notion of them, or told us what he means by them. A strange Oversight in one that pretends to have so carefully examin'd this Matter, and has said so many Things relating to it, which he could not but foresee would fall under the critical Examination of those on whose Principles and Practices he has made so many and severe Reflections; especially, when he could not well be ignorant, that the Subject he undertakes to discourse on, is very ambiguous, and capable of being taken in so different Senses. But 'tis easy to guess what kind of *Superstructure* he is like to raise, when he has forgot to lay the *Foundation*. So that we are oblig'd to desire his Lordship to write another Discourse to state the Question, that we may know what the Arguments in this are levelled for, or against.

2. But there is a worse Fault this Discourse is chargeable with, viz. That as far as his Lordship's Meaning can be gather'd from his Words, he has given us two inconsistent Notions of *human Inventions* in the Worship of God, which yet he has taken no Care to distinguish, and tells us fairly when he intends the one, and when the other.

Sometimes, by the *Invention* of Men in the Worship of God, he seems to understand some Things relating either to the *Matter*, or the *Manner* of religious Worship, that are unlawful and sinful. Thus in his first Paragraph, *Our blessed Saviour* (saith he) *has taught us, that there are some Ways of worshiping God which have so great a Mixture of human Invention in them, that they are vain and unacceptable to him*; for which he quotes *Mark vii. 7.* A Passage which (as I shall shew anon) plainly refers to those *Jewish Traditions*, which our Saviour there arraigns as guilty of sinful Superstition. And again, in his Principles, *Pag. 3.* he seems to lay down his Notion of the *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, when he there tells us, *That since God has given us a certain Direction for his Worship in the Holy Scriptures, it is to be suppos'd that all Ways of Worship are displeasing to him, that are not expressly contain'd or warranted by Examples of holy Men mention'd therein.* 'Tis true indeed, that if he intend this for a Description of such *human Inventions*, we are not much the wiser for it, (as I shall observe afterwards). But this we may certainly infer from it, that he understands by them, such *Ways of Worship* as are *displeasing to God*, because destitute of scriptural Precept and Pattern. Now I would

entreat his Lordship to acquaint us, how we shall reconcile this with his owning such Things to be *lawful*, to which this very Notion of *human Inventions* does agree, and which he calls by that very Name. To give him an Instance in his first Chapter about *Praise*. He there charges the Dissenters Way of praising God by *singing Psalms in Metre*, as destitute of all *Command* or *Precedent* from the Scripture, and as a *purely human Invention*, *Pag. 24.* And yet in the very beginning of that Section that concerns the Dissenters Manner of praising God, he desires us to observe, *for preventing Mistakes, that he does not condemn the singing Psalms in Metre as unlawful.* And no wonder, when he foresaw that he must otherwise have condemn'd what is practis'd in Parish-Churches; for tho' he tells us this is but a voluntary Entertainment of Devotion in their publick Assemblies, yet there were all possible Reason to cast it out, if it were a sinful Way of praising God, according to the first Notion of *human Inventions*. 'Tis evident then, that he sometimes understands by *human Inventions* some sinful Ways of Worship, sometimes such innocent Modes of it as are of human Determination. Nay, so jumbled are his Notions of this Matter, that tho' he owns *Sermons* to have the Warrant of scriptural Example, yet he ranks them among the *Inventions of Men*, *Pag. 102.* And this uncertain Sense of this slippery Phrase breeds so miserable a Confusion in his whole Discourse, that when he tells us so often of our *human Inventions*, we are at a Loss, whether he speak it by way of Applause or Censure, whether he commend our use of *Christian Prudence*, or arraign us as guilty of *Superstition*. But,

3. I have a severer Reflection yet to add, viz. That his Lordship has made this strange Confusion in his own Notions about *human Inventions*, the Ground of the most uncharitable Censures of the Worship of his Brethren.

He does, indeed, in some Cases, accuse the Dissenters of laying aside the *Commands of God* relating to his Worship (how justly, will appear hereafter). But I never find in his Charge of *human Inventions*, that his Premises amount to any more than some Modes of Worship in general necessary; but in particular, left to the Determination of human Prudence: And yet in his Conclusion, he would insinuate into his unwary Readers, as if he had prov'd our Worship guilty of such *superstitious Inventions*, as our Saviour's Words, *Mark vii. 7.* caution us against. And so many Instances of this kind will occur in the Examination of the particular Chapters, as will spare me the Labour of mentioning them here. I shall therefore here only add, That if this thin Sophism impos'd on his own Understanding, 'tis great Pity he should trouble the World with renewing a Debate concerning these Things, before he had better digested his Thoughts about them; if it did not, where was his Sincerity in founding so heavy an Indictment on such Proof as he knew was so lame and inconsistent?

Left

Left therefore these *Remarks* should be guilty of the same Faults with his Lordship's Discourse, it will be necessary to set these Matters in a clearer Light, which he has so studiously wrapt up in perfect Obscurity.

I. This Phrase of the *Inventions of Men*, as relating to the *Worship of God*, occurs thrice in our Translation of the Bible, viz. *Psal. cvi. 29, 39. Psal. xcix. 8.* In the first Place, 'tis apply'd to the People of *Israel's* joyning in the *Sacrifices offer'd to Baal-peor*; in the second, 'tis apply'd to their imitating the *Heathenish* Inhabitants in the Land of *Canaan*, in that horrid Wickedness of *sacrificing their Children to Idols*; in the third, 'tis most probable by the Context, that the Expression refers to the *Worship of God* by the *Golden Calf*, as an Image or Symbol of his Presence. So that if we borrow our Notion of *human Inventions* in religious *Worship* from the scriptural Use of that Phrase, they always imply a Violation either of the *first* or *second* Command, either by setting up a wrong *Object* of *Worship*, or a forbidden and corrupt *Way* of paying our *Worship* to the true *Object* of it. And if the Bishop had prov'd the *Worship of Dissenters* guilty of such *human Inventions*, he had done something to the Purpose.

II. But if we derive our Notion of the *Inventions of Men* in the *Worship of God*, from that Passage of our Saviour which the Bishop cites, from *Mark vii. 7.* *In vain do ye worship me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*; a little Care in examining it, will easily help us to state it right.

By the *Commandments of Men*, our Saviour here plainly understands such as enjoyn'd the doing or forbearing certain Things as Instances of Piety and Holiness that recommend us to God, which he never prescrib'd in the Law of Nature, or in his supernatural Revelation. Such *Commandments of Men* he asserts those Traditions among the *Jews* to be, that plac'd so much of Holiness in washing their Hands before eating, or when they came from Places of publick Converse, as if this external Cleanness could recommend them to the infinitely pure Eyes of the great God. And many such Instances of Apocryphal Sanctity occur in the Lives of Popish Saints, who plac'd so much of it in so many unnecessary Austerities, and other trifling Fopperies. And no wonder our Saviour should condemn such *human Traditions* as thus tend to corrupt our Apprehensions of the Nature and Will of God, and possess us with such a false Idea of true Religion, as adulterates the Simplicity of it.

These superstitious Precepts of Men receive an additional Aggravation, when the observing them necessitates the Violation of the Laws of God. Thus our Saviour arraigns the superstitious Traditions of the *Jewish* Doctors about the Obligation of *rash Vows*, which entangled them in the Breach of the fifth Command, *Mark vii. 11.* And on the same Account we condemn those *rash Vows of Celibacy* in the *Roman Church*, which so often involve those that make them, in the Violation of the Seventh.

Now if we apply this Sense of the *Commandments of Men* to the *Worship of God*, we shall have a clear Notion of such *human Inventions* as this Text does condemn. As,

1. It condemns as sinful *Inventions* or *Commands of Men*, all such as enjoyn some new Part of religious *Worship* that has no stamp of divine Authority. As the *Romish Church* is herein guilty, when she presumes to add new *Sacraments* of her own to those of *Christ's* Institution.

And 'tis an Aggravation of these sinful *Inventions of Men*, when the Observance of them is inconsistent with what God's own Laws prescribe relating to his *Worship*. Of which the *Romish Church* is guilty, in setting up the *Worship of Images*, the *Invocation of Angels and Saints*, the *Offering up Christ as a propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass*, and the *Adoration of the Host*.

2. Whereas every Part of *Worship* enjoyn'd by God, as *Prayer, Praise, &c.* is capable of being perform'd in various circumstantial Modes, if the Law of

God do expressly enjoyn us any particular Mode, then, to devise another of our own, exclusive of that which he has chosen and determin'd, is to bring in a sinful *human Invention* into his *Worship*. Such sinful *Inventions* are *Prayers and Praises in an unknown Tongue*, the *communicating in one kind*, *solitary Communion*, &c.

3. Nay, if the *Commands of Men* make such *Rites and Ceremonies* of their own devising, as are no way necessary, not warranted by any general Rules of Scripture, to become the stated Appendages of any Part of divine *Worship*, and the necessary Terms of *Communion* in it, such *Ceremonies* seem to come within the Compass of what our Saviour rejects as *vain Worship*. For the imposing such *Rites and Ceremonies*, seems to be an Act of human Presumption, that tacitly arraigns those Directions which God himself has given us concerning his *Worship*, and our *Communion* in it, as defective. And such superstitious *Inventions of Men* those numberless *Rites and Ceremonies* seem to be, whereby the Guides of the *Roman Church* have corrupted the Simplicity of Christian *Worship*, and defac'd the true Beauty and Purity of divine Institutions, with the meretricious Paint of their unnecessary Pomp and Pageantry. And his Lordship would have done well to have clear'd the *Cross* in *Baptism* from being one of these *human Inventions*.

So that the *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, which this Text condemns, are always some sinful Corruptions of it, as to the Matter or Manner of it, or some sinful Additions to it. If therefore his Lordship would manage this Charge of *human Inventions* to any Purpose against the Dissenters, he must prove either that they set up some new Part of *Worship* which has no stamp of divine Authority, or, that where God has determin'd any particular Mode for ordering any Part of his *Worship*, they reject that, and use one of their own devising; or that they introduce some new *Rites* as stated Appendages of *Worship* no way necessary in general, and make them the Terms of *Communion* in it. How little he has done of that kind, will appear in the Examination of his ensuing Chapters.

I might add here, we may justly rank among such *human Inventions*, all those *human Orders*, in reference to the Government and Discipline of the Church, that set up any such new Officers in it, without any Warrant of *Christ's* Institution, as put down those that he has appointed, or deprive them of any Part of that Power he has committed to them; nay, all those *Ecclesiastical Canons* are such sinful Precepts of Men as are inconsistent with the great Rules for Unity and Concord, for mutual Forbearance and Charity, &c. which our Saviour has laid down. And I should be very glad if his Lordship cou'd clear the establish'd Church from the Charge of such *human Inventions* as these. For 'tis these are chiefly the fatal Engines of our Divisions, as I may have occasion to observe in the End of these Remarks.

III. It remains only that I subjoyn, in order to the clearing the State of this Controversy, that there is a very improper Sense in which this Phrase of *human Inventions in the Worship of God* may possibly be us'd, viz. To signify such Modes and Circumstances of divine *Worship*, as tho' necessary in general by divine Precept, yet are left in particular to be determin'd by human Prudence. For tho' God has commanded publick *Prayer, Praise, Hearing, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, &c.* Yet what Time or Place we shall assemble in, in what Order these Parts of *Worship* shall be perform'd, what particular devout Posture we shall use among several equally expressive of our religious Reverence, what Translation of the Bible, or Version of the *Psalms* we choose, what Portion of the Scriptures shall be read, explain'd, and apply'd; what Utensils shall be employ'd in the Celebration of the *Sacraments*, and a multitude of such Circumstances and Modes of that kind, are left to human Determination. Only therein the general Rules of Scripture must be regarded, as, *That all be done to Edification, and all Things*

Things be done decently, and in Order, &c. 1 Cor. xiv. 26, 40. Now to call such Modes of Worship thus justly determin'd by human Prudence, the *Invention of Men*, even such as our Saviour refers to, *Mark vii. 7.* is indeed common enough with such wild Sectaries as the Quakers; but I am sorry that his Lordship should thus espouse their Quarrel, and take up their Arguments against us. And yet I hope to make it evident, that his Proof of *human Inventions* in the Worship of Dissenters, amounts to no more than such *prudential human Orders* about the Modes of Worship, as are undoubtedly allowable and lawful; and, that the *Establish'd Church* is much more liable to the same Charge; many of whose Practices, as well as those of Dissenters, I shall be oblig'd in Charity to defend from this weak and blind Accusation.

What I have here suggested, will make it needless to take any further notice of the *Principles* his Lordship lays down in reference to the Worship of God, then to annex these few brief Remarks on them.

For the two first, *That it belongs to God only to give Rules how he will be worship'd, and that the Holy Scriptures contain the Revelation of God's Will concerning his Worship*, they are no other than what will freely be granted him, unless he extend them to all Circumstances and Modes of Worship, and exclude all human Prudence in the Determination of them.

For the Third, which he infers from the two former, viz. *That it concerns us to keep as close as we can to those Directions which God has been pleased to afford us in his Word, without adding to, omitting, or altering any thing that he has there laid down.* I hope he intends no more by it, than that so far as God has by these Directions enjoyn'd any part of Worship, or expressly determin'd the Manner and Circumstances of it, so far we must follow such Directions; and therefore I hope he would not hereby insinuate, as if those Directions were so particular, as to appoint all the foremention'd circumstantial Modes of instituted Worship. And I think this Caution the more needful to be given him, because the Reason he offers for this Principle, carries a very uncertain and dangerous Sound with it, viz. *For since God has vouchsafed us a certain Direction for his Worship in the Holy Scriptures, it is to be suppos'd, that all Ways of Worship are displeasing to him, that are not expressly contain'd or warranted by Examples of holy Men therein.* If his Lordship had design'd our Instruction by these Principles, he should not have deliver'd them to us (like the *Heathen Oracles*) in so ambiguous Terms, as leave us to guess in the dark what he means. For how shall we know, whether by God's giving us a certain Direction for his Worship, he means as to all the Parts of it, or all the circumstantial Modes, and whether of these he intends by Ways of Worship. For if he intend the latter, (as any Man wou'd imagine by the whole Tenour of his following Discourse, wherein he so often applies that Phrase, the Ways of Worship to the Modes of it) viz. *That God has given us so certain a Direction for his Worship, as to all the circumstantial Modes of it, that all such Modes of it are displeasing to him that have not express Scripture-Precept or Pattern.* This is so wild an Assertion, that I scarce think any more extravagant one ever dropt from the Pen of the most weak and scrupulous Sectaries; and so very uncharitable, that if a Man believ'd it, he would find it hard to joyn in any religious Assembly that I know of in the Christian World, I am sure he must renounce all Communion with the Parish-Churches; so fatal is it to great Wits to run into Extremes, that his Lordship is not content with espousing the Dissenters Principles without overdoing, and stretching them beyond all tolerable Bounds; so that if he should ever become a Profelyte to that Party, I am afraid he will turn one of those rigid ones that were formerly call'd Brownists.

For what he calls his 4th and 5th Principles, I know of no Dispute there is about them.

But I must crave leave, in order to the clearing my Way to the following Chapters, to subjoyn two Prin-

ciples or Postulata which his Lordship seems to have forgot, but are highly necessary to a right Judgment concerning these Matters, viz.

1. Where God has enjoyn'd any part of religious Worship in general, but has not determin'd the particular Mode and Circumstances of it, there the Determination of them belongs to *human Prudence*; and such Determinations of them are lawful and warrantable, as are agreeable to the general Rules of Scripture given to direct us therein. And therefore there may be various Modes of performing the same religious Duty, that are each allowable and lawful; tho' some particular Circumstances may make one to some Persons more expedient than the other. Ex. gr. God has commanded us to pray; but he has no where expressly determin'd (whatever his Lordship seems to insinuate to the contrary) whether we shall pray *with or without a set Form of Words*; both Ways of praying therefore may be lawful in general, though particular Circumstances may to some render the one or the other Way more convenient; nay, the general Rule of doing all to Edification, may perhaps in some Cases oblige Men to the one, and in some to the other. I might say the same concerning singing in *Prose or Metre*, reading a larger entire portion of Scripture *without Exposition*, or a lesser *with it*, &c. So that in these Cases wise Men are very cautious on what Grounds they go, when they censure the Worship of others as unlawful, or charge it with sinful *human Inventions*; and confident Accusers do but usually betray their own Ignorance.

2. We that are Christians, should chiefly attend to the Rules and Examples of the *New Testament* for our Direction in the Worship of God. For those of the *Old Testament* no further concern us, than as any Rules deliver'd there belong to the *Moral Law*, and the Reason of such Examples equally extends to us as it did to them. And indeed to urge the Precepts or Patterns of the Worship us'd under the *Old Testament* any further, were to bring us again under the *Mosaical Pedagogy*.

And as I hope none will deny me these two reasonable Postulata, so the Usefulness of them in these Enquiries will appear in many of the Remarks on the following Chapters, which I shall now address my self to the Consideration of.

Remarks on the First CHAPTER concerning PRAISES.

AND here I shall so far observe the same Method his Lordship has laid down, as first to consider the Directions of Scripture concerning this part of Divine Worship, and then the Application his Lordship makes of them to the Manner of performing it in the *Establish'd Church*, and in the *Dissenters Congregations*.

First, As to the Directions of the Holy Scriptures concerning this part of Divine Worship, I shall offer what follows as the Result of the most diligent Enquiry I could make, and hope 'tis a juster as well as clearer Account than that his Lordship has given.

There are but these two Ways of offering our publick Praises to God enjoyn'd in the *New Testament*, viz. either by *singing Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs*; or by *Thanksgiving without vocal Melody*.

I. As to *Thanksgiving without vocal Melody*, I would observe,

1. We have most express Command for it as one principal stated Part of our publick Worship, 1 Tim. ii. 1. *I exhort therefore, that first of all Supplications, Prayers, Intercession, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men, &c.* And this part of Worship was usually joyn'd with that of Prayer. Thus, Phil. iv. 6. *In every Thing by Prayer and Supplication with Thanksgiving, let your Requests be made known to God.* So Col. iv. 2. — 1 Thes. v. 17, 18. And accordingly, *Blessing, or giving of Thanks*, is mentioned as one stated part of the Devotions of Christian Assemblies,

Assemblies, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. And that those *Thanksgivings* were different from *Psalms* or *Songs* is hence evident, both because they were to be varied according to their different Occasions for them, from the Mercies they daily receiv'd, which such *Psalms* or *Songs* could not be, (for those are always suppos'd to be a set, invariable Form of Words) and because they were ordinarily intermixt with publick Prayer.

2. For the Matter of these publick *Thanksgivings*, the *New Testament* chiefly directs us to insist on those peculiar Mercies of God to us through a Mediator, which the Gospel most clearly reveals to us, and of which there is either none, or but very obscure mention made in any Forms of *Thanksgiving* recorded in the *Old*

For if we go through all the solemn *Thanksgivings* that occur in the *New Testament*, we shall find them to run in a strain as much sublimer than that of those in the *Old*, as that clearer transcends that obscurer Revelation. How suitable to the Evangelical Dispensation is that *Thanksgiving* of the Apostle Paul? Eph. i. 3, 4, 5, &c. *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blest us with all spiritual Blessings in heavenly Things in Christ. According as he hath chosen us in him before the Foundation of the World, that we should be holy and blameless before him in Love, having predestinated us to the Adoption of Children by Christ to himself, &c. Or that of the same inspired Writer, Col. i. 12, 13, &c. Of the same strain is that of the Apostle Peter, 1 Ep. i. 3, 4, &c. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant Mercy has begotten us again to a lively Hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an Inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that never fades away, reserv'd in Heaven for us, &c. See Rev. i. 5, 6. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our Sins in his own Blood, and hath made us Kings and Priests to God, &c. Rev. v. 13, 14, &c.*

These are certainly the best Patterns after which our publick *Thanksgivings* in Christian Assemblies should be drawn. And no *Thanksgivings* recorded in the *Old Testament* do so expressly and clearly mention these inestimable Blessings of the New Covenant, or the matchless Love of our God and Saviour in the manner of conferring them, as these recorded in the *New*; and consequently our Praises should ordinarily, as to the very Matter of them, greatly differ from, and go beyond those us'd in the Jewish Church.

3. We read of no other part the People had in these publick *Thanksgivings* in the *New Testament* more than their adding their *Amen* to them. So much these Words of the Apostle Paul imply, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. *Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupies the room of the Unlearned say Amen at thy giving of Thanks.* All Expositors on the Place refer it to the Custom of the Peoples saying *Amen* at the end of publick Prayers and Praises. I might produce the Testimony of Justin Martyr, and other ancient Christian Writers of the three first Centuries to this Purpose; but since the Bishop seems to allow this Exposition, p. 42. I need insist no further on it here.

And 'tis the more requisite to take notice of this Way of praising God by *Thanksgivings* without vocal Melody, because the Bishop seems to confound it with that other way of praising God with *Psalms*, from which 'tis plainly distinguish'd. And this leads me to consider,

II. The Praises the *New Testament* requires us to offer unto God by Singing.

And what was to be thus sung, we may learn from those two Passages of the Apostle Paul cited by the Bishop, Eph. v. 19. and Col. iii. 16. viz. *Psalms, Hymns, and spiritual Songs, or Odes.* On which Passages I would make the following Remarks.

I do fully agree with the Bishop, that this Passage of the Apostle's does warrant our use of the *Psalms* of David in our publick Praises, because 'tis highly probable the Word *Psalms* refers to them. But then I must add, 'tis no less probable that the Apostle does by *Hymns* and *spiritual Songs* intend others besides those

of holy David, especially such as contain Matter of Praise more entirely suited to the State of the Christian Church under this clearer Light of the Gospel; as there are many solemn *Thanksgivings* in many Places of the *New Testament*, easily capable of being turn'd into *Hymns* and *spiritual Odes*, by being adapted to this Use of singing them. And I see no Reason to doubt but this Passage does as fully warrant our composing and using such, as it does the Use of the *Psalms* of David. So that the Want of them seems to be one defect in this Part of Worship both among Conformists and Non-conformists; though some of the latter have of late reform'd it by the frequent use of *New Testament Hymns* in their Congregations, especially in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. There are indeed Anthems sometimes sung in the Cathedrals, but 'tis in a way wherein the Body of the People cannot join with them.

2. But the *New Testament* recommends no other Use of *Psalms, &c.* in the publick Praises of God, besides that of singing them.

The Use of them is no where enjoy'd in the *New Testament*, but in those Places forequoted, Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16. and James v. 13. and all those Directions require the Singing them. That Grace wherewith we must make Melody to the Lord in our Hearts, pre-supposes some Melody made with our Voices, to which the other should correspond.

And there seems to be this obvious Reason why singing them is so expressly there enjoy'd, because in that religious Duty thus order'd, Nature assists Grace, and our Delight in vocal Harmony tends to elevate our Affections more easily towards their blessed Object. So that we neither comply with the Apostle's Precept, nor indeed with the Reason of it, by barely repeating or saying such *Psalms, Hymns, and spiritual Songs*, without singing them (except when we only read them for Instruction, without using them as Forms of Praise.) Nor has the Bishop produced any Example of such *Psalms* and *Hymns* being said, as contra-distinguish'd from being sung. For *Psal. cxviii. 2.* he does well not to insist on it to this purpose. For it no more proves our being requir'd to say *Psalms*, as distinguish'd from singing them, than the Word saying proves it, when applied to that *New Song* which is expressly said to be sung, Rev. v. 9. He tells us, indeed, that we find in Scripture several sacred *Hymns*, particularly of Hannah, the Blessed Virgin, Zacharias, and Simeon, and the Saints in Heaven, Rev. vii. 12. and xi. 17. which are said to have been said by them respectively, and the Circumstances of the Story do not make it probable that they were sung. Ans. 'Tis true, indeed, we commonly call these Passages *Hymns*, because they are easily capable of being turn'd into *Hymns*. But we do so improperly, for 'tis certain, the Scripture never gives them that Title, but appropriates it to what was sung. What Hannah spake is call'd a Prayer, 1 Sam. ii. 1. That solemn *Thanksgiving* ascrib'd to the Virgin Mary, has no Title given, (or if it was a Song, there is as much evidence of its being sung, as of its being only said.) Zacharias's *Thanksgiving* is call'd Prophecy, Luke i. 67. Simeon's is call'd Blessing God, *ευλογησας*, (the Word used for *Thanksgiving*, 1 Cor. xiv. 16.) Rev. vii. 12.—and xi. 17. are plainly *Thanksgivings*. Since then the Bishop has not produc'd one Instance of *Psalms, Hymns, or spiritual Songs*, that were said, as distinguish'd from being sung; 'tis evident, this use of them in the Praises of God is unscriptural, and is far from having either Precept or Pattern in the Bible to warrant it; and if we judge of it by the Bishop's own Principles, we must pronounce it unlawful: Nay, 'tis the more to be suspected, because it crosses the only Direction given us about the use of them in this Part of publick Worship.

3. Since the *New Testament* requires our praising God publicly, by singing *Psalms, Hymns, and spiritual Songs*, it does fully warrant us to adapt the *Psalms* of David to that use by turning them into Metre. For

For 'tis one great general Rule of Scripture, that all Things in publick Worship should be done to Edification, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 'Tis evidently most conducive to Edification, that the whole Congregation joyn in the Praises of God by singing Psalms (according to his Appointment in the Places fore-mention'd.) But this cannot be without turning them into Metre, because the Generality of the People cannot sing them in Prose; but must, if they sing them, have them accommodated to that use by such Measures as are familiar to them. And the Addition of Rhime is but a convenient Condescension herein to the Weakness of the People, to whom Verse without it is, thro' Custom, become less grateful; (even as those consulted the Help of our weak Memories, who first divided the Bible into Chapters and Verses.) So that these Circumstances plainly fall under the Determination of human Prudence, and are accordingly determin'd very agreeably to that general Rule I cited before. And I may justly add, that the Psalms thus translated into Metre (provided the true Sense of the inspired Writer be deliver'd) are as truly the Word of God, as the Psalms translated into Prose: And we are as much obliged to turn the Psalms into Metre for this use of singing them, as to translate them out of Hebrew-metre into Prose for our Reading and Instruction. For they can no more serve the Use of being generally sung without the one, than that of being read for Instruction without the other.

4. 'Tis highly propable that the Psalms of David were compos'd in Metre, quite contrary to what the Bishop so frequently suggests, p. 5, 9, 21.

'Tis indeed true, that we are now very unable to give an exact Account of it. And 'tis no wonder, when our Knowledge of the Hebrew Language is so imperfect, and the Distance of Time so very great. But if we will credit those who were more capable to judge of that Matter, by having the Advantage of us in both these Respects, we must dissent from his Lordship's Opinion in it. For that grave Historian Josephus assures us, lib. vii. cap. 10. that the Psalms were wrote in various sorts of Metre, of which he mentions two, some Trimeters, and some Pentameters. And indeed, this is so plain of some of them, as particularly the 111th and 112th, that all Expositors take notice of the Measures that plainly appear in them; and there can be no reasonable doubt about it, every Verse having in the beginning and middle two Letters in order of the Hebrew Alphabet, only the two last have each three Letters, tho' the Measures are even in them alike with the others. There is no less Appearance of Metre in the 119th Psalm, as all Critics observe upon it. See the learned Gataker's Account of the several Tunes to which the Psalms were suited, and the manner of singing them in his Cinnus. And if the Psalms were compos'd in Metre, that they might be sung, 'tis certainly most agreeable to the Example of Scripture to turn them into Metre for the same end and use.

III. For Responses, There is no doubt that in such Places of Scripture as the Bishop has alledg'd (Rev. vii. from the 9th to the 13th.) tho' in the paraphrasing this Text, Rev. vii. 11, 12. his Lordship commits an odd Mistake in supposing the Angels and Elders to joyn in saying what we read, v. 12. whereas 'tis the Angels alone to whom that Part belongs, tho' they stood about the Throne, and about the Elders, and the four Beasts. *Καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐσέκασαν κύκλῳ τὸ θρόνον καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, &c.* Rev. xix. The Instance of Miriam, Psal. xxiv, and cxviii. and especially in the Song of Solomon, which his Lordship seems to have forgot. There is an Allusion to dramatick Writings: But 'tis observable that there is some difference in the Persons introduc'd as answering one another, and in the Matter spoken, that requir'd this alternate way of Singing. But I see nothing the Bishop has produc'd to make it probable that this way of alternate Singing was the ordinary Practice of the Christian Church in the New Testament. He does indeed alledge those

Words of the Apostle Paul to that purpose, 1 Cor. xiv. 31: For ye may all prophesy one by one, &c. which (he tells us) amounts to praising God by way of Responses, because Prophesying (he saith) includes Psalms, Doctrines, Tongues, Revelations and Interpretations, p. 11. But 'tis strange his Lordship should examine his Criticisms no better. For if he compare the 26th Verse of that Chapter with the 6th, he'll easily find that Prophesying, instead of including all those Things mention'd ver. 26. is distinguish'd from them, ver. 6. And if he'll compare this 31st ver. with those that precede, and those that follow it, he cannot but see, that it imports only a Direction to the Prophets to speak in their due Order, without interrupting one another; since that God, in whose Name they speak, was not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace, ver. 33. And accordingly some judicious Expositors understand these Words, ver. 32. [The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets] of those that were inspir'd, being capable of refraining to speak even what they had an Impulse for, 'till they could do it in regular Order.

IV. For Instruments of Musick, there's no Question of their being us'd in the Worship of the Jewish Church. But then it must be consider'd, that 'tis highly probable these Instruments of Musick belong'd not to the Worship of their Synagogues, but only to the Service of their Temple. And there was a particular Institution for them, as appears from Numb. x. 32. Levit. xxiii. 24. And those other Instruments of Musick which David appointed, 1 Chron. xvi. 4, 5. he is expressly said to have done it upon the Commandment of the Lord by his Prophets, 2 Chron. xxix. 25. And they are on that account call'd God's Musical Instruments, 1 Chron. xvi. 22. and 2 Chron. vii. 6. as having the Stamp of his Authority. Nor does the single Instance of Miriam's Timbrels signify any more to prove that the Use of them was no part of the Ceremonial Law, than the Use of Sacrifices before Moses's Time can prove that they were not. Besides, Miriam being there call'd the Prophetess, there is just Reason to suppose that she us'd those Timbrels upon a particular Impulse, as David is said to have instituted his upon such a particular Command from the inspired Prophets. Since then Instrumental Musick belong'd to the Temple-service, which was but ceremonial and typical, it must be abolish'd with that Service; and we can have no Warrant to recall it into the Christian Church without as particular an Institution for it, as it had under the Law, any more than we have to use other abrogated Rites of the Jewish Religion. Nor needs there any particular Command for laying it aside, when the whole Temple-service, of which 'tis a part, is so plainly cashier'd, and it was not, that we can find, us'd in the Worship of the Synagogues, from which alone we can pretend to draw any safe Pattern for Evangelical Worship; and 'tis certain that there's no mention of its being us'd in the Worship of the Christian Church. And indeed, it seems more suitable to Divine Worship, when there was more of external Pomp allow'd in it. I confess, his Lordship would persuade us the Apostles recommend such Musical Instruments, because the Apostle James, when he exhorts those that were merry to sing Psalms, uses the Word *ψαλλέτω*, Jam. v. 13. which he tells us, signifies in the Original, Singing with an Instrument, p. 13. But sure his Lordship can lay no Strefs on this Argument, when 'tis so apparently weak, and so often concludes wrong; of which I shall give him a parallel Instance of his own. He tells us, p. 111. that *προσκυνέω* (the Word generally us'd in the New Testament for Worship) signifies in the Original, to pay Homage by kissing the Hand. And might he not as wisely infer from thence, that we are still oblig'd to pay our external Homage the same way? But if he look again on that Passage of the Apostle James, he will find this slender Criticism too weak a Foundation for Organs to stand on, because the Apostle could not reasonably suppose all those to have Instruments of Musick by them, or to be capable

of using them, whom he there exhorts to vent their spiritual Joys by singing of Psalms. Since then there is no Warrant for Instrumental Musick, from either Precept or Example in the *New Testament*, the Bishop is oblig'd by his own Principles on that account to turn it out of the Church. And indeed for the Cathedral Musick, 'tis hard to reconcile it with 1 Cor. xiv. 11, 15, 26. For the *Apostle* requires that all Things be done to Edification, and consequently that no Worship be offer'd up but what is clearly understood; since if we know not the meaning of the Voice of him that speaks, he is but a Barbarian to us; now the generality of the People complain that the Chaunters and Choristers are just such Barbarians to them, because their Voice is not so articulate as to enable them to understand what they play or sing.

Secondly, Having consider'd the *Directions* of the *Scripture* relating to this part of religious Worship, let us consider the *Application* thereof to the Praises of God, as celebrated in the *Establish'd Church*, and in the *Dissenters Congregations*.

And before I enter on the *Representation* that his Lordship gives, I shall only briefly suggest, that 'tis evident from the foregoing scriptural Account, that the *Way* of praising God among the *Dissenters*, is exactly suited to the *Precepts* and *Examples* of the *New Testament*, relating to this religious Duty: For they praise God both,

1. By *solemn Thanksgivings*, and those suited to that glorious Revelation of the Gospel, and the peculiar Subjects of Praise it furnishes us with, not excluding what the Providence of God towards his Church or towards our selves, does suggest as Matter of our grateful Acknowledgments.

And these are so stated a Part of our Worship, that the *Directory* requires the Minister either in his Prayer before, or that after *Sermon*, to offer such *Thanksgivings*, and accordingly suggests these Heads of them, admirably agreeable to the Strain of the Gospel.

He is to give Thanks for the great Love of God, in sending his Son Jesus Christ to us, for the Communication of his Holy Spirit, for the Light and Liberty of the glorious Gospel, and the rich and heavenly Blessings revealed therein; as namely, Election, Vocation, Adoption, Justification, Sanctification, and hope of Glory: For the admirable Goodness of God in freeing the Land from Antichristian Darkness and Tyranny, and for all other National Deliverances, &c. and for many temporal Blessings.

2. By singing of *Psalms*, *Hymns*, and *Spiritual Songs*, in which Duty they consult the People's Edification, by putting such Metre Versions of the *Psalms* of David into their Hands, as adapt them for this use of them, which the *Scripture* enjoins. And I am sure those in use among them, as the *Scots*, *Barton's*, or *Patrick's* Versions, are incomparably better than that obsolete one which is still retain'd in the *Parish-Churches*; though for what Reason is hard to imagine, unless it be from a Spleen against Reformation, of which some think the least Step very dangerous.

One would think then, our manner of praising God were unexceptionable. But his Lordship, it seems, has very different Apprehensions of this Matter, of which he gives us this Summary and very strange Account.

"The Case then between our Church and you in this Point, I think impartially stands thus. Our Church praises God every Day with five or six *Psalms*, besides other *Hymns* of his own Appointment, and in his own Words and Method, and yet is deserted and condemn'd by you in this very Point, as teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men; whereas you, who only praise him in a piece of a Psalm of a few Verses, and in a Method of your own finding out, persuade your selves that you keep the Ordinances of God pure and unmixed from human Invention.

And this his Lordship recommends to the serious

Consideration of Dissenters, as they will herein expect to bear the Trial of God's Judgment in this Matter, p. 24.

Answ. I must confess my self amaz'd to read these Words, and am willing rather to impute them to his Forgetfulness and Inconsideration, than to arraign his Judgment or Sincerity: But he is so far from having sum'd up this Matter with the *Impartiality* he pretends to, that he has been so unfortunate as scarce to have said one true Word in his Representation on either side; as will appear upon a particular Examination.

"Our Church (saith he) praises God every Day with five or six *Psalms*, besides other *Hymns*, of his own Appointment, and in his own Words and Method.

What does his Lordship mean? Has God indeed appointed the *Psalms* of David to be the stated Forms of Thanksgiving in the Christian Church, as Thanksgivings are distinguish'd from *Psalms*, *Hymns*, and *Spiritual Songs*, (as I have shewn him they plainly are.) He is so far from having prov'd any such thing, that since his Lordship has learnt us the way of challenging, I must use the Freedom of demanding his Proof of it; for I take it to be a rash Assertion, and of dangerous Consequence. I have shewn him already that the *New Testament* recommends no other use of the *Psalms* of David in our publick Praises, except singing them; nor indeed are they expressly mention'd at all, though we suppose them intended in *Eph. v.* and *Col. iii.* But when the *Apostle Paul* so often commands us to give Thanks for all Men, in all Things to give Thanks, to joyn Thanksgiving with all our Prayers, he never recommends the *Psalms* of David as Forms of such Thanksgivings; and no wonder, for besides that, we have frequent particular Occasions of publick Thanksgiving, which there is nothing in the *Psalms* adapted to, even the *Psalms* themselves do not contain the principal Matters of Christian Thanksgivings; for they make no express mention of the infinite Love of God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in sending his own Son, as our great Prophet, to reveal his Will to us, and dye for us as our atoning Sacrifice, that he might redeem us by his precious Blood in raising him from the Dead; exalting him to such Glory and Dignity as the Head of his Church, and Head over all Things to it; and in appointing him the Author of Eternal Salvation to all that believe and obey him. Nor do they so clearly mention those great and precious Promises made to us through this Mediator of a better Covenant, especially those that relate to our Adoption, and to the heavenly Glory. And yet these and the like Instances of the matchless Love of God discover'd to us in Jesus Christ (that glorious Mirrour of divine Love) are so proper matter for our express grateful Acknowledgments, that they should make up the principal part of our publick Thanksgivings, as they do in all those solemn ones recorded for our Imitation in the *New Testament*: And indeed, without them, this part of Worship in a Christian Church would be most grossly defective and unsuitable to the Gospel, as the last and clearest Revelation of the Will of God. I deny not, but we may in our Christian Thanksgivings, make use of the Expressions of Holy David, when we celebrate God's Works of Creation, or of his common or special Providence; because so far they contain suitable Matter of Praise for a Christian as well as for a Jewish Assembly. But for celebrating the great Work of Redemption, which ought to be the chief Work of our Praises on that Day, which is now call'd the Lord's Day (as being consecrated to the Glory of our Redeemer, as Lord of the New Creation) 'tis evident the *Psalms* of David cannot serve us; but we must derive the Subject of those Praises entirely from the *New Testament*: And therefore, to suppose, as the Bishop here does, that the *Psalms* of David are to be the chief stated part of our Christian Praises, is no better than to reduce the Christian to the Imperfection of the Jewish Church. And this is so plain, that as I observ'd before,

before, when the Apostle recommends the singing the *Psalms* of David, yet he joyns *Hymns* and *Spiritual Songs* with them, which no doubt were to run in a Strain more suited to the Evangelical Dispensation. I confess, the Bishop has found out a wonderful knack of turning the *Psalms* of David into *Christian Hymns*, by adding the *Gloria Patri* to them, as if that *Doxology* alter'd the Matters of Praises contain'd in them.

So when he saith, *Our Church praises God with five or six Psalms and other Hymns of his own Appointment*, Why does he call the *Thanksgiving* of *Zacharias*, the *Virgin Mary*, and *Simeon*, *Hymns*, which the Scripture calls not so? And why does he take it for granted, instead of proving it, that God has appointed what they spake on that occasion for stated Forms of *Thanksgivings* in all Christian Assemblies, when there is so much in them suited to the particular Case of those Persons, that though they are useful for our Instruction, yet they are not calculated for Forms of *Thanksgivings* to us. If we must choose Forms out of the Scripture, the Apostolical ones I produc'd under the Head of *Thanksgivings*, will far more exactly suit us.

Again, when he says, *Our Church praises God with five or six Psalms, &c. in his own Words and Method*: Why does he groundlessly imagine the *Words* of the Prose-translation of the *Psalms* to be more the *Words of God* than the *Words* of a Metre-translation, that do as truly express the Sense of the Original? Nay, why does he pretend that they praise God by *Psalms* in his own Method, when they have so plainly deviated from his Method in the following Instances. As,

1. In the Cathedrals where the Psalm is sung by the Quire, 'tis none of God's Method that the greater part of the People should be excluded from joining in his Praises through their Incapacity to sing them in Prose. For (besides the probable Arguments alledg'd before, to prove that the *Psalms* were compos'd and sung in Metre by the Jews) this is plainly disagreeable to the Apostle's Rule, that all Things should be done to Edification.

2. In the Parish-Churches, when the *Psalms* are only said, not sung, they are so far from using God's Method, that their Practice has neither Scripture-precept nor Pattern, but is one of the Bishop's *human Inventions*. Nay, 'tis disagreeable to the Precepts of the *New Testament*, which enjoin the singing of *Psalms* in our Praises; and tho' his Lordship pretends a Dispensation for saying them, I have shewn him the Invalidity of his Proofs for it, so that we have only his bare Word for it.

3. The Method of *Responses* in the Parish-Churches, as applied by them to all *Psalms*, even those wherein there is no variety of Matter, nor different Persons introduc'd as speaking in them, is unscriptural, and generally scarce agreeable to common Reason, or to the Rule of *Decency* and *Order*; that where the Sense is continued through several Verses, it should be interrupted and broken, by being toss'd between the Minister and People, just as in the *Litany*, the Minister and People make up the Prayer between them. So that this is another of the Bishop's sort of *human Inventions*.

The Bishop adds, *Our Church praises God with five or six, &c. and yet is deserted by you in this very Point, as teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*.

Ans. If he means that some weak People may alledge such Reasons for their deserting the Establish'd Church, because they think these unscriptural Practices I have last mention'd, such superstitious Commands of Men as our Saviour speaks of, *Mat. vii. 7*. 'Tis indeed possible it may be true; for who can be responsible for all that injudicious People say? But I know none of the *Non-conformist* Writers that have condemn'd them as unlawful, or applied that Text to prove them so. But I must tell his Lordship, that if any should pass this harsh Censure on them, he is the only Person I know of, that has furnish'd them with an Argument *ad Hominem*, which I know not how he can answer.

VOLL. II.

For what if they should reason thus; That way of Worship is displeasing to God, which is neither expressly contain'd in, nor warranted by the Examples of holy Men in Scripture, being one of the Commandments of Men condemn'd by our Saviour, *Mark vii. 7*. but the way of praising God with *Psalms* and *Hymns* without singing them, and of using *Responses* in all *Psalms*, is neither expressly contain'd in the holy Scriptures, nor warranted by the Examples of holy Men therein, and yet 'tis the general Practice of all the Parish Churches Episcopal. The first Proposition is entirely his own, the second I have prov'd in these Remarks, and shew'd that his Instances to the contrary signify nothing to his purpose, let himself therefore look to the Conclusion.

And as he has so palpably mis-represented Matters on his own side, so as he has done it much more foully on the Dissenters: Concerning whose Practice his Words are,

Whereas you, who only praise him in a piece of a Psalm of a few Verses, and in a Method of your own finding out, persuade your selves that you keep the Ordinances of God pure and unmix'd from human Invention.

Answer. I desire his Lordship, when he is pleas'd to examine these Matters over again, to give us some Reason why he so confidently tells us, that the *Dissenters only praise God in a piece of a Psalm*. Does he not know that publick *Thanksgivings*, without vocal Melody, are a scriptural Way of praising God, and most expressly enjoyn'd for that end, as a stated part of the Worship of Christian Assemblies, *1 Tim. ii. 1, 2*. and mention'd as their constant Practice, *1 Cor. xiv. 16*? And does he not know that such solemn *Thanksgivings* are a stated part of the Worship of Dissenters? He cannot pretend Ignorance of this, when he has so diligently read the Directory, out of which I have quoted him the Heads of such *Thanksgivings*; and if he compare them with the Patterns of Apostolical *Thanksgivings* I mention'd before, he'll find they are exactly drawn after their excellent Copy. Nor could he be ignorant that the Directory enjoyns such *Thanksgivings* to be constantly join'd with the Prayer before, or after Sermon, (as the *New Testament* also directs us to offer them up together) unless he read it with so partial an Eye as to overlook its Excellencies, and only spy its Defects. And I must add, that the Practice of *Dissenters* in this part of publick Worship, to the utmost of my Observation, is very conformable to this Rule of the Directory. So that his Lordship is oblig'd to do us right, by rectifying this palpable Mistake concerning this part of our Worship, and would do well to understand our Worship better before he undertake to represent it with so confident Pretences to Impartiality.

I would here only subjoin, that such solemn *Thanksgivings* as these, are undoubtedly of God's Appointment. For if he pretend that they are not offer'd in any Words that God has immediately dictated (as he tells us, their Church praises him in his own Words.) I answer, that cannot be justly imputed to us as a Fault, unless God had been pleas'd to dictate such Forms of *Thanksgiving* to us; which if he can shew us, he will make the happiest Discovery that ever Man yet did, and such an one as will soon end all our Debates about this Matter: But I am afraid he must bring a new Bible for that purpose; for I can find no such in that we have. And indeed, if God had provided such Forms of *Thanksgiving* for the Christian Church, what need were there of any *human Liturgy* for this ordinary part of our Worship? What need those few *Collects of Thanksgiving* (and indeed too few, and too defective) which occur in the *Common-Prayer-Book*? Or how could any on this Supposition excuse their Arrogance in adding to the Forms God has already prescrib'd, or annexing those that are of *human Composure* to those that are of *divine*: But I hope he'll pretend no more to produce any such. For as to the *Psalms*, I have shew'd him before, that they were

never intended for such Forms of *Thanksgiving* to the Christian Church; whose *Praises*, if confin'd to the Matter of them, would be extremely defective, and unanswerable to the Christian Institution, which so far transcends the *Mosaical Oeconomy*.

For what his Lordship saith of the *Dissenters praising God, only in a piece of a Psalm of a few Verses, and in a Method of their own finding out*, I shall only add to what I have already suggested, the following Remarks.

1. That I think the *Dissenters* sing as much, and usually much more of the *Psalms of David* every Lord's-Day, than they do in the *Parish-Churches*. In most they sing them thrice, in some four times. Nor do I know of any Obligation laid upon us, to sing a whole Psalm every time, especially the longer ones, and the shorter they often sing whole.

2. That tho' our Method of singing them in Metre, require something of human Skill to adapt them for that Use, yet 'tis no more than what those Scriptures warrant, nay, plainly oblige us to, that require our singing them joyntly in publick Assemblies, and to do it in a Way most conducive to Edification.

His Lordship indeed tells us, *That he takes it for granted, that the Apostles and primitive Christians prais'd God in Prose, and that Metre and Rhime are, for ought appears, of human Invention*. But is it not strange that his Lordship should confound those two ways of Praising God, which the *New Testament* so clearly distinguishes? That they prais'd God with *Thanksgivings in Prose*, is unquestionable; but that they prais'd God in *Prose Psalms*, is, as I have shewn him, highly improbable. For as in some Psalms there is plain evidence of *Metre*, so we have great reason, from the Testimony of *Josephus*, to judge the same of the rest. And therefore his Conceit, that the Spirit of God gave no Gifts for composing Psalms in Verse, in opposition to the Heathens, who wrote their *Prophecies* and *Hymns* in Verse, is a meer Invention of his own: For as there is so clear Proof that some of the Psalms were inspir'd in Verse, and so great probability the rest were, so many judicious Expositors do conclude the quite contrary, from 1 Cor. xiv. 26. where *Psalmistry* seems to be intended as one of those extraordinary Gifts; and 'tis far more probable that the Spirit of God, by enjoining the singing of *Psalms*, *Hymns*, and *Spiritual Songs*, did intend to rescue so noble a Thing as *Poetry*, from its wretched Abuse by the *Heathen Priests*, that it might be consecrated to the Service of God in his *Temple*, and become an Incentive and Help to true *Devotion*. So that our way of using Psalms, is far more clearly of God's Appointment, because more conformable to his particular Direction for singing them, and to his general Rules of doing it to Edification, than theirs wherein they differ from us, as when they are among them only said not sung, or sung in *Prose*, not in *Metre*, and that only by the lesser Part of the Congregation.

So that upon the whole, I cannot see the least Reason why the *Dissenters* should in this Point be afraid of the Judgment of God, to the Rules of whose Gospel this Part of their Devotions is so exactly conform'd; or why they should be asham'd to appeal herein to the Judgment of all unprejudic'd Men. Nay, I hope they may venture to appeal to his Lordship's own Judgment, when he is at leisure to review this Matter, and correct his own unhappy Mistakes about it.

I shall therefore conclude this Chapter, with a few Remarks on some Passages that occur in his 2d and 3d Section; As,

1. I see no reason why his Lordship should think the Force, Vigour, and Loftiness of the *Psalms*, any more lost in a *Metre* than in *Prose-translation*, p. 19.

'Tis true indeed, the *Metre-translation* of *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* is but ill done, so is that *Prose-translation* which the *Common-Prayer Book* still uses. And it seems

an unreasonable Humour to retain both, when there is both a *Prose* and *Metre-translation* far more unexceptionable. The *Metre-Version*, commonly call'd the *Scots*, is far better than that us'd in the *Parish-Churches*. *Barton's* exceeds that, and Mr. *Patrick's* (if he had not taken too great a liberty of Paraphrasing) excels both; and I doubt not, if a judicious Person would undertake the Work, it were easily possible to have a *Metre-Version* that would exceed the *Prose* in all these Advantages; and such an one would be of extraordinary Use, to raise the Devotion of the People in this Part of divine Worship.

2. The Bishop tells us, Page 21. *that we have a Command to translate the Psalms, which supposes, into Prose, (because the Original is so) but none to turn them into Metre, &c.* Now if, on the contrary, the *Original* was compos'd in *Metre*, (as I have shew'd to be most probable) then by his own Argument, the Command to translate them, supposes it must be done into *Metre*, because the *Original* is so. And therefore the Bishop has in that and the following Page, not only groundlessly suppos'd the true Sense of *David's Psalms*, when turn'd into *Metre*, to be none of God's Word, but has on that Account, unreasonably excluded them from being any substantial Part of God's Worship, and speaks slightly of them, as if they were intended for little better than a pleasing Diversion and Amusement. Now if he really believe what he saith, I think he should in all reason warn the People against their present Practice. For 'tis certain they do by singing them in time of publick Worship, intend them as a substantial Part of it, and will be surpriz'd to find this Use of them censur'd as an human Invention; whereas if on the contrary, the singing them in *Metre* be most conformable to scriptural Precept and Pattern, and bare saying them dissonant from both, the Bishop can never excuse himself on his Principles, from thus preferring one of his human Inventions to a divine Institution.

As to the imperfect Way of singing the Psalms by reading every Line, 'tis indeed a Defect, but such as we must be forc'd to condescend to, unless we could prevail with all our People to get Psalm Books and learn to read, or to commit them to Memory.

3. I wonder why his Lordship should charge the *Dissenters* with asserting *Responses* in publick Worship to be unlawful, Page 23. If he alledge the idle Talk of some weak People to that purpose, is it ingenuous in him to mention that, as the general Opinion of *Dissenters*? What if we should in Retaliation pick up all the weak and foolish Censures of those of his Communion, and charge them on the Conformists in general? Would he take this well? If not, why does he forget our *Saviour's* Rule, not to do to others what he would not they should do to him, *Luke vi. 31*. But as it is sufficient to justify our Disuse of *Responses*, that we have neither *Precept* nor *Example* for their being us'd in a Christian Church, so he has the least Reason to blame any weak *Dissenters* for censuring them as unlawful, since he has put the most dangerous Argument to prove them so into their Mouths, and if I did not know his Principle to be erroneous, I should joyn with them in that Censure.

As to *Church-Musick*, I shall only add, That what is commonly us'd in the Cathedrals, seems at least to be very suspicious, and hardly consistent with the Rules of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 11, 15, 26. which I mention'd before; and this sort of *Musick* has indeed been severely censur'd by many Protestant Divines at home and abroad, nay, by many Papists themselves, who confess it to be unknown in the Church in its purest Ages, and but a late Invention, which those that trace it the farthest, refer no higher than Pope *Vitalian's* time, about the Year 690, but others make it of a much later Date; *Aventinus**, and *Aymon*†, in their Histories mention *Organs* as a Rariety never seen in France or

* *Annal. Boiv. l. 3. p. 300. Edit. Ingolst. 1554.* † *De Gestis Francorum, lib. 4. cap. 64, & 141.*

Germany, before the 7th Century; nor were they in general Use in Aquinas * his time, as Cajetan observes, upon his so freely declaring his Judgment against them. Even Erasmus himself (who, tho' he favour'd the Reformation, yet was cautious and slow enough in his Advances towards it) could not forbear to complain of this in the Romish Church as an Abuse, which he thought needed to be reform'd, as both unsuitable to the Gravity and Solemnity of Christian Worship, and needlessly expensive, by introducing a Crew of chargeable Creatures into the Church, to no good purpose, or rather to an ill one. His Words on 1 Cor. xiv. are these, *Operosam quandam & theatricam Musicam in sacras ades induimus, tumultuosum diversarum vocum garrutum, qualem non opinor in Græcorum aut Romanorum Theatris unquam auditum fuisse. In hunc usum magnis salariis aluntur puerorum greges, quorum atas in perdiscendis hujusmodi gannitiibus consumitur. Tantis sumptibus oneratur Ecclesia ob rem pestiferam, &c.* "We have brought a cumbersome and theatrical Musick into our Churches, "a confus'd Noise of many Voices, such as I think "was never heard in the Greek or Roman Theaters. "For which purpose whole Troops of Boys are maintain'd at great Charge, whose Time is wasted in "learning this Gabbling. Such Expence is the Church "burden'd with, for a Thing that is but mischievous, " &c. I would therefore advise his Lordship to be more cautious of censuring their Opinion, (who make such Musick in the Worship of God unlawful) as against Nature and Scripture, and on that Account, a dangerous Superstition and Encroachment on Christian Liberty. For as to the Scripture, it has certainly no Foundation there, in any Precept or Example that concerns us Christians; and sure he does not imagine that the Light of Nature dictates such Musick in the Worship of God, for then he must make it more necessary than he himself pretends to do. And it looks more like Superstition, according to his own Notion of it, to introduce such Musick into the Church, without any scriptural Ground; and he may be sure, the Dissenters are not the more fond of it, for being one of Pope Vitalian's Inventions, and retain'd among us in Conformity to the Practice of the Romish Church. I confess, if any Use of Organs be allowable, 'tis that in the Parish-Church, of directing the People into the Tune of the Psalms they sing, and 'tis on that Account chiefly, that the Reverend Mr. Baxter thinks them lawful and allowable. But as this very Use of them is certainly destitute of any scriptural Precept or Pattern, obligatory to us Christians; so however others may entertain a more charitable Opinion of them, yet the Bishop, if he will be consistent with himself, must condemn them as a human Invention, and (to use his Country-Mens Phrase) must turn the Whistles out of the Kirk.

Remarks on the Second CHAPTER concerning PRAYER.

AND here according to his Lordship's Method we must consider,

1. The Directions of the holy Scriptures in reference to this Part of Religious Worship, of which it will be necessary to give a fuller and more exact Account than his Lordship has done, and to shew how far I agree with, or dissent from that he has given. And here I shall trace his Steps, and consider what occurs to this purpose in the Old Testament and the New.

First, For the Old Testament.

I. I grant him that in some particular Cases, God did recommend to the Jews a Form of Words in their Addresses to him.

Such a Form that Confession he mentions seems to be, which the People were to make when they entred into the Land of Canaan, upon their offering the first Fruits, Deut. xxvi. 3, 5. Such a Form also was the Prayer mention'd in the same Chapter, ver. 13, 14, 15. which was to be presented by him that gave the third Year's Tythes. And by the way it may be observ'd, that neither of these Forms related to the publick Worship celebrated on their weekly Sabbath. Such a Form of Blessing I doubt not that mention'd, Numb. vi. 23. was. And 'tis highly probable, that Form of Words was repeated in the several Removes of the Ark, Numb. x. 35.

But then I must add, that for the other Passages he alleges as Instances of Forms, they are either only Directions as to the Matter of Prayer, or no Instances of Forms at all, but rather of Free, or (as he calls them) Extempore Prayers.

Thus 'tis not reasonable to understand the Words of Joel, ch. i. 14. ii. 17. of any more than the Prophet's suggesting to them, suitable Matter of Complaint and Supplication; for sure he cannot imagine that the Prophet intended they should repeat only those few Words, when they were to sanctify a Fast, and call a solemn Assembly. If indeed the Prophet had made mention of a Liturgy they had already, and had charg'd them to add these Words as a new Form to it, these Instances had been something to the Purpose; but since there's not the least Intimation of any such Thing, we can no more conclude these Words to be intended for a stated Form, than those Words form'd into Petitions, which Ministers often in their Sermons suggest to the People, when they instruct them in the Duty of Prayer; and I might on the same Grounds say, that all the Patterns of Prayer in the Directory, are prescrib'd Forms. The same may be said, as to the Passage quoted from Hos. xiv. 2. On which Place Dr. Comber, (from whom our Author seems to have transcrib'd the greatest Part of this Section) very boldly tells us, but on no other

Orig. and Use of Lit. p. 3.

Warrant than his own Word, that God promis'd to heal their Backslidings on their using that Form. It is enough to make us more suspicious of Forms, when Men turn them into Charms, by attributing so great Effects to the Use of them. But 'tis strange that his Lordship should imagine those Words mention'd in that large Prayer of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 47. (We have sinned, we have done perversely, we have committed Wickedness) to be a Form of Confession prescrib'd to the Jews, merely because the same Words are repeated in a very large Psalm mixt of Confession and Thanksgiving, viz. Psal. cvi. 6. and in another different Confession of Daniel's, ch. ix. 5. When not only, are these very Words repeated in both those Places with different Additions to them, but those two larger Confessions are in quite different Words. And the making Use of these Words of Solomon in each of them, is so far from proving a prescrib'd Form, that by the same Argument he may call all Extempore Prayers, Forms, because there are several Confessions and Petitions in them, put up in scriptural Expressions. And yet his Lordship lays so great stress on this Instance, as to tell us with admirable Confidence, That it appears from hence, that they were not left arbitrarily to Choice and Discretion, tho' other Words might be join'd with them, when there was occasion to enlarge or vary the Form.

Ans. What, did not the Pen-man of Psalm cvi. think himself left to his Choice, when he enlarges Solomon's Confession, that makes up but one Verse, into a Psalm that consists of 48 Verses? And did not Daniel think himself left to his own Choice, when though this large Confession in Psalm cvi. was prepar'd to his hands, yet he uses another of his own quite different from this, because more suitable to the Sense he had of the present Condition of the Jewish Church? So that these

* Aq. Sec. 2da, Q. 91. Art. 2. ad. 4.

two *Confessions*, instead of being Instances of Prayer by a *prescrib'd Form*, are plain Instances of *Occasional* and *Free* (or, as he calls it, *Extempore*) Prayer.

The same may be applied to those Words, *Psalms* cvi. 47. quoted from 1 *Chron.* xvi. 35. For sure the Use of a few Words recorded in one Psalm, in the Composition of another, when all the rest of the Psalm in each is quite different, is but a very lame Proof of a *prescrib'd Form*, and furnishes us rather with a stronger Argument to the contrary.

So that the Bishop had better have confin'd himself to Dr. Comber's Proofs, than add so impertinent ones as these, which make rather against him; and I wonder he omitted that very convincing one for the Antiquity of *Liturgies*, which the forefaid Doctor draws from *Gen.* iv. 26. *Then Men began to call upon the Name of the Lord.*

All then that can be infer'd from what is granted him, is, *That God did in some few Cases prescribe to the Jews a Form of Words, and when he did so, they were oblig'd to use it. So that this Mode of Praying by a sett Form of Words, is not in general unlawful.* And if this Concession will do his Lordship any Service, he is welcome to it.

II. *I see not the least Evidence in the Old Testament of a stinted Liturgy, prescrib'd by God to the Jewish Church, even as to their ordinary publick Prayers.*

And if such a *Liturgy* be that which the Bishop intends to assert, when he tells us, *Pag. 25. That the Scriptures direct us to offer up our Prayers, in a sett and prepared Form of Words,* I must desire his Lordship to bring us better Proof of it, than what he has alledg'd from *pag. 25, to pag. 29.* and I have here examin'd. To which he adds what I would now farther consider, "That the whole Book of *Psalms*, is a Collection of Prayers of all sorts. And there are few of them, but what are most excellent Forms of Prayer, express'd in such pathetick, significant and moving Words, that we have great reason to thank God for furnishing us with them, and which we can never hope to equal by any of our own Invention, such as are the 4th, 5th, &c. On this Account they were us'd by the *Jews*, as the constant Service and *Liturgy* perform'd in their *Temple*, as we may gather from what I formerly quoted.

Ans. Why he should call the whole Book of *Psalms* a Collection of Prayers of all sorts, when the far greatest Part of them are undoubtedly Praises, as distinguished from Prayers, I know not. That some *Psalms* consist much of Petitions, and consequently may be called Prayers, I doubt not. But then he should have consider'd, that these Prayers are compos'd in the Strain of *Songs*, and most probably in *Metre*, and were design'd to be sung, as appears concerning those he mentions, viz. the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th; all of which (except the 10th that has no Title) are directed to the chief *Musician*, or expressly asserted to be sung. Now 'tis certain such *Psalms* of Prayer as are intended to be publickly sung, must be *sett Forms*; but there is no Necessity that other ordinary Prayers should be such *sett Forms*, that were never compos'd in that Manner, nor design'd for that Use. And therefore, 'tis strange that he should think the quoting the second Book of *Chronicles*, Chap. xxix. 30. a sufficient Proof that these Psalm-Prayers were used by the *Jews* as a constant Service and *Liturgy* perform'd in their *Temple*, if by *Liturgy* he means such *Prose-Prayers* as our *Liturgy* consists of, and about which we are now only concern'd to enquire. For that Text speaks not one Word of Prayers at all, but only of Praises; and if it had mention'd or included Prayers, it could refer to no other Prayers but such as were sung, which we all agree must be *sett Forms*. And these Psalm-Prayers the Bishop knows the *Dissenters* he opposes never scrupled. For they are used to be sung for Instruction by those, who cannot offer them up as properly a Prayer, because their Condition and Circumstances are no way like the *Psalmist's*, when he compos'd them. But the

Question is, concerning Prayer in the proper Sense, such as are not *Songs*, but compos'd in *Prose*, and in the same Style as our other ordinary Requests are; for such are the Prayers of the *English Liturgy*, and 'tis for such a *Liturgy* the Bishop is oblig'd to produce us some Precept or Pattern in the Holy Scriptures. And these Instances of Psalm-Prayers signify nothing to this Purpose. Nor indeed do we among all the Instances of publick Prayers, recorded after the time of the *Psalms* being penn'd, find one of these Psalm-Prayers us'd; but on the contrary, those that do occur, are plainly free and conceived Prayers, such as the present Occasions of presenting them did draw from the devout Minds of the pious Supplicants. Of which I shall give some Instances under the next Head. I shall only add, That if the Bishop think these Psalm-Prayers of holy David better for our Use than any of human Composition, why does he not lay aside all the *Collects* of the *Common-Prayer-Book* that are certainly of human Invention, and confine himself to the *Psalter* as his only *Liturgy* for Prayer as well as Praise? What can excuse his using worse, when he has better? Or rather, why should he imagine them intended for *Forms* of *Prose-Prayer* to us at all, any farther than David's devout Expressions may be us'd so far as they suit our Case, when the *New Testament* so largely instructs us to offer our Prayers in so different a Manner from that practis'd in the *Old*, particularly with a more express Reference to *Jesus Christ* as our great Mediator of Intercession, nay, when the Gospel more clearly furnishes us with suitable Matter of Prayer, by that fuller Revelation it brings of the divine Will to us.

III. *God was so far from confining the Jews to any stinted Liturgy, that most of the Prayers, both private and publick, recorded in the Old Testament, are conceiv'd or free Prayers, without any sett or prescribed Forms.*

Such were most of the private Prayers mention'd in the sacred History. What *prescrib'd Form* had Abraham's Servant, when he so heartily prays (*Gen.* xxiv. 12, 13.) for Success in the Errand on which his Master had sent him, to fetch a Wife for his Son Isaac, unless it had been compos'd for him by a Spirit of Prophecy? Abraham's Prayer, *Gen.* xx. 17. was doubtless occasional and extempore. So was Jacob's, for Deliverance from his Brother Esau, *Gen.* xxxii. 9. So are many of Moses on particular Occasions of God's Displeasure against the People, *Exod.* xxxii. 11, 12, &c. 31, 32, &c. No doubt Hannah's Prayer for Children was of this Sort, and that too after she had obtain'd what she desir'd, 1 *Sam.* i. 10. 2 *Sam.* i. &c. Such was Hezekiah's, when visited with Sickness, *Isai.* xxxviii. 3. And such was Nehemiah's, mention'd *Chap.* i. 4, 5, 6, &c. It were endless to produce all the particular Instances of this kind; and 'tis plain these holy Men would have been at a sad loss how to address themselves to God on such Occasions, if they could not have pray'd without a Book, or had been ty'd to *sett Forms*. But they needed no Prompter, when their Necessities suggested Arguments and Expressions, and out of the Abundance of the Heart their Mouths spake.

For publick Prayers, there are no less clear Instances of such as were conceived or free, even after the *Psalms* of David were penn'd, which the Bishop imagines to have been the Jewish *Liturgy*. Such was that excellent Prayer of Solomon's upon the Dedication of the Temple, 1 *Kings* viii. 22. Such was that of Asa, when that vast Ethiopian Host came against him, 2 *Chron.* xiv. 11. Such was that of Jehoshaphat on a like Occasion, 2 *Chron.* xx. 5, &c. That of Hezekiah in reference to Rabshakeh's blasphemous Threats was an Instance of either private or publick free Prayer, *Isai.* xxxvi. 15, 16. Of the same kind was Ezra's, *Ezra* ix. 5, 6, 7. The Confession in Nehemiah, *Chap.* ix. 5, 6, 7, &c. is not taken from any precedent Form, but wholly new. And yet 'tis evident, that in most of these Cases those holy Men might have made up *Forms* of Prayer for those Occasions, out of holy David's Words in some of the Psalm-Prayers, but they chose rather to offer up such Prayers

Prayers as the serious Sense of their present Case did suggest to them, and that made them ready Suppliants to God for Relief, without the Need of seeking out a prescribed Form for their Purpose.

Now as the Bishop may safely infer from God's having recommended a Form of Words in Prayer in reference to some Cases, that Prayer by a *sett Form* is not in it self *unlawful*, so I may much more infer from these more numerous Instances of free Prayers, that our Prayers, according to the Examples of these holy Men, should be accommodated to our several particular Occasions and Necessities, and therefore 'tis so far from being *unlawful*, to use *conceived* or *free Prayers* without any prescribed Form, that to tie up our selves to such *sett* and prescribed Forms, will not ordinarily answer the frequent Calls which we have in the Providence of God to this holy Duty, by such various Emergencies as no *sett Forms* can exactly suit.

Nay, whereas the Bishop can infer no more from his Instances, than that when God prescribes us a Form we should use it, and he approves our doing so, we may from these Examples last produc'd, with equal Reason infer, that we may use *free Prayer* on those Occasions, in which God has not prescribed us any such Forms; and that he does approve this way of addressing our selves to him with such Prayers, as the feeling of our own Necessities, and Consideration of our particular Case does prompt us to offer.

I shall only add, That if there be no Evidence of such a stinted Liturgy in the Jewish, we can much less expect any Proof of one in the Christian Church, because such a Liturgy, if necessary at all, was much more so under the Old Testament, when there was not such an abundant Effusion of the Holy Spirit in his Graces and Gifts as now under the New. Nay, if the Jewish Church had no stinted Liturgy prescribed by God, much less had any un-inspir'd Men any Power given them to prescribe one, and confine all publick Administrations to Forms of their own Composure. But this will lead me to consider the Directions.

Secondly, Of the New Testament:

And here I shall first consider those two Things the Bishop insists on, and then shall propose some farther Account of the Directions that occur, in reference to the Mode of Praying in this Part of the holy Scriptures.

I. I shall consider those two Things the Bishop insists on, in favour of Praying by prescribed Forms.

1. I think, it (says he) certain, that our Saviour and his Apostles prayed by a Form, for they joyn'd in the Worship of the Temple and Synagogues, which consisted in Psalms, as I have already shew'd; and in some certain Forms of Prayers added to them, and constantly us'd in their daily Service, as we learn from those that give an Account of the Jewish Worship at that time. Now our Saviour and his Apostles being frequently present at their Service, both in the Temple and Synagogues, 'tis manifest they approv'd their manner of addressing themselves to God by *sett Forms*, p. 30, 31.

Ans. That our Saviour and his Apostles pray'd by a Form when they us'd the Psalm Prayers, there is no doubt, and so do all those that sing them. That there was a stinted Liturgy besides, or a Collection of Forms of Prose-prayer, to which the publick Administrations were confin'd, to the Exclusion of occasional free Prayer, the Bishop has no where prov'd; and the contrary is far more probable from many Instances of such free Prayer in the Old Testament, which I have before alledg'd. Nay, should we, to oblige his Lordship, grant him, that some Forms of Prose-prayer were ordinarily us'd in the Jewish Worship, (tho' we must do it on the uncertain Credit of Rabbinical Writers, whose Testimony is of little Value, and not on the Testimony of

the holy Scripture) yet I see not how the Bishop can make any more of this, than that our Saviour thought it not unlawful to joyn in such publick Forms of Prose-prayer; but it will by no means follow, that he prefer'd such publick Forms before Free-prayers, and design'd by his Practice to recommend the former to the Christian Church, to the Exclusion of the latter. (For as I shall shew him anon, there are strong Presumptions to the contrary.) And yet unless his Lordship could draw this Inference from our Saviour's and the Apostles Practice, I see little Service it can do him. Nay, I fear, if the Argument from our Saviour's and his Apostles Practice herein be urg'd so far, it will prove much more than those intend who use it. For it will prove that we ought in imitation of their Example, to retain and adhere to that Liturgy, which these Gentlemen pretend the Jews had, (and which they tell us they can yet produce the particular Parts of) to whose Forms of Prayer Dr. Comber tells us, that our Saviour added his, and was herein so afraid of Innovation, as to take every Sentence out of the Jewish Forms then in use*; If so, why is not this Jewish Liturgy still us'd by us? If we must have a stinted Liturgy, such an one were most unexceptionable, as we are sure our Saviour approv'd by joyning in? Why then should ordinary Pastors presume to frame Liturgies of their own, and use that liberty in Composing them, which our Saviour was too modest to allow himself? And why should they impose so many Forms on others, when our great Master impos'd but one, and such an one as he borrow'd the very Sentences of, from the Forms then publickly us'd. So that these Gentlemen should, if they will be consistent with themselves, plead for laying aside our Liturgy, and using that old one which Dr. Lightfoot has so happily retriev'd for us, out of the Jewish Rabbins. I would therefore advise them to use this Argument, from the Practice of the Jewish Church in our Saviour's time, (about which we are at the best but very uncertain) with great Tendernefs and Caution, lest they overdo with it, and lest the Jewish Liturgy, instead of under propping the Common-Prayer-Book, undermine and throw it down.

2. He tells us, pag. 31. That our Saviour has put this Matter out of all Dispute with impartial Men, by prescribing a Form to his Disciples, when they desired him to teach them to pray, as John did his Disciples. For we find his way of teaching them, was not by directing them to wait for the Impulses of the Spirit, and immediate Inspiration from God, of what they were to offer up to him; we do not find him saying, when ye Pray speak what shall then come into your Minds, or what shall be given you in that Hour, without taking Thought about what they should say, &c. But here is an express Command of Christ to his Disciples, to use these Words when they pray.

Ans. His Lordship has a very happy Faculty of arguing Matters of Dispute before he state them, for indeed the Stating them might chance to spoil all the Force of his Arguments; and therefore he generally thinks it more adviseable to let that alone. He tells us, Our Saviour has put this Matter out of all Dispute with impartial Men, by prescribing a Form to his Disciples. What matter of Dispute does his Lordship mean? Is it whether a Form of Prayer be lawful? Or is it, whether our Saviour has prescribed a stinted Liturgy to the Christian Church, in their publick Administrations, or whether he has commission'd Ordinary Pastors to prescribe and impose such a Liturgy, and confine others to the Use of it? Or whether he in general enjoins us to pray only by a Form, or not ordinarily without one? If he mean the First, (whether a Form of Prayer be lawful?) That's no matter of Dispute at all, between the Dissenters and the Establish'd Church, for as I shall shew him anon, there is never a Meeting in which they do not use one, and there are many in which this particular Form of Prayer is constantly

* Orig. of Lit p. 6.

us'd. So that if this be all he would prove, he may spare his Labour, tho' perhaps his Arguments for this, are not altogether so convincing and solid as he imagines. If the Question be, (*whether our Saviour has prescrib'd a stinted Liturgy to the Christian Church?*) as one would think it should, what signifies his prescribing this *single Form*, to the Proof of it, unless the Bishop thinks our *Liturgy* should consist only of that *one Prayer*, or could produce more *Forms* prescrib'd by our Saviour to make up a *Liturgy*; and if he could do that, what will become of the *Service-Book*, what have we to do with that *human Invention*, when we have a *Liturgy* appointed and compos'd by our Saviour himself? If the Question be, (*Whether our Saviour has commission'd the ordinary Pastors of the Church, to prescribe and impose publick Forms?*) what does all he here alledges about this *single Form* prescrib'd by Christ, signifie to prove any such Thing, when he can produce no such Commission, nor the least shadow of it in all the *New Testament*, nay, when the Rules of it about Prayer, seem rather inconsistent with any such Commission, (as I shall shew him anon)? If the Question be, (*Whether our Saviour in general enjoins us to pray only by a Form, or not ordinarily without one?*) What does any thing his Lordship has alledg'd signifie to the right Determination of this Question? If he design to prove that Christ, by prescribing this *Form*, has enjoined in general our praying only by a *sett Form*, and never otherwise, (as one would think his following Words would import, when he tells us, "That our Saviour's teaching" "them was not by directing them to wait for the" "Impulses of the Spirit, and immediate Inspiration" "from God, of what they were to offer up to him;" "we do not find him saying, when ye pray, speak" "what shall come into your Minds; or what shall be" "given you in that Hour, without taking thought" "about what they were to say) he knows well enough his Argument is no way conclusive; for he himself owns that God has not forbidden all extempore Prayers; nay, owns that some Occasions require the Use of them in publick, and that in such Cases a Man may depend on the Assistance of God's Spirit, when he has not time to reduce his Desires into Form before he offers them, p. 54, 55. He cannot therefore, without contradicting himself, pretend that our Saviour, by prescribing this *Form*, intended to exclude all extempore or free Prayer. Nor is there any Force in the Argument to prove that our Saviour intended to oblige us ordinarily to pray by a *Form*, because he once prescrib'd one as a comprehensive Summary of our Desires. For his general Rules (as I shall observe anon) do far more directly favour and countenance free Prayer, than this one Instance does the use of *Forms*, especially of *Forms* impos'd by others, about which the main Dispute lyes. And what he has here offer'd to confirm it, signifies nothing to the purpose; or if it did, would prove too much. For our Saviour may teach Men the way of free Prayer, without directing them to wait for the Impulses of the Spirit and immediate Inspiration from God, since none pretend to such Impulses and immediate Inspiration as necessary in order to it. He himself owns, that in Cases of Necessity we may depend on the Assistance of the Spirit to pray extempore; and yet he does not, I hope, mean we may expect such immediate Inspiration. Nay, our Saviour may advise us to free Prayer without telling us, *We must speak what comes into our Minds, or shall be given us in that Hour, without taking thought what we are to say*; for free Prayer is so far from excluding serious Premeditation, that no Man should use it, especially in publick, without it, unless in Cases of absolute Necessity. Nay, if this Reason signify'd any thing, it would prove too much, that we are never to pray extempore at all, because we have no Ground even in Cases of Necessity to expect such immediate Inspiration. And here I would, once for all, caution his Lordship against that common Mistake he seems to run into, as if we imagin'd the Assistance of the holy Spirit in Prayer to lye in immediately dictating our

Words to us, whereas we no more expect that in Prayer than in Preaching. For we suppose this Gift of Prayer to be a common Gift. And though we have known many private Christians, whose natural Parts in all other Things are but weak and low, endued by the Spirit of God with a considerable measure of this Gift, as the Fruit and Reward of their Diligence in this Duty; yet we doubt not that many natural Endowments, as Readiness of Apprehension, Copiousness of Fancy, Tenderness of Affection, Fluency of Expression, may contribute much to dispose a Man for greater Eminency in it; nor do we think the Assistance of the holy Spirit in this Duty alters that style or way of Expression that Nature or Custom has habituated Men to. So that the holy Spirit is no more accountable for the indecent Expressions of good Men in Prayer than in Preaching; though we may expect his Help both in our Endeavours to acquire Abilities and Gifts for these Duties, and in the Exercise of them.

But before I dismiss what he hath said in reference to this Prayer of our Lord, I shall subjoyn the following Remarks thereon.

1. If it should be granted that our Saviour gave this as a Form of Prayer to his Disciples, and intended it for the perpetual Use of his Church, yet no more can be infer'd from thence than our Obligation to use that particular Form. For if he had intended our ordinary use of other Forms, 'tis reasonable to suppose he would have prescribed them himself, or commission'd his Apostles to do so, or instructed them to leave some Orders with other ordinary Pastors to have compos'd them.

2. Many learned Men that do allow the Lord's Prayer to have been a prescrib'd Form, do not think it design'd for the perpetual use of the Church, but only for a temporary Form.

To this purpose they observe, that the three first Petitions [*Hallowed be thy Name, thy Kingdom come, thy Will be done, &c.*] seem to be chiefly calculated, both to the Doctrine which Christ as well as John deliver'd, concerning the Kingdom of God being at hand, and to the Expectation the pious Jews then generally entertain'd of the Messiah's Kingdom being publicly set up in the World: They observe further, that in the Petition for Forgiveness of Sins, there is not the least mention made of the Sacrifice, the Death, or Blood of Christ, in Virtue whereof we must now sue for Pardon; whereas our Saviour, after his Resurrection and Ascension, is every where propos'd as our High-Priest, Mediator, Intercessor and Advocate, of which there is no notice taken in this Form. And hence they suppose that 'tis on this Account that our Lord, long after the Delivery of this Form, tells his Disciples, John xvi. 24. *Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my Name, and therefore he requires them now to ask the Father in his Name*, and assures them he will grant their Petitions. And accordingly they observe that the *Doxologies* mention'd in Scripture after our Saviour's Ascension, lead us directly and expressly to ascribe our Praises to God by Christ, or in his Name, of which there is not the least hint in that us'd in the Lord's Prayer. Whence they conclude it to be chiefly suited to the State of the Disciples of Christ, while under his personal Ministry on Earth, in which the principal Mysteries of the Gospel that depended on his Death, Resurrection and Ascension, were not yet so clearly reveal'd. And the more some labour to prove these Petitions taken out of some Jewish Forms, the more do they strengthen this Opinion, that this Form was no further intended for our Use than as a Pattern in respect of the Things pray'd for, but was not so much as to be a Pattern in respect of the manner of praying. In which respect 'tis most reasonable to suppose our manner of praying should greatly differ from that of the Jews, particularly by being offer'd up in the Name of Christ.

I do not give this Opinion as my own, but propose it to his Lordship's Consideration, to allay that Confidence wherewith he asserts so positively our Obligation

to the constant Use of the *Lord's Prayer*; for which I do not see any thing so plausible and probable produc'd by him, as the Authors of this Opinion alledge in favour of it. For he tells us, without any Limitation, that we are particularly commanded when ever we pray, to use this Prayer; for which Assertion I can see no shew of Proof. Nor can I reconcile it to those many Instances of Prayer recorded in the *New Testament*, in none of which do we read of this being us'd. Nay, I do not think his Lordship, or any Man else, supposes himself oblig'd to use the *Lord's Prayer* always; we pray whenever we crave a Blessing on our Food: But does his Lordship always use the *Lord's Prayer* on that Occasion? So that we must be cautious of stretching our Saviour's Words too far; for if we should take them in their most strict Sense, we should never offer up any other Prayer but that, at all.

3. The Compilers of the *Directory* seem to give the most fair and just Account of the *Lord's Prayer*, viz. That it was chiefly design'd as a perfect Pattern, but may also be conveniently us'd as a Form of Prayer.

That 'tis a perfect Pattern his Lordship will not deny, and the admirable Method and Order, as well as the Comprehensiveness of its Petitions, shew it to be so as to the Matter of Prayer. And the Words of our Lord seem to recommend it also as a fit Compendium and Summary of our Desires; though that it was so strictly intended for a Form, as that all Alteration of the Words in it should be so dangerous as the Bishop suggests, I do not see. And 'tis strange he should no better ward off the common Objection against this Conceit, viz. That the Words of the Prayer are not the same in the two Evangelists. For though we should allow him that *Trespasses and Debts* are the same in the *Syriack*, yet sure he cannot be ignorant that not only are the Words different in the 4th Petition; but what is more material, the *Doxology* is left out in the Evangelist *Luke*, where our Saviour's Words seem more exprefs for the use of this Prayer. Nay, 'tis pleasant that his Lordship should, to aggravate the Danger of altering the Words, compare it to the Danger of altering those of our Creed, p. 35. As if he did not know, that the Words of it have been frequently alter'd, that no Writer in the three first Centuries has the Creed (call'd the *Apostles*) in the same Words that we have now, and that the Forms we meet with in *Ignatius*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and *Gregory Neocesar*, are all in different Words; nay, in some Forms several Articles are inserted that are not in others; nay, in the Creed, as we have it, no doubt the Article of *Christ's descending into Hell* should be alter'd as to the Words of it, because we do not commonly take *Hell* for the invisible State which *Adm* was design'd to exprefs. I confess 'tis something more formidable when he compares the Danger of altering the Words in the *Lord's Prayer* to that of changing the Word given by the General in a Battle, p. 35. Though where the Wit or Sense of the Comparison lies, I cannot imagine, unless his Lordship thinks the bare Words of that Prayer to be as frightful to the infernal Fiends, as some crafty Priests have pretended the Name or Psalter of the *Virgin Mary* is, but apprehends those our spiritual Enemies will resume their Courage, if we make the least Change in them.

I shall only add here, that his Lordship has not produc'd any other Instance of a prescrib'd Form of Prayer in the *New Testament* besides this; he does indeed, p. 50. tell us, That *Christ in his Agony repeated a Verse of the 22d Psalm*, and as some believe (says he) the whole Psalm, by which Act he recommends to us Forms of Prayer with his dying Breath, as the most proper means of expressing our Condition to God, and as most suitable to the divine Majesty. To which I shall only return this brief Answer, That his Lordship would have done well, first to have told us, what Grounds any have to believe that our Saviour repeated the whole Psalm, and if he did not, how the repeating one Verse of it, so applicable to his present Case, should be a Proof of

his using a Form of Prayer at all; and much more how it should prove his recommending such Forms to us with his dying Breath, &c. As if a Man might not in a free Prayer, choose out and apply some scriptural Expressions to his own Case. Indeed, the Words he quotes are not properly a Prayer at all, and if they were, look altogether as like an Instance of occasional free Prayer; so that if I would argue at this loose rate, I might with as good Reason pretend that our Lord recommended extempore Prayers with his dying Breath, &c.

II. The Bishop has not produc'd the least Evidence of *Christ's* enjoying or recommending to Christian Churches the Use of stinted Liturgies, even as to the ordinary publick Prayers which they are to offer up.

So that though the same Matters of Prayer constantly occur in that Duty, when publickly offer'd, especially in the Celebration of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, yet neither does our Saviour nor his Apostles prescribe any stated Forms for them. Whereas if our Lord had judg'd them so necessary, or so highly useful as some pretend, nothing could have been more conducive to have fix'd the Use of them, and prevented all Corruptions in them, as well as Scruple about them, than to have furnish'd the Church with a divine inspired Liturgy. Nay, what is more considerable, *Christ* and his Apostles content themselves with giving us general Commands to pray, and with all Prayer and Supplication for all Men, &c. but never gave the least Order to the Pastors of the Church to compose Forms of Prayer for publick Worship, in those Churches that were planted and settled under the Care of ordinary Teachers, who had not the same immediate Inspiration as the Apostles themselves. Does not this plainly imply, that they took not such an imposed Liturgy to be necessary to the Churches Edification and Peace; but rather suppos'd that the ordinary Occasions of publick Prayer were too various and different to be confin'd to such sett and prescrib'd Forms? If it be pretended, there was no need of their prescribing such Forms when the *Jewish Liturgy* was still extant and us'd; I answer, That (not to repeat what has been objected against the Pretensions of a stinted Liturgy among the Jews) I hope none can imagine that a *Jewish Liturgy* could be suitable to the Christian Oeconomy after our Saviour's Ascension, in the Christian Churches that were planted by the Apostles. So that if a Liturgy in general were necessary to the Christian Church, there was the greater Reason why they should have substituted one in the room of the *Jewish* in the Churches they settled: Since then, they no way so much as recommend such a Liturgy, but left even ordinary Pastors to the free Exercise of their own Abilities, in Prayer as well as in other Parts of their publick Ministrations; we may with great Probability infer, that they judg'd it more conducive to Edification, that the Pastors of Churches should use those ordinary Gifts wherewith they were furnish'd for the Performance of this Duty without being ty'd up to any sett Forms: And accordingly those that have been most anxiously concern'd to find out fixed and stinted Liturgies in the three first and purest Ages of Christianity, have but lost their Labour; and have but trifled with us in their most confident Pretences to discover such Liturgies, as appears by Mr. Clerkson's Discourse of Liturgies, and Mr. S. B's Examination of Dr. Comber's Answer in his Scholastical History of the Use of Liturgies.

III. 'Tis evident, that the general Rules of Scripture cannot be duly observ'd by those that pray no otherwise than by a sett Form of Words.

They command us to pray with all Prayer and Supplication, and for all Men, in every thing to make known our Request to God, Eph. vi. 18. Col. iv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 1, &c.

Now 'tis evident there is a vast Variety of Occasions and Emergencies in which we should apply our selves to God by Prayer, which it cannot be expected any prescribed Forms should exactly suit. This is most

obvious in our *Closet-Prayers*. There is scarce any one Day in which we have not some occasion to vary our Requests. There are some particular Failings we have occasion particularly to confess, renounce, and implore divine Aid against; or there are some particular Duties which we need to beg Direction and Assistance for the Discharge of. So that our own Meditation every Day must suggest to us the most proper Matter of our Addresses to God, and many Requests suitable to our particular Case must be excluded, if we confine our Devotions to the *sett Forms* of others. So that such as are at present forc'd thro' their Ignorance and Inability to confine themselves to such *Forms*, are like lame People that cannot go without the help of *Crutches*; and for such so to sit down and satisfy themselves with their Book-prayer, and prescrib'd *Forms*, as to go no further, would be (to use the significant Expressions of the excellent Bishop Wilkins) as if a Man who had once need of *Crutches* should always afterwards make use of them, and so necessitate himself to a continual Impotency. Nay, the Bishop himself could not but own that the Use of conceiv'd Prayers is founded on that general Rule of Scripture, which commands us to ask of God what we lack, p. 56. But then he groundlessly adds the following Words, which 'tis most proper I should consider in this Place, viz. "Of this Rule our own Prudence makes the Application in such extemporary Occasions; but when we set up this human Application of this general Rule in opposition to that particular manner of asking commanded by God, and practis'd by holy Men, which is by *sett* and premeditated *Forms*, in the ordinary Worship of God, and turn God's way out of his Worship to make room for one of our own: This is to displace a particular Command of God on pretence of guiding our selves by a general one; in which we are not only more liable to Mistakes, but we fail of paying due Respect to God's Directions. For general Commands only take Place in such Cases where God has not laid down a particular Rule.

Ans. His Lordship here very prudently takes for granted what he has no where prov'd, that God has given a particular Command to the Christian Church to pray in all ordinary Cases by *sett* and premeditated *Forms*. But has he brought any other Proof of this than that Christ once recommended one comprehensive *Pattern* or *Form*; and does he think this amounts to a Command that we should in all ordinary Cases use *Forms*, when there is not one tittle to that purpose in the holy Scriptures, and particularly in the *New Testament*, when there are no such *Forms* given us by God; nor the least *Direction* who should compose them for us? If we should allow him that the Lord's Prayer is prescrib'd as a *Form* that must be constantly us'd in private and publick Worship (which he neither has, nor indeed can any Man prove) yet all that he could infer thence, were, That we have a particular Command to use that *Form*; but it will by no means follow, that we have any such particular Command to use other human prescribed *Forms* in all our ordinary Prayers. So that to use *free Prayer* in our ordinary publick Worship does not displace any particular Command, nor turn God's Way out of his Worship to make room for our own. For God has undoubtedly, by this general Precept, oblig'd us to *free Prayer*, and has no way confin'd the Use of it to extraordinary Cases only, having no way recommended any *sett Form* to Christians, unless we take this comprehensive *Pattern* of Christ's to be one, and if we do, that's the only one he has enjoin'd. So that I may more justly hence infer, That those turn God's Way out of his Worship, who confine Men in their publick Administrations to such human *sett Forms* as God has no where enjoin'd the Use of, by either general or particular Precept, and are indeed in the Bishop's Sense only human Inventions; whereas those more exactly observe his Directions, who use the only *Form* which there is any Appearance of his having prescrib'd to us Christians; but

as to all other Prayers, use the Freedom which God allows us when he enjoyns no other *Forms* but this

IV. It seems highly agreeable to the Wisdom of God, that the Mode of Praying with or without a *Form*, should be left so far undetermin'd as to confine us to neither Way by any particular Precept.

And therefore he has only given us general Rules relating to this Duty, and one comprehensive either *Pattern* or *Form*; but has left us in the particular Exercises of this Duty, to the Determination of Christian Prudence, whether we shall use a *sett Form* or not. For there is no doubt, but that the Ignorance and Weakness of some may need such *Crutches* as *sett Forms*, especially when they pray with others; and therefore such Helps are allow'd them. And yet more grown and improv'd Christians should by their Advancement in divine Knowledge, by their frequent Consideration of their own Necessities, and by frequent Exercise in this Duty, endeavour to attain those Gifts that may set them above the need of those Helps, and enable them to express their own Sentiments and Desires in Prayer to God on all emergent Occasions, without running to other Mens Books and Compositions for that end: Especially Ministers should be furnish'd with such a Gift. And therefore God has not thought fit to hinder the Exercise of, and Improvement in such an excellent Gift, by prescribing to either People or Ministers a *stinted Liturgy*, even in reference to the most ordinary Occasions of Prayer.

V. For what his Lordship adds about the Peoples joyning with the Minister in repeating of publick Prayer, p. 36, 37, 38, &c. I shall only subjoyn,

1. That 'tis not deny'd that the People express their joyning in the publick Prayers in Christian Assemblies, by adding their *Amen* to them, as appears from 1 Cor. xiv. 16. And if under the *Old Testament* they added to their *Amen*, *Hallelujah*, as *Psal. cvi. 48.* or *He is good, for his Mercy endures for ever,* 2 Chron. vii. 3. It makes no great Difference in the Matter.

2. Yet he has brought neither Precept nor Example from the *New Testament* of the Peoples repeating the Prayer together with the Minister.

For that Passage, *Acts iv. 24.* proves no more than a Consent of their Minds (*ὁμοθυμαδὸν*) to that Prayer which was then offer'd up. (And the same might be said of his Instance out of the *Old Testament*, *Judg. xxi. 2.*) And here the Bishop very gravely obtrudes upon us a wonderful Conceit of that Assembly being inspir'd, not only to think the same Thing, but to utter the same Words, p. 37. for which there is no Necessity from the Words, nor indeed any great Probability. For the Instance of Paul and Silas it has less weight in it: They might pray together, though one only spake, and yet both use their Voices in singing together. And as the Bishop himself observes, it might be a Psalm they sung including both matter of Prayer and Praise. Nor will it follow, that because they might sing a Psalm-prayer, that they might say a Prose-prayer together. And 'tis strange that his Lordship should produce *Rev. vi. 9, 10, &c.* as an Example of Peoples joyning their Voices in publick Prayer, because we read there of the Souls of the Martyrs under the Altar crying with a loud Voice, *How long, O Lord, holy and true, &c.* For sure he does not take crying with a loud Voice in a literal Sense, when spoken of departed Souls that have none. If indeed he could prove that those Souls had *Ætherial Vehicles*, and in those Vehicles were furnish'd with Organs of Speech, this might be a notable Argument to his purpose: But otherwise, that Argument he uses, p. 40. from the Peoples saying *Amen* at the end of the Prayer, is better of the two, though how it will prove their repeating the whole Prayer, I know not; any more than how the Peoples joyning with the Minister in singing will prove their joyning in those Prayers that require no such Use of their Voice. For the Angels and Elders, *Rev. vii. 11.* I have shewn him his Mistake before. So that he is far from having brought any clear Proof, as he pretends,

pretends, p. 40. to excuse their Practice herein from being one of his own sort of human Inventions. And though I am more charitable than to take this Advantage to arraign it as unlawful, yet I must confess I am not very fond of it; because it seems less suitable to the Gravity and Solemnity of Christian Worship, and brings in a confused Noise in a Christian Assembly, too like that of a *Dover-court*, where 'tis said, *all speak and none hear*.

Having consider'd the Directions of the Holy Scriptures concerning this part of religious Worship, I come to examine the Application his Lordship makes of them, to the Principles and Practice of Conformists and Dissenters. And,

First, For the Principles of Dissenters, I shall give a true Account of them, and then consider that very strange one his Lordship has offer'd.

I. I shall give a true Account of their Judgment, as far as it can be taken, from their most judicious Writers on this Subject, or the publick Proposals they have made in reference to these Matters.

1. They always carefully distinguish between the Gift, and the Grace or Spirit of Prayer. By the Grace or Spirit of Prayer, they understand those inward holy Desires and devout Affections which the holy Spirit forms and excites in the Minds of good Men, and which are the Life and Soul of our external Prayers. By the Gift of Prayer they understand, an Ability of choosing suitable Matter of Prayer, and offering it up to God in Expressions fit to represent our inward pious Desires and Affections on all emergent Occasions. This Gift they have always own'd to be separable from the Grace of Prayer, many that have the one being destitute of the other: So far are they from confounding these two distinct Things, as the Bishop unhappily supposes them to do. This Gift of Prayer they suppose the Effect of the divine Blessing on our diligent Study and Meditation, and frequent Exercise in this holy Duty: As all other ordinary Gifts of the Spirit of God are. For they suppose the Gift of Prayer, as well as that of Preaching, capable of falling under Rules for its Attainment and Exercise; and do accordingly highly approve of those which that judicious Divine Bishop Wilkins has laid down in that excellent Discourse he calls his Gift of Prayer. That there is such a Gift his Lordship himself owns, p. 46, 54. And I shall add under this Head, that there are very different Degrees of this, as there are of all other Abilities and Gifts.

2. They do indeed suppose, that ordinarily all Ministers should be furnish'd with a competent measure of the Gift of Prayer (as well as that of Preaching) in order to their due Discharge of this Duty on that variety of Occasions that occurs in their publick Ministrations and private Visits. For as no prescribed Forms can possibly suit all such Occasions, so to be incapable of assisting the Devotion of their People in them, is, they think, a miserable Defect in those whose Office it is to give themselves continually unto Prayer, Acts vi. 4. and who will but very lamely perform it without such Abilities. And therefore Bishop Wilkins justly censures the Want of it in them as their great Fault and Shame.*

3. They do by no means suppose every good Man to be endued with this Gift, much less with such a Measure of it, as will qualify him to perform that Duty in his Family without the help of Forms. And therefore they often urge such to the use of Forms in their Families, as cannot without such Helps keep up that Duty in them without the hazard of exposing it to Contempt. (Nor do they disallow all use of Forms in secret Prayer it self; though they think it no way advisable for Christians to confine themselves to them in their Closet-devotions, since they cannot do so without suppressing many Desires suitable to their present Condition: Nor can their want of Words be a just Reason for their limiting themselves to such

Forms, since they are not needful in secret Prayer. Our very Groans and Sighs are a Language our heavenly Father sufficiently understands.) But yet they do suppose the Want of this Gift to be a great Defect, and judge such a Degree of it ordinarily attainable by continued Diligence and Exercise, as is necessary to the suiting our Family-prayers to our particular Necessities, and therefore do urge those under their Care to endeavour after it. And they do suppose that the holy Spirit is ready to assist good Men in such Endeavours, not only by exciting their devout Affections, but by enlightning their Minds to understand their spiritual Necessities, by directing them in the matter of their Prayers, by bringing the Promises of God to their Remembrance, by strengthening and elevating their natural Faculties to more vigorous Exercise, by quickning their indisposed Minds, and helping them against their manifold Infirmities. And so much they think included in what the Apostle declares concerning the Assistance of the holy Spirit in this Duty, Rom. viii. 26. And herein they assert no more than the Reverend Bishop Wilkins has done before them; who not only affirms, That this Gift, if seriously endeavour'd after, may be attain'd, in some measure, by any one that has common Capacity, p. 12. but speaks of such Christians as satisfy themselves with their Book-prayer, and go no further, as remaining still in their Infancy, p. 11. and recommends this Gift even to private Christians, from the Excellency of it, from its Suitableness and Necessity (as being part of our spiritual Armour, which 'tis as unbecoming a Christian to be defective in, as for a Soldier to be without Skill in the use of Arms) from its special Advantages and Fruits (as enabling a Man on all Occasions to relate his Condition, and suit his Desires and Expressions according to several Emergencies) and from the Inconveniencies a Man is expos'd to by the Want of it, (when being surpriz'd with any sudden Exigency or Strait, he knows not how to relate his Condition, or bespeak God's Assistance, without having recourse to some prescribed Form, which perhaps has no proper reference to the particular Occasion) p. 22, 23, 24. And I cannot better represent our Judgment concerning these two different Modes of Praying than in his excellent Words. *What one saith of Counsel to be had from Books, may be fitly applied to this Prayer by Book; that 'tis commonly of it self something flat and dead, floating for the most part too much in Generalities, and not particular enough for each several Occasion. There is not that Life and Vigour in it to engage the Affections, as when it proceeds immediately from the Soul it self, and is the natural Expression of those Particulars whereof we are most sensible. And if it be a Fault not to strive and labour after this Gift, much more is it to jeer and despise it by the Name of extempore Prayer, and praying by the Spirit, which Expressions (as they are frequently us'd by some Men by way of Reproach) are for the most part the sign of a profane Heart, and such as are altogether Strangers from the Power and Comfort of this Duty, p. 12.*

Thus far that learned and pious Bishop, whose Sentiments in this Matter are, I perceive, very different from his Lordship's.

4. They are far from excluding Premeditation in the Exercise of this Gift of Prayer.

On the contrary, they think it ordinarily necessary as to the Matter of our Prayers: Nay, they do not exclude all Premeditation as to Words, any further than the tying our selves to a Form of them may shut out such suitable Petitions as the Spirit of God may suggest to our Minds in the Fervour of our Devotions, which did not occur to them in our previous Meditation. And therefore they think the Name of extempore, and much more that of unpremeditated Prayers, very unfit to express those which they offer up according to such an Ability and Gift: For they suppose that such

* Gift of Prayer, p. 12.

as pray with others, especially in publick Assemblies, should prepare themselves for it, by considering before-hand the particular Cases and Necessities of those that joyn with them. And against such Prayers I can find nothing in that Text he alledges, *When thou goest to the House of God, be not rash with thy Mouth, and let not thine Heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in Heaven, and thou upon Earth; therefore let thy Words be few*, Ecclef. v. 1, 2. For sure his Lordship cannot think they enjoyn the use of Prayers by a prescribed Liturgy, for if we pray so, there is no need of this Caution, that we should not be rash with our Mouth, and that our Words be few, because it will not lye in our Power to enlarge or contract what we say, when we confine our selves to the Words that others dictate to us. The Text does indeed properly refer to private Vows in the House of God, but may by parity of Reason be suppos'd to forbid our Praying without due Premeditation, and multiplying our Expressions, without any suitable Affections. Which Caution we account very necessary in all free Prayers, even in private, and much more in publick ones. So that this Place affords a much stronger Argument for free Prayers, than against them.

5. They do not condemn all Forms of Prayer either in private or publick, as unlawful in themselves.

They recommend such Forms to those whose Inability renders such Helps needful. Many of their practical Writings propose such Forms to the Ignorant and Weak. The *Westminster-Assembly* expressly recommend the Use of the *Lord's-Prayer* as a Form. Nay, the Nonconformist Ministers, that treated with those commissioned by King Charles the II. at the *Savoy*, propos'd a reformed Liturgy, with some allowance of Liberty to Ministers for Free occasional Prayer, as a ground of Accommodation. Of which I shall have occasion to take more Notice in what follows.

Having premis'd this just Account of the *Dissenters Principles*, I come,

II. To examine those which his Lordship ascribes to them, pag. 43, 44, &c. which I shall do in his own Words, lest I should be thought to wrong him as notoriously as he has done his Brethren. Speaking concerning their way of Prayer;

"I shall endeavour (*said he*) to represent it with all Fairness and Impartiality, and leave you to judge as God shall direct you, and as you'll answer it at the last Day.

"1. And here I find that some of your Writers are of Opinion, that the Spirit of Prayer is given to all the Children of God in some Measure, for enabling their Hearts to conceive, and their Tongues to express convenient Desires to God, "and that therefore Forms of Prayer are of no necessary Use, either in publick or private; on the contrary, that they stifle the Spirit, and hinder Men from stirring up, or using that Gift that God has given them.

"2. Others of you go further, and affirm that all Forms of Prayer are unlawful to Christians, and that therefore 'tis a Sin to join in a Worship where they are us'd, or to be present at it.

"3. That the Minister is the Mouth of the Congregation, and that he only is to speak publickly to God, in behalf of the People, and that they are not to joyn their Voices, but only their Hearts with him.

"Upon these Principles you forsake our Worship, &c. And First, For that Position of your Directory, that the Spirit of Prayer is given to all the Children of God in some Measure, for enabling their Hearts to conceive, and their Tongues to express convenient Desires to God, I entreat you to consider, what Promise or Foundation it has in Scripture, &c. and in the same pag. 45. This Doctrine is a meer Invention of Men, and the Worship built on it a Vanity in the Sense of our Saviour, Mark vii. 7. This Principle his Lordship largely endeavours to confute from pag. 45, to pag. 53. where he calls it the great Principle of the Dissenters Worship, and

"tells the People, Now, my Friends, it lies upon your Teachers who are of this Perswasion, to produce plain Scripture for your Principles, or else to confess, &c. Again, pag. 62. he falls severely on this poor Principle.

Ans. I am afraid I shall much surprize his Lordship, when I tell him that I can find no such Principle, nor indeed any thing like it, either in Sense or Sound, in the whole Directory. I would therefore intreat him to read it over once more, that he may oblige me with the Account of the Page where it lies; and I may the more reasonably request this Favour of him, because he has put me to the trouble of reading it twice or thrice over, on this Occasion, to no purpose. And I suppose the Reverend Compilers of the Directory, gave him no Commission to coyn Principles for them, merely that he might have the Satisfaction of confuting them. But I'll do him the Justice he has not done them, by acquainting the Reader, that upon a strict Enquiry, I suppose his Lordship has mistaken some Directions of a General Assembly in Scotland, concerning Secret and Family Worship, &c. printed there, A. D. 1647. for the Directory of publick Worship, publish'd by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, A. D. 1644. And if I be in the right in this Conjecture, I must add, that I could very easily forgive him this Mistake, if he had us'd any Sincerity in representing the Judgment of that grave and pious Synod. But if it appear that he has obrudged upon them an Opinion which they no way assert, nay, which the Passage from whence he draws it is rather inconsistent with, then the best Apology he can make for himself, is to own his Mistake, and to make them some Reparation for so gross an Abuse. And whether this be not the true Account of the Matter, I leave the Reader to judge, when he compares the Words of the Assembly, with the Opinion the Bishop ascribes to them.

In the fore-mentioned Directions of that Assembly concerning Secret and Family Worship, pag. 9. Direct. 9. are these Words.

"So many as can conceive Prayer, ought to make use of that Gift of God, albeit these who are rude and weaker, may begin at a set Form of Prayer, but so as they be not sluggish in stirring up in themselves (according to their daily Necessities) the Spirit of Prayer, which is given to all the Children of God in some measure; to which Effect they ought to be more fervent and frequent in secret Prayer to God, for enabling their Hearts to conceive, and their Tongues to express convenient Desires for their Family.

Now if these be the Words his Lordship refers to, I would desire him to consider a little better, how he can deduce this Principle out of them, viz. That the Spirit of Prayer is given to all the Children of God in some Measure, for enabling their Hearts to conceive, and their Tongues to express convenient Desires to God, and as his Lordship adds, pag. 53. without a Form. For the Bishop hereby supposes that this Assembly thought that the Spirit of Prayer was the Gift of Prayer, and that this Gift was in some Measure given to all the Children of God, to enable them to pray without a Form. And therefore what the Assembly calls stirring up in themselves the Spirit of Prayer, he explains by stirring up the Gift, p. 44. And accordingly his Arguments against them, all run on this Supposition, that they oppose praying by the Spirit, to praying by a Form, and imagine the Spirit and Gift of Prayer to be the same thing, and accordingly he makes Decency of Expression a Part of the Spirit of Prayer, pag. 46.

Now what can be more opposite to the Words and Scope of that Assembly? Do they not distinguish Christians into two Sorts, such as are more Judicious and Strong, and such as are more Rude and Weak? Is it not the former, whom they suppose to have the Gift of conceiving Prayer? And do they not suppose the latter, to be at present destitute of that Gift, and (as Bishop Wilkins expresses it) to need Forms, as impotent People do Crutches?

Crutches? They do indeed say the *Spirit of Prayer*, (i. e. a devout and praying Disposition) is given in some Measure to all the Children of God. But they do not suppose therefore, that all who have the *Spirit of Prayer*, have the *Gift* also, but the quite contrary. All that their Words can be reasonably extended to import, is, that whereas there are manifold daily Necessities of Christian Families, which prescribed Forms cannot suit, 'tis a great Infelicity to be unable to express our Desires to God in those Cases; and therefore such as labour under that Impotency, should be earnest to beg of God such an Ability and Gift, so far as 'tis necessary for their due Discharge of this Duty, to the Edification and Comfort of their Families; that they ought in order to the Attainment of it, to cherish the *Spirit of Prayer*, i. e. those devout Desires and Affections which the Spirit of God communicates in some Measure to all his Children, according to their various Necessities, and which cannot but be greatly hindered and damp'd, when our Inability confines us wholly to the Use of Forms, which cannot suit the particular Condition of our selves and Families. And they suppose that such an Ability to pray suitably to our particular Necessities, is one of the ordinary Gifts of the holy Spirit, which private Christians should beg of God, and have Encouragement to hope for (so far as 'tis necessary to their Compliance with his general Commands, of *making known their Requests to him in every Thing*) in the diligent Use of such Helps as they are furnish'd with, and frequent exercising themselves in this excellent Duty. Their Words also do imply, that the more we grow in a devout and praying Disposition, the more easily may we attain some Measure of that Gift, since *out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaks*, and the more we feel our own spiritual Necessities, the more easily does the pinching Sense of them supply us with Expressions and Arguments in pleading with God for Relief of them. And as this is all that can be drawn from their Words without offering Violence to them, so 'tis no more than (as I have shewn him) Bishop Wilkins asserts, and if his Lordship have any thing to object against any of these Assertions, which are genuinely deduc'd from their Words, I shall be very glad to hear it; but for the *Position* he ascribes to that *Assembly*, as laid down and expounded by him, 'tis his own, and not theirs; and therefore 'tis he is concern'd to prove it, and seems not to deal so ingenuously as he should, in insulting so scornfully over his own *Man of Straw*. For all his grave Reasonings concern no avowed Principle of the *Dissenters*, and his Discourse (from pag. 46, to pag. 57.) on this Head, is so far from being *grateful and instructive to the Readers of all Sorts*, (as he imagines, pag. 49.) that it rather nauseates all judicious Readers, to find his Lordship, when he pretends to explain these Matters, and set them in so clear a Light, so miserably confound those two Things, the *Spirit* and *Gift of Prayer*, which all accurate Writers on both sides so carefully distinguish, and must necessarily do so, unless they have a mind to fight with Shadows, and contend in the Dark without understanding one another. And therefore because he may despise our Instructions, I would desire his Lordship before he writes any more on this Subject, to read the three first Chapters of Bishop Wilkins *Gift of Prayer*, which he will find wrote with admirable Judgment, and much more *grateful and instructive*, than those crude and indigested Notions he has here offer'd.

There are several Passages in what he saith on this pretended Principle of the *Dissenters*, which I have elsewhere taken Notice of, and shall only add, that whereas pag. 45. he tells us, *There is no Command in Scripture requiring us to worship or pray to God in a conceiv'd extemporary or unpremeditated Form, or so much as an Example in a settled ordinary Congregation, where it was practis'd*, I hope I have already said enough to satisfy an unprejudic'd Reader, that God's Commands, in reference to Prayer, do certainly enjoyn free Prayer, that

there is not the least Command to pray in general by set Forms, that there is no Command for the Use of any particular Form, unless the *Lord's-Prayer*, which yet is but doubtful; and that there are more Examples of *free Prayer* in Scripture, than of *Prayer by prescrib'd Forms*; that there is not the least Evidence of any *prescribed Liturgy* us'd in the Apostles time, or in the 2d or 3d succeeding Ages, and consequently there is great reason to conclude they us'd *free Prayer*, or pray'd in the Exercise of their Abilities and Gifts; so that we have far more probable Grounds to conclude *prescrib'd Liturgies* of human Composure, destitute of scriptural Precept and Example; and if his Lordship will on that Account censure them as an *human Invention*, and a Piece of vain Worship, he may use his Liberty. For I shall satisfy my self with defending our own Practice, without such harsh Reflections on that of others.

Page 50. His Lordship asserts without the least Proof, *That Moses, David, and our Saviour, us'd Forms of Prayer*. For the Instance that relates to our Saviour, it has been already consider'd.

So when, pag. 52. he should prove that *holy Men in Scripture reduc'd their Prayers into Forms, before they offer'd them up in the Congregation*, he does not produce one Instance relating to Prayer in *Prose*, about which the only Dispute lies, much less does he produce any Instance of their using *Forms* of such Prayers, compos'd by other Men, and those uninspired Persons too.

His Lordship having examin'd this first Principle he charges the *Dissenters* with, proceeds to the

Second, *That all Forms of Prayer are unlawful to Christians, and that 'tis a Sin to joyn in a Worship where they are us'd, or so much as to be present at it*.

And this Principle his Lordship takes the Pains to confute, from pag. 57, to pag. 65. I do indeed perceive that he was better advis'd, than to quote any Writer among the *Dissenters* for this strange Opinion. But since in his laborious Confutation of it, he all along supposes some considerable Part of the *Dissenters* to be Maintainers of it, I must freely tell his Lordship, that unless he can produce some one Author at least that has asserted any such Principle, I must make bold to charge the Breach of the 9th Command upon him, and hope he will either produce us some Testimonies of such as avow and maintain it, or do us the Justice of retracting so gross a Calumny. For my own part, I never yet met with any one Person amongst either their Ministers or their People, that ever entertain'd so wild and unreasonable an Opinion. Nor indeed can they entertain it, without plainly condemning their own continual Practice.

Does he not know that the *Dissenters* call'd *Congregational*, as well as those call'd *Presbyterian*, do every Meeting dismiss the People with a Form of Prayer, I mean the *Apostolical Blessing*, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God, and the Communion of the holy Spirit, be with you all, Amen*, 2 Cor. xiii. 14. And can he deny this to be a Form of Prayer, when the solemn Blessing among the Jews, Numb. vi. 23. which Aaron and his Sons were order'd to pronounce, is one of his Lordship's chief Instances of a prescribed Form of Prayer? So that if there be any *Dissenters* of the Opinion his Lordship attributes to them, they should renounce Communion with their own Churches, and much more with the Dutch and French Churches, among whom larger Forms are frequently us'd, which he knows they are far from doing, whatever others may have done, who so uncharitably unchurch them for want of Prelatical Ordination. I have already told him, that the *Directory* recommends the *Lord's Prayer* as a Form, and such Forms of Prayer were drawn up for publick Use, by the Nonconformist Divines at the Savoy, in their Proposals for Accommodation (and indeed the most unexceptionable ones I have yet seen, as consisting almost entirely of scriptural Expressions) nay, even those who are most severe in condemning stilted *Liturgies*, do it not, because they think Forms of Prayer unlawful, but because

cause they look on the confining all publick Prayers to such *prescrib'd Forms*, as a pernicious Engine to exclude the Exercise of that *Ability* or *Gift*, with which all duly qualify'd Ministers are endu'd for Prayer, as well as Preaching, nay, to exclude many occasional Requests, which such set Forms could make no particular Provision for. So that the whole of what he has said from pag. 57, to 65. does no more concern the *Dissenters* than himself, and 'tis easy for his Lordship to triumph when he meets with no Adversary.

And yet there are some Things in his Confutation of this pretended Principle very liable to Exception. As to instance in two.

1. Since it appears by the foregoing Remarks, that God has no more commanded our Praying with a Form, than without one, he should, if he had been impartial, have represented the contrary Opinion of the *Unlawfulness* of *free Prayer*, to be of altogether as dangerous Consequence as that which he confutes, and he will find that the best Arguments he brings against the latter, are altogether as valid against the former. For that former Opinion would have divided Men from the Communion of the whole Church in its first and purest Ages; and the forbidding *Free-prayer* is attended with as many pernicious Effects as the forbidding of *Forms*, and perhaps more, so that the Devil may have altogether as subtle and dangerous Designs to drive on, by seducing Men to the *one* of these Mistakes as to the *other*; nay, this Opinion of the *Unlawfulness* of *Free-prayer* may as much tend to flatter Men with a good Opinion of themselves, as if they discharg'd that Duty sufficiently, when, like the *Papists*, they have run over their *Beads*: As the other Opinion can tempt Men to think they are Partakers of the *sanctifying Influences* of the *Holy Spirit*, because they partake of a *common Gift*; and, I am sure, the condemning *Free-prayer* has a far more pernicious Influence to hinder secret Devotion. For in *Free-prayer*, a Man needs not express his Desires in Words at all, and therefore need not forbear praying for want of a *Form*, whereas if he omit *Free-prayer*, he must rarely ever suit that Part of his Devotions to his particular Circumstances and Condition.

2. As his Lordship has sufficiently wrong'd the *Dissenters*, by falsely imputing such a Principle to them, so he has greatly added to the Injury, by telling the World, *That on this Account the pious Custom of training up young People to a constant Course of Devotion in their Morning and Evening secret Prayers, is too universally laid aside among the Dissenters, as he has found by Experience, and for the Truth of the Observation, he saith, he dare appeal to all of the Dissenters.*

Ans. What is it that a Man who is grown remarkable for his Talent of *asserting boldly*, dare not venture on? But sure he cannot hope, by meer Confidence, to persuade us out of our Senses. And therefore, since he appeals to us in this Matter, we must needs tell him, We take what he asserts to be contrary to undoubted Matter of Fact; for we know of no Protestants in the World that more universally urge all in their Families to constant secret Prayer, than the *Dissenters*; and we could wish there were (proportionably to the Numbers on each side) one of their Communion for five or ten of the *Dissenters* that maintain daily Family-Prayer. I know Comparisons are odious, and therefore should never have made this, if his Lordship's gross Partiality had not extorted it, who in this Charge has seem'd to lay aside all Regard to Truth, or indeed, to any Appearance and Shew of it. It were very desirable that some of our *Convocations* would take, as effectual a Course to promote *Secret* and *Family-Devotion* as that *General Assembly* in Scotland, (on whose Words he would have obtruded his first pretended Principle of the *Dissenters*) who not only advise all particular Persons to Prayer and Meditation, but enjoyn *Pastors* to press it on all under their Charge, and the *Heads of Families* to have a Care, that both themselves and all within their Charge be daily diligent therein. See *Directi-*

ons, &c. Pag. 1. And I can hear of no Ministers that so frequently urge this Duty on their People as theirs. Nor do I know of any among the *Dissenters* that scruple the teaching their Children the *Lord's Prayer* or other short *Forms*, tho' they may, perhaps, take more Pains than others to prevent their saying them by rote without understanding them. But I wonder much what his Lordship means, when he tells us so gravely, Pag. 64. *As for Children and ignorant People among those of this Perswasion, I am well assured, many of them never bow their Knees in secret to God, and several of those that are grown up, are forc'd to speak aloud, or cannot pray at all, which is against the Nature of secret Prayer, and exposes not only the Person that uses it to the Censure of Hypocrisy, but the Duty to Contempt.* I shall not now enquire how he is assur'd of what they do, or do not in secret; nor need he, sure, be told, that there are too many Children and ignorant People in their Communion as well as that of the *Dissenters*, that after all the Pains taken to persuade them to their Duty, do yet neglect it; but sure there is some strange Mystery in what he asserts of those that are grown up, if we could but find it out. Does his Lordship then imagine, that praying without a *Form* must necessarily dispose a Man to *speak loud*, whereas if he pray'd by a *Form*, it would oblige him to *whisper* his Devotions *softly*? Or would a conforming Lay-man, that is unaccustom'd to secret Prayer, be less liable to this Inconvenience of *barling out*, because he has his *Prayer-Book* before him? Sure one would think there's as little Danger of this in *conceal'd Prayer*, in which we need not form our Desires into Words, or use our Voice at all. But if his Lordship in this only design'd to tell us of the Weakness that some indiscreet Persons have run into, perhaps thro' their Zeal and Earnestness (tho' ill-govern'd) but which their Opinion or Practice, as *Dissenters*, has no Influence on, why does he trouble the World with such little impertinent Stories as signify nothing to the Purpose, unless it be to expose his way of arguing to be smil'd at by the *Children* and *ignorant People* themselves? But what trifling Things may not a wise Man say, when he pleads the Cause of a *Party* instead of that of Truth.

For his Lordship's third Principle of *Dissenters*, viz. *That the Minister is the Mouth of the Congregation, and that the People have nothing to do but to joyn with him in their Hearts.*

I shall only suggest concerning it, That 'tis true we think the Minister is the Mouth of the Congregation, and can find neither Precept or Pattern in Scripture for the Congregation's repeating a whole Prayer together with the Minister, much less of their so dividing the Words between them, as that the People rather make the Prayer (as in most Petitions of the *Litany*); nor does the Passage he alledges from *Rom. xv. 6.* prove any such Thing: And therefore on his weak Principles we might condemn their Practice in this Point as unlawful; but we are far from being so rash and forward in our blind Censures, as he groundlessly insinuates, pag. 66. Nor do we (as he here asserts) suppose that the People have nothing to do but to joyn in their Hearts with the Minister, but suppose their adding their *Amen* a fit Testimony of their Assent to the publick Prayers they joyn in, and he may, in the Morning Exercises of the Dissenting Ministers printed at London, find a whole Sermon on that Head, urging the People to pronounce their *Amen* more audibly than usually they do.

Having examin'd his Lordship's unjust Account of their Principles, I think it requisite to add a few Things relating to,

Secondly, *Their general Practice*; concerning which I shall only suggest,

1. Such as follow the *Directory*, tho' they are not confin'd to the Words there propos'd, yet look on them as the Patterns to which the ordinary Part of their Prayers should be conform'd. And accordingly, the *Directory* does require Ministers to pray to that Effect;

Effect; nor does it disallow the Use of those very Expressions, where the Defectiveness of the Minister's Gifts, or his Unpreparedness by Meditation, renders it most conducive to publick Edification. So that neither are such Ministers left arbitrarily to Choice as to the most stated and constant Matters of Prayer, nor the People left wholly at Uncertainty about them.

2. All Forms of Words in publick Worship are not dis-us'd by them.

They constantly use our Saviour's Words, *Matt. xxviii. 19. I baptize thee in the Name, &c.* in that Ordinance. So do they retain his own Words in the Delivering the Bread and the Cup in the Lord's-Supper, (tho' by the way, our Service-Book has groundlessly alter'd and transform'd them into a Prayer, for which, I hope, his Lordship will censure the Compilers of it, as having prefer'd their own Invention before Christ's Institution). So when they give the Blessing, (which is a Prayer) they do it usually in some of the Apostolical Forms mention'd in the New-Testament. Several of them use the Lord's-Prayer as a Form, according to the Advice of the Directory. And for those that dis-use it, 'tis because they either think it no Form suited to the Christian Church after Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, or else think it not intended as a Form, but only a Pattern, because they never read afterwards in the New-Testament of its being us'd as a Form. Nay, perhaps some may be too much led to the Dis-use of it, in Opposition to the contrary Extreme of others, who place some peculiar Merit or Virtue in the Repeating these Words. And his Lordship seems to be one that has run into this Extreme, not only by supposing us oblig'd to use these Words whenever we pray, *p. 32, 33.* and making the Use of them a Badge of our Christian Profession, *pag. 35.* but by recommending the saying these Words as the Way to obtain Pardon for our Infirmities in our other Prayers, *pag. 34.* But I wonder who those are, of whom his Lordship tells us, that they publicly dispute against this Form, because of that Petition in it, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us, pag. 34.* For I could never hear of any such publick Disputation on that Subject, nor indeed of any Dissenter that ever offer'd such a foolish Objection; some of them, perhaps, may have censur'd those as hypocritical in the Use of this Petition, who are so far from forgiving their Enemies, as to bear an irreconcilable Temper towards their Friends, and their Brethren.

3. The true Reason why the Dissenting Ministers so generally dis-use Forms of Prayer compos'd by others, is not because they judge all Forms of Prayer unlawful, but because they think Free-Prayer gives them the Advantage to suit this Part of their Ministrations better to the Edification of their People.

And they are very much confirm'd in this Opinion, both by what they observe in the Holy Scriptures, and by Experience.

As to the Holy Scriptures, they not only find no such stinted Liturgies, prescrib'd either by Christ or his Apostles, but no Orders given to any Pastors of the Church to compose them for others, much less any Warrant to enjoin the Use of them. They think it therefore most probable, if not certain, that even ordinary Pastors in the Apostles Time, and in some Ages after, us'd Free-Prayer; i. e. their publick Prayers as well as Sermons were the Exercise of those ordinary Gifts and Abilities with which they were furnish'd for their Ministerial Office, and not a meer Repetition or Reading of Forms prescribed to them by others. Nay, they think the confining Pastors to such prescribed Forms, renders them incapable of complying with the general Rules of Scripture, that require us to suit our Prayers to all particular emergent Occasions, which the Bishop himself owns cannot well be done without

the Use of free (or as he calls them) *extempore Prayers*, *pag. 54.* They think it therefore every way the safest to come herein as near as possible to the Practice of the Christian Church in the Apostles Time, and those succeeding Ages wherein it retain'd most of its primitive Purity.

Nor are they less strengthened in their Judgment by Experience, on which some Stress may be justly laid when we are to determine the Modes of Worship (left undetermin'd in Scripture) agreeably to the general Rules of Scripture, and especially that of *doing all to Edification*. Now the Dissenters observe, that where publick Forms have been impos'd, and the Ministration of Pastors confin'd to them, it has been generally attended with ill Effects, both in reference to Ministers and People.

1. In reference to Ministers. For as in those Christian Countries where Preaching has been dis-us'd, and Forms of Instruction and Exhortation (call'd *Homilies*, or *Sermons*) provided for the Clergy, they have by this Use of them sunk into general Ignorance and Sloth, and taken little Pains to furnish themselves with Abilities to instruct their People: So, where stinted Liturgies have been impos'd, the Clergy, by the constant Use of them, generally so habituate themselves to these Crutches, that they are unable to go without them, and find themselves at a great Loss, when they should accommodate their publick or private Prayers to that great Variety of particular Occasions wherein they should be the Mouth of the People in their Addresses to God. Whereas the constant Exercise of their Abilities in publick Prayer as well as Preaching greatly improves them, and furnishes them for assisting their Flocks with their Prayers in all those manifold Necessities, in which prescribed Forms are no more pertinent to their Case, than general Remedies to particular Diseases.

2. In reference to the People. For they generally observe them prone to grow more cold and unaffected under the continual Use of such Forms, and consequently in greater Danger of turning that holy Duty into a customary lifeless Repetition of the Words prescribed to them. And tho' this be not in it self a necessary inevitable Consequence of prescribed Forms, because, no doubt, a well prepared Mind may use such with true Fervor of pious Affection; yet considering the common Temper of Mankind, there is something in the constant Use of the same Words, that does as naturally tend to dull our Affections, as the constant Use of the same Instrument and Tune is tedious to a musical Ear; whereas a suitable Variety tends more to raise and elevate them. And tho', perhaps, some few very devout Persons may avoid this Inconvenience of constant publick Forms, yet it seems incurable in the Generality of the People, whose Case must be chiefly consider'd, when we consult their Edification in determining the particular Modes of Worship.

I will not disown that there are some Inconveniences on the other side, which I shall propose with the same Freedom, and offer my Thoughts of them.

'Tis, indeed, true as the Bishop suggests, *pag. 41.* that in a stinted Liturgy the People are more exactly acquainted before hand with the Words of the Prayer they are to join in, than when the Minister is left to the Exercise of his own Abilities. But as this Inconvenience relates rather to the Words, than the ordinary Matter of our Prayers, so how little Weight there is in the Argument drawn thence against free Prayer, I refer the Reader to the excellent Reply given to it by the foremention'd Bishop Wilkins; * *Whereas* (saith that pious Author) *'tis commonly objected by some, That they cannot so well joyn in an unknown Form (for so he calls free Prayer in respect of those that bear it) with which they are not before-hand acquainted: I answer, that's an inconsiderable*

* Gift of Prayer, Pag. 12.

Objection, and does oppose all kind of Forms that are not publickly prescribed. As a Man may, in his Judgment, assent unto any divine Truth deliver'd in a Sermon which he never heard before, so may he joyn in his Affections to a holy Desire in a Prayer which he never heard before. If he who is the Mouth of the Rest, deliver, thro' Imprudence, what we cannot approve of, God does not look upon it as our Prayer, if our Desires do not say Amen to it.

But the main Inconvenience arises from the Danger of exposing the Duty to Contempt by unbecoming Expressions, which Men of weak Judgments often fall into; of which his Lordship gives us a Hint, pag. 56. and (to give him his Due) expresses himself with great Modesty, and truly Christian Prudence on that Occasion, where the Weakness and Indecencies of some, might, perhaps, have given him some real Advantage to expose them. But as to this I shall only suggest, that, I think, such as are incapable of using free Prayer, without apparent Hazard of rendring it contemptible by their indecent Manner of performing it, should no more be admitted to the Ministerial Office, than those that cannot preach without the same Danger. Or at least, that where no better can be had, such should rather (according to the Direction the General Assembly in Scotland fore-mention'd gives to Masters of Families) begin with some good Forms, till by Study and Exercise they are capable to do better.

Having said thus much in reference to our Practice, I shall only subjoyn as to that of the Established Church.

1. That for Persons uninspir'd to compose Forms of Prayer, and impose the Use of them upon others, is neither warranted by scriptural Precept or Pattern, and is, in the Bishop's Sense, only an human Invention. But to confine all publick Prayers to such prescribed Forms, is inconsistent with the general Rules of the Holy Scriptures relating to this Duty.

2. That the Reading of publick Prayer, (I mean Prose, not Psalm-Prayers) has neither Precept nor Example in the Word of God, nor indeed, in the Practice of the Primitive Church, in which it was the common Custom to pray, either with their Eyes shut, or lifted up towards Heaven. And indeed, this Practice tends so much to dull the Affections of those that joyn in this Duty, that 'tis great Pity that those, who for want of the Gift of Prayer, are obliged to use Forms, should not, at least, be furnish'd with the Gift of Memory to repeat them without Book.

3. I think the Arguments us'd in the grand Debate at the Savoy, against the frequent Repetitions in the Litany, and the Shortness of the Collects as Defects that needed being reform'd, have never yet been well answer'd.

And now I shall conclude this Chapter, by taking a little Notice of the wonderful Discovery the Bishop has made of that double Artifice or Trick the Dissenters use, to make Forms of Prayer of their own pass with the People for extempore ones; the one, by composing several Forms, and committing them to Memory, and then transposing the several Parts of them; the other, by remembering the several Ways they have try'd in their secret Prayers to express the same Thing, pag. 55, 56. As to which, I shall only observe, That the Dissenters have some reason to take it unkindly that he should expose their Secrets to the World; but this is a Piece of Treachery that must always be expected from those that desert their own Party, and have no other way to ingratiate themselves with their new Friends. Only they wonder why he should strive to make two Secrets of one; for they cannot clearly discern any greater Difference between these two Methods, than between two different ways of expressing the same Thing. But to do Right to his Lordship's admirable Wit, what he has discover'd is yet so real a Secret, to all I have discours'd about it, that I cannot find one of them was acquainted with it before, and therefore we are all oblig'd to return him Thanks for teaching us this new and more dexterous Art of managing our Devotions.

Remarks on the CHAPTER concerning HEARING.

And first, For the Directions of the Holy Scriptures about it, I shall only observe,

I. THAT I do fully agree with him in general, That the Word of God should be read in Christian as well as in Jewish Assemblies.

There is no doubt it was so in the Jewish Synagogues, and 'tis highly reasonable to suppose, that the Writings of the New Testament were design'd to be read in Christian Churches, according to what the Bishop has quoted from Col. iv. 16. And there is no doubt they were so read in the Primitive Churches. Tho' that other Place which the Bishop cites, (wherein the Apostle Paul charges Timothy to give Attendance to Reading, as well as Exhortation and Doctrine, 1 Tim. iv. 13.) will not afford any cogent Argument to this Purpose. Because Reading here as well as Meditation, Ver. 15. may be understood of those private subservient Means which young Timothy was here advis'd to use for promoting his Proficiency in divine Knowledge, and furnishing him the better for the Exercise of his Ministry in Exhortation and Doctrine. And this I take to be the more probable Sense of the Words.

II. That reading the Law, is, in the Scriptures, call'd preaching of it, I do not find any solid Proof for.

For in the Passage he alledges for this Purpose, Acts xv. 21. Moses in old time has in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-Day. Preaching may be there justly understood of those Expositions of the Law, and Applications of it, which were usual, and are elsewhere observ'd by the Bishop from Acts xiii. 14. p. 75. And of such Exposition and Application, 'tis most reasonable to understand that noted Place, Nehemiah viii. 8. where 'tis said, They read in the Book in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the Sense, and caus'd them to understand the Reading. And the Bishop does not expressly determine, whether giving the Sense must be understood of a Grammatical or a Theological Interpretation, pag. 74. I hope he includes the latter, for, indeed, to suppose that those Words merely relate to translating the Words of the Law out of the Hebrew, into another Language, is to put a very jejune Sense on them without the least Necessity, and contrary to probable Evidence from other Places, and particularly from that fore-mention'd, Acts xiii. 14. To which I might add the Testimony of Philo, who tells us (apud Euseb. de Prepar. Evang. lib. 8. cap. 2.) that the Priests or one of the Elders was wont to read the Law, and then distinctly explain it. But though I would not exclude a Grammatical Exposition of the Words of the Law from being intended here, yet I see no reason why the Bishop should hence recommend to us the Reading the Original sometimes in publick Assemblies, as he seems here to do, pag. 74. unless he could suppose two Things; First, that the Body of our People could as easily come to understand Hebrew and Greek, as those Jewish Exiles might recover the Knowledge of their Mother-Tongue; And, Secondly, that the Generality of Readers had the same Gift of Reading those Original Languages, as some in the Primitive Church had of speaking all others, viz. by Inspiration. For I am afraid, otherwise, many of them would go but very untowardly about the performing such a Task as the Bishop would here set them.

III. There is yet less Ground for that peculiar Sense he has assign'd to preaching in the New Testament.

He tells us in general, It signifies to declare or proclaim the Word of God, as a Herald or Cryer proclaims the Laws and Orders of a King. Hence (saith he) only those that proclaim'd the Gospel to such as had not heard it before, or read the Old Testament to the People, are said to preach. Preaching

"ing is distinguish'd from Teaching and Exhortation; and 'tis observable, that in the whole New Testament, tho' reading the Scriptures is call'd preaching, yet interpreting them, applying them, or exhorting the People from them in a Christian Auditory, is never call'd by that Name; pag. 71. And again, pag. 72. The Original Words, which properly signify Preaching, are κηρύσσω and εὐαγγελίζω. From all which it is manifest, that there are only two Ways by which the Word of God is properly preach'd: The First is, when 'tis declar'd to those that never heard it before; the Second is, when the very Words of the Scripture are read publickly to the People, as a Cryer does a Proclamation which he does not word himself, but reads it in the Words in which 'tis deliver'd to him.

Ans. His Lordship would do well to examine his Criticisms a little better before he assert them so confidently; for there is none of these new ones he here offers, but seem liable to very strong Objections, which I should be glad to hear his Solution of.

For against his new Notion of the Sense of the Word Preaching, in the New Testament, I would propose this obvious one; The Apostle Paul, in writing his Epistle to the Romans, styles those to whom he directs it, beloved of God, and called to be Saints, and thanks God that their Faith was spoken of throughout the whole World, Ver. 7, 8. And yet he tells them, that he often purpos'd to come to them, but was let hitherto, Ver. 13. And adds, Ver. 15. So much as is in me, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also. And here is the Word εὐαγγελισάμεθα. Let us then apply it to one of these two Ways of Preaching, to which the Bishop has confin'd the Sense of that Word. It cannot be understood of declaring the Gospel to those that never heard it before; for he tells us, Their Faith had been spoken of throughout the whole World: so that the Gospel could be no new Tidings to them. He must then (if the Bishop's Criticism be true) mean no more, than that he often purpos'd to see them, because, as much as in him was, he was ready to read them some Chapters out of the Old Testament at Rome also. Now if this were his main Errand and Business there, he need not have been so much concern'd about the Matter. The Disappointment of his Purpose could be no great Prejudice to them, unless he suppos'd they had none among them able to read. Nor needed he speak of his reading a Chapter as so difficult a Thing, which he was ready to do as much as in him lay. 'Tis plain then the Apostle was a Stranger to the Bishop's Notion of preaching, for he thought instructing those more fully in the Doctrine of Christianity who had already embrac'd it, might be fitly call'd by this Name.

So when he tells us, Preaching is distinguish'd from Teaching, how hard is it to reconcile this with the following Texts? We read in Acts xxviii. 30, 31. That Paul abode two Years at Rome, preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching those Things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ. So that the Bishop is very curious to distinguish those two Expressions which the inspir'd Historian plainly took for synonymous ones. So the same Writer gives us an Account of the Apostle Paul's Speech to the Elders at Ephesus, in which what he calls teaching them, Acts xx. 20. He calls teaching the Gospel, and preaching the Kingdom of God among them, Ver. 25. And in both these Places the Word κηρύσσω is us'd, and in this latter a Phrase of the same Import too with the other, viz. εὐαγγελίζω, διαμαρτύρεσθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. But, perhaps, an Argument drawn from Interest may prevail above any other. The Apostle Paul tells us, 1 Cor. ix. 14. The Lord hath ordained, that those who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. This Text, he knows, is generally apply'd by Expositors to prove a Maintenance due to ordinary Ministers. And Mr. Mede particularly, by εὐαγγέλιον here, understands the Reward of good Tidings. But if ordinary Pastors of the Church have no other way now left of preaching the Gospel, but reading the Scriptures, (as according to the Bishop's No-

tion they have not) I am afraid the People would sadly grudge them so large Revenues on the bare Account of such Preaching. But if he'll give the Apostle leave to explain his own Meaning, he'll find that Preaching is the same Thing with Teaching, or instructing the People in the Christian Doctrine; for 'tis so explain'd in those two parallel Places, Gal. vi. 6. Let him that is taught in the Word communicate to him that teaches in all good Things. And 1 Tim. v. 17. Let the Elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double Honour, especially them that labour in Word and Doctrine. If these be parallel Texts, as Expositors have hitherto taken them to be, then to teach, to labour in Word and Doctrine, are the same Thing as to preach. And, by the way, if the Reward of good Tidings be due to those that preach the Gospel, and if Readers be now the only Preachers of it in a Christian Kingdom (as the Bishop's Notion supposes) how come Things to be so unequally manag'd, and so contrary to the Apostle's Direction, that they get the least Share of the Reward for it? Why are these true laborious Preachers put off with so stingy an Allowance, while those Bishops, that in his Sense never preach at all, engross the double Honour to themselves, both the Dignity and the Revenues which belong to such as preach the Gospel? I shall only add the following Texts: I hope the Bishop will grant that our Saviour commission'd his Apostles to preach when he sent them to disciple all Nations, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. And yet he enjoins them to teach them all Things he had commanded. And the Apostle Paul accordingly in the same Verse, calls himself a Preacher and a Teacher, 2 Tim. i. 11. And these Expressions are plainly us'd as equivalent ones, Acts v. 42. And they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ. So Acts xv. 35.

Again, he tells us, That Preaching is distinguish'd from Exhortation. Now I think we have no reason to imagine the Apostle Paul understood any such Distinction, when he exhorts Timothy, 2 Tim. iv. 2. to preach the Word, (κηρύσσειν) to be instant in Season and out of Season, to reprove, rebuke, exhort with all Long-suffering and Doctrine. For these latter Expressions seem to explain the former. And I hope he will allow the Apostle Peter to have preach'd in Acts ii. from the 14th to the 40th Verse. And yet what he spoke is call'd an Exhortation, Ver. 40. Nay, to put the Matter out of doubt, 'tis said of John the Baptist, Luke iii. 18. That many other Things in his Exhortation he preached unto the People. Πάρακαλῶν εὐαγγελίζετο.

Again, He saith, That interpreting the Scriptures, applying them, and exhorting the People from them in a Christian Auditory, is never call'd Preaching.

Now either those many Discourses of the Apostles, recorded in the Acts, are not Preaching, or else, quite contrary to the Bishop's Notion, preaching was interpreting the Scriptures, applying them, and exhorting the People from them. For I would fain know, what else he can make of the Apostle Peter's Sermon, Acts ii. from the 14th to the 40th. Acts iii. from the 12th to the End. Acts iv. from the 8th to the 20th. Of Stephen's, Acts vii. Of the Apostle Peter's, Acts x. from the 34th to the 44th. Of the Apostle Paul's, Acts xiii. In which single Instance, the Bishop will find almost all his Notions overthrown together. For, Ver. 15. after the Reading the Law and Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue send to Paul and his Company this Message, Ye Men and Brethren, if ye have any Word of Exhortation for the People say on. The Apostle addresses himself to comply with their Proposal. And accordingly his Discourse contains an Explication of several Passages out of the Old Testament relating to the promised Seed of Abraham, an Application of them to our blessed Saviour, and an Exhortation to them, from thence, to believe in him, and not despise and reject him. And this very Discourse the Apostle calls declaring glad Tidings, (or Preaching, for the Word is εὐαγγελίζομεθα) Ver. 32. If the Bishop object this Discourse was not in a Christian Auditory, 'tis easily answer'd, What can

the Difference of the *Auditory* signify to alter the Nature of the Discourse; as if the very same Discourse in a *Synagogue* should be *Preaching*, but quite another Thing in a *Christian Church*. 'Tis plain, here, that the Apostle *preach'd*, when he *interpreted the Scriptures relating to Christ*, apply'd them, and exhorted the People from them; so that these are the same Thing. And if he still pretend that such *Exposition* and *Application* had some other Name given it, when us'd in a *Christian Auditory*, than that of *Preaching*, I shall, to remove this Shadow of a Pretence, farther add, I suppose he will not doubt, but the Apostle *Paul* either found, or at least planted a *Christian Church* at *Rome*, long before his two Years expir'd, and yet he is all that time said to *preach the Kingdom of God among them*. So, no doubt, there was a *Christian Church* at *Ephesus*; and yet *Timothy* residing there, is exhorted to *preach the Word, to be instant in Season and out of Season*. And in the Place I first alledg'd, the Apostle *Paul* was desirous to preach the Gospel to those at *Rome*, whose Faith was already so eminent, and so publickly known and celebrated. And indeed, tho' the Gospel be, in the strictest Sense, only News to those that first hear it, yet it does not cease to be good Tidings, or a joyful Message, for being often repeated. So that since the Bishop has so ill hap in every one of his *Criticisms*, I would advise him to be more sparing and deliberate in offering them to publick View; for his Talent does not seem to lye much that way.

IV. *The Scriptures have left it to human Prudence to determine, what Portion of them shall be read in our publick Assemblies, and in what Order and Method.*

To clear this, We must consider there are two Ways of reading the Scriptures, in order to the Peoples Instruction from them. As either,

1. *When some considerable Portion of them is read together. As some Part of a Book, or Epistle, a Psalm, &c. For the Division of the Scriptures into Chapter and Verse are but a Matter of late Invention.*

2. *When several Passages are read out of several Books of the Old or New Testament, which are parallel to each other, and serve to explain the same Doctrine, or clear and enforce the same Duty.*

And tho' the Phrase of *reading the Scriptures* be, by common Custom, appropriated to the former, yet if we will speak strictly, it does as truly belong to the latter; and 'tis of this latter way of *reading the Scriptures* for the People's Instruction, that we have the clearest Warrant from the Examples of the Apostles, and the Accounts given us in the *New Testament* of the Practice of the *Christian Church*. Nor do those banish either of these Ways of Reading (either an entire Portion, or several parallel Texts) that interpose an *explicatory* and *applicatory* Paraphrase between the several Parts that are read. Nor does the Bishop, that I can find, so much as pretend to produce any Thing from Scripture against the Intermixing such a Paraphrase in our reading the Scriptures. Now if he consult all the Sermons of the Apostles recorded in the *Acts*, he will find that they did read (or what is the same, did recite *verbatim*, and propose to the Consideration of the People) several Passages of the Word of God, all tending to illustrate and prove some *Truth* or *Duty* of the *Christian Religion*. And their Practice herein was conformable to that of our blessed Saviour, who employ'd the first *Christian Sabbath*, I mean the Day of his Resurrection, not in reading an entire Portion of Scripture, but in expounding to the two Disciples all those Passages in *Moses* and the *Prophets* that related to himself, and his *Death*, *Resurrection*, and *Ascension*, Luke xxiv. from the 13th to the 28th. Nor do I find in that Account given of the Worship of *Christian Churches*, 1 Cor. xiv. any mention made of *reading the Scriptures*, as a distinct Thing from *Doctrine* and *Interpretation*; so that I know of no one Precept or Example in all the *New Testament* relating to the *Christian Church* for this way of *Reading*, unless what may be infer'd from Col. iv. 16. *And when this Epistle is read among you,*

cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that likewise ye read the Epistle from Laodicea. But then we must not urge the Inference from these Words too far, for I know of none that think themselves oblig'd by it to read a whole Epistle at one time, tho', no doubt, it was fit the *Colossians* should so read this Epistle then, as we should be as forward to read a much longer that came newly to us from the same inspir'd Pen. And yet, because reading an entire Portion of Scripture was so constantly practis'd in the *Old Testament*, and the Reason of it seems in Part to extend to us, I do think 'tis very fit that that Way of Reading should be also retain'd in our publick Assemblies; tho' how long an entire Portion shall be ordinarily read, and in what Order, must be determin'd by *Christian Prudence*, according to the general Rules of Scripture.

V. *'Tis granted that the Word of God should be read with great Solemnity, but there is no particular Posture prescrib'd in our hearing of it.*

For tho' we read, *Nehemiah* viii. 5. that the People stood at the Opening the Book of the Law, yet that Posture seems there to refer to the Blessing we read of in the following Verse. And tho' we should grant that the People stood here when the Law was read, yet they are elsewhere said to sit. Thus, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 30, 31. when they came professedly to hear what was the Word that came forth from the Lord, yet they are describ'd as sitting before him as his People. And those assembled in the *Synagogue* on the Sabbath-day, *Acts* xiii. 14, 15. are represented as using the same Posture, as sat down while the Law and Prophets were read.

VI. *For explaining and applying the Scripture by way of Doctrine and Exhortation, it was a constant Part of their Lord's-day Worship in Christian Assemblies in the Apostles time.*

Doctrine is mention'd together with *breaking of Bread* and *Prayers*, as one Branch of their stated Devotions, *Acts* ii. 42. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. Nor do we read of one *Christian Assembly*, that I remember, on that Day without it. And it appears by the Testimony of the Antients, that it was constantly practis'd in the first Ages of Christianity, (as the Bishop himself grants, p. 76.) their Sermons being usually an *Explication* and *practical Improvement* of that Portion of Scripture which had been read. Nor does what the Bishop suggests, pag. 75. render it probable, that this was not constantly done in *Christian Churches*. For what he produces from *Acts* xiii. 15. concerns the *Jewish Synagogues*, and even the Argument drawn from thence is not cogent; for tho' there had been constant Provision for *Enlargement*, yet the Rulers of the *Synagogue* knowing that the Apostle and his Followers pretended to some new *Doctrine*, might send that Message to them. For what he saith from *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, &c. That St. Paul supposes him who teaches, and him whose Office it was to exhort, distinct from him who ruled and ministred. And it does not appear that every Church was furnish'd with all these Officers. I shall only answer, it does not appear from this Place, that these four Things requir'd four distinct Officers. We read only of two ordinary Officers in the *Christian Church*, viz. *Elders*, or *Bishops* and *Deacons*; See 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. 1. Phil. i. *Acts* xx. 28. To the latter, *ministring to the Poor* belong'd; to the former, *teaching, exhorting, and ruling*: And as these were several Branches of the same Office, so probably since there were many such *Bishops* or *Elders* constituted in every particular Church, *Acts* xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Some might have their Talents and Abilities more suited to one Part of their Work, and others to another; and accordingly they might ordinarily divide their Ministrations, and each attend what he was qualify'd for. And accordingly, the Bishop well observes, that the Apostle *Paul* conjoyns *Doctrine* and *Exhortation* in his Charge to *Timothy*, 1 Tim. iv. 13. And 'tis probable both are included in the Apostle *Peter's* Exhortation to *Elders*, 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3.

Lastly,

Lastly, I do agree with him, that there should be such a Summary of the principal Doctrines of the Gospel, as our Catechisms and Confessions of Faith usually contain; which Form of sound Words should be held fast: Though that *Heb. vi. 1, 2.* contains that Form, mention'd *2 Tim. i. 13.* is but doubtful, and 'tis much more doubtful whether that *Heb. vi. 1, 2.* contain'd six distinct Principles or Heads of Doctrine; of which more afterwards.

Having consider'd the Directions of Holy Scriptures in reference to Hearing, I shall now examine the Application the Bishop makes of them to the Practice of the Establish'd Church, and that of the Dissenters.

IN representing the Practice of the Dissenters, he promises to do it with the same Candor and Sincerity that he has hitherto endeavour'd to observe. What sort of Candor and Sincerity that is, the Reader has already had a sufficient Taste of; and he will find the Bishop does not in this Chapter vary from the Precedents he had given in the former; for how little regard he has had to Truth in the following Accusations, will appear upon a particular Review of them.

"I. He charges the Dissenting Ministers with dis-regarding Scripture-Rules and Examples, and with laying aside all those Methods of Instruction the Scriptures recommend to us, except it be that of Exposition and Exhortation. Infomuch (saith he) that though a Man frequent your Meetings all his Life, yet he has no Security, or hardly Possibility of learning from your publick Teachings all the great Mysteries of his Religion, or the necessary Principles of his Faith. For which he alledges these two Things for Proof.

"1. For first, your Teachers are entirely left to their choice what Place of Scripture they will explain, or what Subject they will handle: And hence it happens, that hardly any one Man in his Life, ever goes through the necessary Articles of Faith, or of Practice in his publick Sermons: And for the Truth of this he appeals to our selves.

"2. You have no Summary of Principles enjoyn'd to be either read or taught in your publick Assemblies.

Ans^r. There are some Accusations so gross and shameless, that 'tis hard for a Man to treat them with Decency; and to such Accusers we are often forc'd to apply the Archangel's Language, *Ep. Jude, v. 9.* But our Author has that peculiar Infelicity, that the more notorious Untruths he delivers, he is still the more confident in them, and nothing will serve him, but appealing to those for the Truth of what he says, who most certainly know it to be false. For with what Face can the Bishop say, *That a Man may frequent the Dissenters Meetings all his Life-time, and yet have no Security, or hardly Possibility of learning from their publick Teachings, all the great Mysteries of his Religion, or Principles of his Faith; and appeal to our selves as Witnesses, that hardly any one Man in his Life ever goes through the necessary Articles of Faith, or of Practice in his publick Sermons?* Does he indeed hope to persuade the World, that the great Mysteries and Principles of the Christian Religion (*ex gr.* the Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, the Incarnation of Christ, his Offices as our Mediator, Faith in him, and Repentance towards God, or Regeneration and Conversion, the Privileges of all Believing Penitents, their Pardon and Justification, their Adoption and Right to the heavenly Inheritance, the Office of the Holy Spirit as our Sanctifier and Comforter, the Necessity of his supernatural Aids, the

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different future States of the Righteous and the Wicked, the general Resurrection and final Judgment, &c.) are seldomer taught in their Pulpits, than in those of the Conformists? Or that the dissenting Ministers less frequently urge the great Duties of Godliness, Righteousness, Sobriety, and a heavenly Mind and Life upon their Hearers? Does he not know that the Directory requires that ordinarily the Subject of the Minister's Sermon shall be some Text of Scripture holding forth some Principle or Head of Religion? Nay, does he not know that the peculiar Mysteries of the Christian Religion are so much more frequently inculcated in the Sermons of Dissenters, as occasion'd some of them to reproach the Conformists with preaching little but Morality; and borrowing their Discourses rather from Cicero and Seneca, than from the Apostolical Writings; and the Conformists to reproach them with turning all Christianity into Mysteries, and preaching Morality too little? (I do not recite these Criminations as approving them, for I abhor such general and blind Censures; but as an Evidence that matter of Fact is in the general Opinion of both sides contrary to the Bishop's Representation of it.) Or does he think it a good Argument to prove that 'tis hardly possible for our People to learn the necessary Articles of their Faith from our publick Teachings, merely because we are left to our choice as to the Subject we treat on? Can he find any scriptural Rule or Example, prescribing to ordinary Teachers the exact Order in which they should explain the Mysteries of Christian Religion to the People; and yet was it therefore hardly possible for the People in the first Age to learn them all from their publick Teachings? As if ordinary Judgment and Prudence were not sufficient to direct every Minister in this part of his Duty. And whereas he saith, that hardly any one Man in his Life ever goes through the necessary Articles of Faith, or of Practice in his publick Sermons, and appeals to our selves herein, I must needs tell him, all the Ministers that I have discours'd with, are amaz'd to think what should tempt him to assert what all our Hearers know to be a groundless Calumny.

And whereas he tells us, *That we have no Summary of Principles enjoyn'd to be either read or taught in our publick Assemblies,* I might here enquire what Precept or Example he can produce from Scripture, requiring our Reading or Teaching such a Summary in publick, distinct from the holy Scriptures. Nay, though we should grant him that the Apostle Paul intends such a Summary by the Form of sound Words, mention'd *2 Tim. i. 13.* yet how will he certainly prove that it was to be publicly read and taught from Timothy's being charg'd to hold it fast? The thirty nine Articles of Religion, the Bishop, no doubt, takes to be such a Form of sound Words that is to be held fast; and yet they do not think it necessary to be publicly read and taught, any further than the Doctrine of Ministers should be conformed to it. But if he intend hereby to accuse the Dissenters as careless of their Peoples being instructed in such a Summary of the Principles of Religion, or (as we commonly speak) of their being catechis'd, I do not know any Ministers in the World whom he can less justly accuse in this Matter. And perhaps the Ministers of the North of Ireland, and those in Scotland, do (speaking generally) out-strip all others that we know of in the Christian World, as to their unwearied Diligence in Catechising those under their Charge. And indeed the Bishop's Accusations put me on the Necessity of doing them Justice in this Point, by giving the Reader some Account of their general Practice. To that purpose I must premise, that they divide all the Persons in their Parishes, grown up to Years of Discretion, into Communicants and examinable Persons. For Communicants, they do not only strictly examine them as to their Knowledge, when first admitted to the Lord's Table, but also personally visit each of them once a Year at least, and particularly examine them as to their Progress both in the Knowledge and Practice

of Religion. For examinable Persons, they divide their *Parishes* into so many *Districts*, and accordingly for every *District* once a Year, they publicly appoint the Time and Place when they intend to *catechise* them, and accordingly go through the whole of the *Catechism* with them. Nay, they are so punctual and exact herein, that if any have been *absent*, they publicly appoint another Day for the *catechising* them: So that there is not one of these Persons in their Congregations come to Years of Age, who is not once every Year constantly instructed in the *Principles* of the Christian Religion, and personally examin'd about his Knowledge of them. Now either the Bishop knows this Matter of Fact, or he does not: If he do not, Why will he pretend to censure so confidently what he is so entirely ignorant of? If he do, How can he excuse himself in asserting, that there is no Security, or hardly Possibility of the *Dissenters* learning from the publick Teachings of their Ministers, all the great Mysteries of their Religion, or necessary Articles of their Faith, when those very Ministers among whom he resides, take so effectual a Method, that there is not one Soul under their Care, but if he learn them not, 'tis grossly his own Fault, and cannot be imputed to the Neglect of his Minister. And if the Subtlety of this Charge lie in the Word *publick Teachings*, I shall only add, that these *Catechisings* of the Persons contain'd in these several *Districts* are *publick Teachings*; and such Days are publicly appointed for them, on which the People can best convene for that End. And I could wish his Lordship could give us as satisfactory an Account of the Diligence of the Conforming Clergy, in instructing all the particular Persons under their Inspection and Charge. And I may add, that in the Meetings of *Dissenters* here, and in England, 'tis the general Practice to catechize publicly on the Lord's Days, and the *Catechism* is usually gone thro' once every Summer. And I am sure our *Catechism* is a far more comprehensive Summary of the *Doctrines* and *Precepts* of the Christian Religion than that us'd in the *establish'd Church*; so little Reason has he to accuse those that rather set others a Copy worthy their Imitation. And what his Lordship saith of them, is so contrary to Truth, that if their People be as willing to learn as they are diligent to teach, 'tis scarce possible that any of them should be ignorant of the necessary Principles of their Faith.

For the *Assemblies Catechism* he has some Exceptions against it, which I shall briefly consider,

1. *It no ways* (saith he) *answers the Design of a Form of sound Words, which should contain only the first and necessary Principles of the Oracles of God, in such Words and Method as may make it easily apprehended and attained by the Weak and Unlearned, which make up the Bulk of the People.*

Ans. How can the Bishop expect any Reply to so general a Charge? I rather think the *Assemblies Catechism* is herein excellently suited to the various Capacities of *Catechumens*. It has at the End, the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Ten Commandments*, as the Summary of our *Belief*, *Desires*, and *Practice*. And in those, I hope his Lordship will grant the first and necessary Principles of the Oracles of God are plainly laid down. And indeed the *Church-Catechism* contains little more: But for those whose Capacity is something more improv'd, the Questions and Answers in that *Catechism*, do excellently explain the three fore-mention'd Summaries of our Religion, and lay down such other Principles as are the most important and needful Inferences from them. And why does our Author imagine, that no *Form of sound Words* must comprehend more than what is to be first taught the lowest sort of *Catechumens*, when almost all the Reformed Churches do herein differ from him; few of whom compose *Catechisms* for their People that are not rather longer than the shorter one compos'd by the *Assembly*.

And whereas he adds, *Our Catechism is full of hard Words, School-terms, and abstruse Notions no wise necessary*

to be known, nor possible to be understood by Children, or unlearned Persons, for whose Edification principally a Catechism ought to be design'd: I only add, if he had expected any Answer, he should have been particular in his Accusation, and not left us to guess in the dark what Instances he grounds it upon.

Again, *He accuses it of being so long and intricate, that no one Child in ten gets it by heart, nor one in five hundred retains it, as he saith he has found by Experience:* To which I shall only answer, that as we have little Reason to believe the Bishop has so often tried this Matter, as to enable him to pass so particular a Judgment about it; so his Experience and ours (who have better Opportunity of trying it) do no way agree. For we know there is nothing in this particular Computation that comes near to Truth in matter of Fact. And I believe if his Lordship make a more accurate Trial, he will find as many of the *Dissenters* Children that have got their *Catechism* by heart, as of others that have done so by the *Church Catechism*, even though the former be so much larger. And if any of them forget it again, 'tis their own Fault, not their Ministers, who more exactly examine them in that Point, than any others that I know of. But,

2. His severest Charge against this *Catechism* is, *That notwithstanding its length, it is imperfect; some of the Principles of the Apostle's Catechism being quite left out of it, I mean laying on of Hands join'd with Baptism, Heb. vi. 2. a great Defect sure in a Catechism to leave out a Fundamental of Christianity.*

Ans. Is it not strange that the Bishop should have no Regard to the Reputation of his own Church in such weak Censures as these. Does he mean that our *Catechism* has laid aside the Expression of *laying on of Hands*, or the Thing signify'd by it. If he mean only the Expression, could he not easily foresee that such an Objection against the *Assemblies Catechism* has no weight in it? Nay, that the *Church Catechism* is liable to the same Objection? I would desire him to take the Pains to read it over, and tell us where he can find *laying on of Hands* mention'd in it. If he means the Thing signify'd by *laying on of Hands*, why does he not tell us what it is, but leave us to blind Conjectures what this fundamental Principle is which he charges our *Catechism* as defective for the Omission of? Does he mean such *laying on of Hands* on Children as our Saviour us'd when he *blessed* them, *Matt. xix. 13.* Or *laying on of Hands* on the Sick when they were *heal'd*, *Mark vii. 32.* Or *Imposition of Hands* on such as the Apostles baptiz'd in order to the communicating the extraordinary Gifts of the holy Spirit to them, *Acts viii. 17.* Or *Imposition of Hands*, in order to the setting Persons apart to some sacred Office or Charge, *Acts vi. 6.* Or *Imposition of Hands* on the Sacrifice, *Lev. i. 4.* *Numb. viii. 12.* *Exod. xxix. 15.* *2 Chron. xxix. 23.* For Expositors mention all these various Senses of the Word in their Comments on *Heb. vi. 2.* Now I would intreat him to review them, and tell me which of these sorts of *Imposition of Hands* is spoken of in the *Church Catechism*. (For I hope he does not mistake the Rubrick about Confirmation for a part of it.) If none of them are mention'd in it for the Instruction of *Catechumens*, why should he charge that as a great Defect in our *Catechism*, which is wanting in their own? But what if I should tell him, 'tis highly probable that neither *Baptisms* nor *Imposition of Hands* are mention'd in that fore-cited Summary of Principles, *Heb. vi. 2.* as distinct Principles at all? He knows Expositors observe that the Original may be read thus, *Not laying again the Foundation of Repentance from dead Works and Faith in God, being the Doctrine of Baptisms and Imposition of Hands (i. e. the Doctrine typify'd by those two Rites in the Jewish Religion, their legal Washings or Purifications, and the Imposition of Hands on the Head of the Sacrifice)* For as those legal Purifications were typical of Repentance from dead Works; so that *Imposition of Hands on the Head of the Sacrifice* was typical of Faith in God, through a Mediator, and his atoning Sacrifice.

Or we may take both these Rites as typical of Faith in God, through the expiatory and cleansing Virtue of the Mediator's Sacrifice. And I shall suggest three Things to strengthen this Exposition. First, that this Exposition is most agreeable to the Scope of the inspired Writer, who was about to treat of this Sacrifice of Christ, and its expiatory Virtue, as the Antitype of the legal Purifications and Sacrifices, (as appears from the 9th Ch. of that Ep.) Secondly, because Baptisms in the Plural Number is never, that I know of, in all the Scriptures us'd concerning Christian Baptism; but is us'd in this very Epistle concerning the Jewish Washings or Purifications, Heb. ix. 10. Thirdly, because 'tis not easily conceivable how any of the other sorts of Imposition of Hands should come to be made here by the inspired Writer, a fundamental Principle of the Christian Religion. For why should the Doctrine of external Baptism, or that of Imposition of Hands, in any of the Senses fore-mention'd, be any more rank'd among fundamental Articles, than the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, of which there is not the least mention made here? But since the Bishop seems to insinuate here as if he took the Confirmation practis'd in the establish'd Church to be one of the Principles mention'd, Heb. vi. 2. I would very gladly, if he be of that Opinion, understand what Grounds he has for it. For I am prone to suspect that the Order of the Church about Confirmation, is an Abuse that needs to be reform'd. Were there nothing more in it, than a grave Bishop's praying over Children, and using this common Jewish Custom as our Saviour did, of laying his Hands on their Heads while he pray'd, I should not much quarrel with it, though why the Parish Minister's Prayers and Blessing (under whose Pastoral Care they are) should not be as significant, I know not. But I understand no good Reason, why the Bishop should be order'd to say in the Collect us'd on this Occasion, *That he lays Hands on them by the Example of the holy Apostles, to certify them by this Sign, of God's Favour and gracious Goodness towards them.* For I take the Arguments which the learned Daille has produc'd against his Romish Adversaries, in his admirable Discourse about Confirmation, to prove, *That the Apostles laid Hands on the newly baptiz'd only to communicate the extraordinary Gifts, not the ordinary sanctifying Influences of the holy Spirit, to be unanswerable.* How come our Bishops then to lay Hands on Children after their Example, when they do not pretend to any such Power of communicating those extraordinary Gifts as the Apostles had? Nay, what divine Warrant have they to certify Children by this Sign of God's Favour and gracious Goodness towards them? What Promise can they produce of God's annexing his Favour to this Sign? If they can produce such a Promise, here is a New Sacrament of divine Institution in the Christian Church, besides Baptism and the Lord's Supper. If they can produce none, here seems to be a new human Sacrament. For according to the Definition of the Church Catechism, *Here is an outward visible Sign, viz. The Imposition of Hands; 'tis a sign of spiritual Grace, no less than God's Favour and gracious Goodness: The Sign is made a means of conferring it, because those that use it, profess to do it in Imitation of the holy Apostles, who did certainly by their Imposition of Hands communicate the holy Spirit; and 'tis expressly made by the Collect a Pledge to assure them of it.*

Here wants nothing then but Christ's Institution, which if it be not produc'd, here is in the proper Sense of the Word, a sinful Invention of Men in the Worship of God. And we shall have the greater Reason to be jealous of it, if our Author advance the Doctrine of it, into an Essential Article of our Religion. However we may hence perceive that 'twas not in vain, that the Church Catechism put so wary an Answer into the Childrens Mouths, when that Question is propos'd, *How many Sacraments are there?* Answ. *Two only as generally necessary to Salvation, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper.* But if Confirmation be a Sacrament of divine Institution at all, I know not why it should not be

as necessary to Salvation as either of the other; If it be not, why is it retain'd? I know indeed there is a sort of Confirmation, which those excellent Divines Mr. Hammer and Mr. Baxter plead for, i. e. They would have adult Persons oblig'd publickly to own their Consent to the Baptismal Covenant, in order to their Admission to the Lord's Supper, but then they would have this done at such Years, when they are capable of professing an understanding, serious and credible Consent to it. But this can no way excuse the common Practice of the Establish'd Church, in admitting Children to it, as soon as they can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, tho' no such understanding Consent to their Baptismal Engagements can be expected from them. For this is no better than perverting a most useful Practice (and agreeable to the general Rules of Scripture) into an empty Formality, or rather a solemn Trifling and Mockery.

Having dispatch'd the First, I come to consider the Bishop's

II. Charge against the Practice of Dissenters, which I shall deliver in his own Words, "But the most sad and deplorable Defect of your Performance of this Duty, is your casting out the Reading of the Word of God from most of your publick Assemblies, directly contrary to God's Institution and Ordinance for the Instruction of his Church; insomuch that in many of your Meetings, setting aside a Verse or two for a Text or a Quotation, at the Discretion of the Teacher, the Voice of God is never publickly heard among them. This is matter of Fact, and undeniable. And in all the Meetings of the North of Ireland in a whole Year, perhaps there is not so much Scripture read, as in one Day in our Church, by the strictest Enquiry I could make, &c. Sure 'tis a sad Thing, that a Man may go to most Meetings many Years, and never hear one entire Chapter read in them.

Answ. 'Tis really deplorable, that some Men, when they write for a Party, make so little Conscience of Truth, as to offer the most barefac'd Untruths, for undeniable Matters of Fact. And I am sorry that the Bishop should be so unfortunate in his Enquiries, as to meet with no better Informers, than such as have so grossly impos'd upon his Credulity, in the Accounts they have given him of the Practice of Dissenters. And therefore to ease him of these sad Thoughts that he seems possess'd with on this Occasion, I must relate Matters of Fact more truly to him, viz. That 'tis the general Practice of the Ministers in the North of Ireland, for about three Quarters of the Year, (for in most Meetings the Winter Quarter is only excepted) to read every Morning an intire Portion of Scripture, (usually a whole Chapter, or at least so much of one as they can go through with, in an Exposition of half an Hours length). And upon the best Enquiry I can make, he will find very few Meetings, if any at all, that vary from this Practice. What Apology then can he make, not only for his Charging them with casting out the Reading of the Scriptures, but for his telling us, *that perhaps there is not so much Scripture read in all the Meetings in the North of Ireland in a Year, as in one Day in the Establish'd Church.* Let us suppose there are 40 Meetings in the North of Ireland, and let us suppose in each Meeting half a Chapter read every Lord's Day, for three Quarters of the Year; (and this is the least that is really read, for they more commonly read a whole Chapter) yet by this Computation, there will be near 800 Chapters read in those Meetings in a Year; and will his Lordship persuade us, that there is as much read in one Day in the Church? If he mean that there is as much read in one Day in all the Parish-Churches in the North, there's nothing

nothing like Truth in his Assertion. If he mean there is as much read every Day in each *Parish-Church*, (as his Words seem to import) what he asserts is so ridiculous, that one would think, if he had no regard to Truth, yet he should have some to common Sense, in his Accusations. Nay, I must add, that I look upon his Lordship's Charge as so unjust, that if we take the Scriptures to be read when-ever they are *Verbatim* recited to the People, and compute all the parallel Passages of Scripture, that occur in their *Expositions*, and in their *Sermons*, (in both which the Non-conformist Ministers in general, and particularly those in the North of Ireland, never us'd to be sparing in the Use of their *Concordances*.) I see little reason to doubt but there is as much of the Scriptures read, or as much of the inspired Word of God propos'd for the Instruction of the People in each Meeting, as there is in each *Parish-Church*. And in the former 'tis always read with this Advantage, that whatever is read, is expounded too, in order to the Peoples being more fully instructed in it. And if this be a just Account of matter of Fact, I hope his Lordship will think himself oblig'd in Honour and Conscience to disabuse his Readers, by retracting so gross a Slander as this, of our casting out the Reading of the Scriptures, and justling the Word of God out of our solemn Meetings, so that his Voice is seldom publicly heard in them.

For if there be any Difference between us, and the Establish'd Church in this Point, it lies in this, *Whether the Reading a larger entire Portion without any Explication* (or, as he speaks, without Cover or Gloss) or a shorter entire Portion of it, with an Explication chiefly drawn from parallel Passages of Scripture, that give light to that which is read, be more conducive to the Instruction and Edification of the People? And here the Dissenters are ready to joyn Issue with him. For as to this Debate, we may justly appeal to all sober and unprejudic'd Persons. 'Tis certain their way of Reading the Scriptures without any *Exposition* of them, is far the *easiest*; and he need not take any great Pains to recommend it to the Clergy, who are not likely to be fond of this human Invention of lecturing on them. But if the other way of Reading them (*viz.* with a brief Explication) be not more instructive and edifying to the People, 'tis because the Scriptures are best understood by the People, without any Help from their Teachers. And if so, why did our Saviour appoint any publick Teachers in his Church at all? If there be such a Plainness in the Scriptures as needs little Explication to ordinary Hearers, if they apply themselves better than any Man can do, (as his Lordship insinuates when he seems to touch on this Debate, pag. 94.) Why should such Teachers undertake so needless a Task? Why should they spoil the Plainness and Efficacy of the Scriptures, with their useless Endeavours to explain them to the Understandings, and urge them on the Consciences of their People? Nay, if the bare Reading the Scriptures be most edifying, meer Readers are far preferable to the best Teachers, and a good pair of Eyes and Lungs, will enable the most ignorant Curate to contribute as much to the Instruction and Salvation of the People, by the Exercise of those natural Talents, as the most judicious Divine can by his laborious Endeavours to explain and apply the Scripture, and by the Exercise of those Gifts, which are the Product of the divine Blessing on his unwearied Study of those sacred Writings. And if his Lordship can persuade us of the Truth of this, we shall save a great deal of our Money that we lay out in buying, and our Pains in reading such useless Things as Commentaries on the Bible. But sure when our Protestant Divines assert the Scriptures to be plain in all Things necessary to Salvation, (as he tells us, pag. 94.) they do not mean so plain, as to exclude our Diligence in comparing one Part of Scripture with another, or the Help of Teachers to direct and assist us therein. Much less do they suppose their Help unnecessary to our growing in divine Knowledge, and going on to Perfection in it.

'Tis indeed true that there are some few Meetings (tho' perhaps not five in this whole Kingdom) in which there is rarely any entire Portion of Scripture read. And yet even these the Bishop does unjustly charge with banishing the Reading of the Word of God, since they retain that most useful way of Reading it, (*viz.* the Reading many parallel Texts, that illustrate the same Truth or Duty) of which we have the most frequent Examples in the New Testament. And indeed there are few Sermons of Dissenters, in which there is not as much of the Scriptures recited to the People, as if put together, would make up two or three Chapters. But I confess I take the Omission of this other way of Reading, (*viz.* an entire Portion at once) to be a Defect which I wish reform'd in those few. Nay, when the Shortness of the Days in the Winter Quarter leaves no room for *Exposition*, I could wish the Reading an entire Portion were still more generally continued, as 'tis done in some Congregations; in that to which I belong, both are continued throughout the whole Year. The Bishop may indeed justly charge us with falling short of Reading so much as the *Directory* recommends, but he will find it hard to prove that we fall short of what any Command of God to the Christian Church obliges us to. And I do impartially think there are no Christian Assemblies whatever, wherein more of the Voice of God in his Word is heard by the People, and more unwearied Diligence us'd, to bring them to the Understanding of what he has there reveal'd.

Since then I have rectify'd his Lordship's Mistake in Matter of Fact, I hope he may easily see how little we are concern'd in the Reasons he brings to condemn what he so falsely accuses us of, *viz.* our general casting out the Reading of the Scriptures, or in the Answers he gives to such Excuses, as he pretends are alledg'd to justify it.

He tells us indeed, that he has found such Pretextes to justify it, but he was wiser than to produce his Authors for them. As if the Publick were concern'd in all the Follies he can pick up in his Conversation with ignorant People. And no wonder when he meets with so weak Opponents, that he can easily triumph over them, or rather that he can answer the Arguments he frames to himself. For as I have shew'd him, the generality of the Dissenters need no Apology for not reading the Scriptures; whatever others may do for laying aside the Exposition of what is read, to whose Consideration I would recommend the excellent Words of St. Austin, on John i. where speaking of the Scripture, he saith, *Quare legitur si filebitur? aut quare auditur, si non exponitur?* and those of St. Bernard, Temp. 55. *Non tradit mater parvulo mactem integram sed frangit eam & nucleum porrigit.* But yet there are several Passages in his Discourse on this Head, from pag. 84, to p. 103. too gross to pass without some Remark on them.

Page 85. He bids us, "Remember of whom 'tis said, Mark vii. 6. *This People honours me with their Lips, but their Heart is far from me.* While you thus juggle out the Word of God out of your solemn Meeting, to make room for your own Sermons, I beseech you to consider whether this be not laying aside the Commandments of God, for Men's Inventions, unless you will call your Sermons (as some Quakers are said to do) as much the Word of God as the Bible.

Answer, Does his Lordship indeed imagine, that a Sermon, which chiefly consists of several parallel Passages of the Word of God compar'd together, and recited in that Order, as may illustrate or apply each other, justles out the Word of God? Or does a Lecture, which is an entire Portion of Scripture, read and explain'd, justle it out? Is the Word of God excluded, by being explain'd and applied when 'tis read? Or do those less honour the Word of God in their Hearts, who desire to hear it expounded and applied, than those that are content to have it read without any such additional Help, to understand

derstand it, and profit by it? May we not as wisely tell our Author, that he has *justled out this Text* by Paraphrasing it, especially when he has done it so untowardly, and so little agreeably to the Design of our blessed Saviour? Nay, how comes he here to call Sermons the *Inventions of Men*? Does he think that God has not as expressly enjoyn'd *Teaching and Exhortation*, as *Reading the Scriptures* to Christian Pastors? Nay, of the two more expressly, there being far more numerous and plain Passages for the former than for the latter, as distinguish'd from the former? How comes he then to make that a *human Invention*, which he owns has scriptural Example to warrant it, pag. 75. nay, for which I have produc'd him plain Precepts too? Nay, how comes he to assign us so wonderful a Reason, why we must own Sermons to be Men's *Inventions*, viz. that otherwise we must call them (as some Quakers are said to do) as much the Word of God as the Bible? Does he indeed espouse that forrish Opinion of the Quakers, who account every Thing in the Worship of God a *human Invention*, that is perform'd in the Exercise of our own rational Faculties, and requires our Study and Meditation in the Composure of it? If he do, I am afraid he must abandon the *Reading of the Scriptures* as an *human Invention* too, because that requires the use of our Eyes, and some small use of our Understandings too to read right? Nay, he must on the same Account call all the *Collects* in the Liturgy *human Inventions* (as the Quakers do) because he cannot pretend them to be as much divinely Inspir'd as the Prayers recorded in the Bible. And does he expect that we should regard such uncharitable Censures, as are founded on such wild and confus'd Notions as these are, any more than we do the senseless Clamours of the Quakers themselves, who at least in this Matter speak more consistently with themselves, than his Lordship does when he talks of *human Inventions*?

His Lordship tells us, pag. 88. *Many of our common People are Strangers to the History of the Bible, and the first Principles of Christianity.*

Answer, Either he means they are more so, in proportion to those that are Members of the *Establish'd Church*, or he does not; if not, to what purpose does he upbraid the *Dissenters* with it? If he does, I would desire him to consult his Credit a little better than by obtruding so notorious Untruths upon the World. 'Tis impossible to make exact Computations of this kind; but I doubt not, that if he takes a thousand Families of each Communion, he will find that for one of the *Conforming Laity*, that reads the Scripture daily in their Families, there are ten or more of the *Dissenters*. I am credibly inform'd by such as live in the North, that most Families of *Dissenters* read the Scriptures daily, and especially on the Lord's-day, both before they come to the publick Worship and after; and 'tis partly on that Account that the Ministers lay down their Expository Lectures in the depth of Winter. Whereas since comparatively so few *Conforming Families* have the Scriptures read in them, there may be perhaps the greater necessity for the Reading a larger entire Portion of them in the Parish Churches. I may say the same as to the other Branch of the Accusation, for the Account given before of the Care of their Ministers to catechize every particular Person in their Parishes, renders it absolutely incredible that their People should be greater Strangers to the *first Principles of Christianity*, than others, on whom no such particular Pains are bestow'd.

The Bishop tells us, pag. 95. "Reading a Verse or two, and trusting to the Minister's Application, without the Peoples being acquainted with the whole Body of Scripture, does put Christians too much in the Power of their Teachers, &c. This is the very Artifice whereby the Romish Priests keep their People in Ignorance; and your Teachers using the same Method, seems too like a Design on their Hearers, and tempts the World to suspect that they are afraid of the naked Simplicity of the Scriptures,

"since they dare not trust the People with hearing them publickly read, except they add their own Glosses on them.

Answer. Has his Lordship any just Ground for this invidious Comparison? Do the *Romish Priests*, when they preach, put Bibles into their Peoples Hands? Do they read it to them in their Mother Tongue? Do they urge their People to bring Bibles with them; and like the noble Bereans, to examine all they deliver, and not to take Things on trust from their Teachers, without trying what they hear by that infallible Test? And yet he knows this is the *Dissenters Practice*, to whose Meetings most of their People bring Bibles; whereas few comparatively bring them to the publick Churches, unless it be that small part of them which the Common-Prayer-Book contains. Nay, do not those rather imitate the Romish Priests, who though they lock not up the Scriptures in an unknown Tongue, yet never open them when they read them by a judicious Exposition? Or does he think bare reading the Scriptures, without ever comparing them, will best acquaint the People with the Body of them? Or does he think the People are in greatest danger of being seduc'd, when the Scriptures are explain'd as well as read to them, and that they are then likeliest to take up the right Sense of them when they have no Interpreter to guide them? Were the Apostles afraid of the naked Simplicity of the Scriptures, because they took so much Pains to add their own Glosses on them? Or does he think that meer Readers have done more to recover Christianity to its primitive Simplicity and Purity, and to reclaim the World from the Delusions of Popery, than the most laborious Expositors? Why then do we not throw away all our Commentaries on the Bible? Why dare not his Lordship, in this Discourse, trust us with the naked Simplicity of the Scriptures he quotes in it, without adding his own Glosses on them? Or will he own this for a just Temptation to suspect that he has some Design upon his Readers?

For the 5th Excuse, p. 96. viz. *That the Word of God, that dead Letter, is a dull formal Thing, without Spirit or Life, where it is not applied, &c.* I wonder what Dissenter suggested it to his Lordship; for 'tis a very dull Pretence, and yet I do not see that the main thing he insists on in his Answer, does vary much from the Nature of the Objection. For not to insist on his still calling that a *human Invention*, which is undoubtedly of *Divine Appointment*, (and by his own Confession has the Warrant of Scriptural Example, p. 75) If there be any thing to the purpose against the *Dissenters Practice* in his third and fourth Consideration, it must be founded on this Supposition, *That 'tis a great Character of a Spiritual Man to love to hear the Scriptures read without any Exposition or Application; but of a Carnal Man, to delight more in Scripture read and expounded too, than in the Scripture barely read.* For so he applies that noted Passage of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 13. And thence he reproaches the *Dissenters* as (notwithstanding all their Pretences to a more than ordinary Spirituality and Reformation) little advanc'd above the natural Man that neither receives nor relishes the Things of God, at least not as they ought.

Answer. If any thing could put us out of Conceit with Expositions of the Scripture, it would be such scurvy and abusive ones as this, which his Lordship here offers. And I do not believe there is any Dissenter but would delight in the perusal of those excellent Words of the Apostle, while he nauseates such an insipid Gloss on them. For must it not argue a strange Confusion in a Man's Notions of Things, to suppose those Things so opposite and inconsistent, that so admirably accord together? Does the Bishop think the Style of the Scriptures is as familiar to ordinary Readers now, as it was to those to whom the several Parts of it were first immediately directed; or that there is no Difficulty in the ordinary Parts of it that renders a brief Interpretation highly useful to the Church? And do those love or relish the Word of God less than

than others, who are not contented with the bare reading of it, without desiring all the Help their Teachers can give them for their right understanding and applying it? Was it an Argument of a carnal Mind in the Queen of Candace's Treasurer, that he was not satisfied with reading God's Word by the Prophet *Isaiah*, without desiring *Philip* to expound it, *Acts* viii. 27. Is it so carnal a Practice in Ministers to read Commentators on the Bible, or in the People to desire to enjoy this Fruit of their Studies and Labours? Is it a carnal Temper to be most affected with the Scriptures when we most clearly discern the true Sense of them; but on the contrary, a spiritual Disposition to delight in them most when we understand them least? Or rather, does not such Discourse as this look too like a shrewd Design to gratify the carnal and lazy Humour of the Clergy, by excusing them from the Pains they should take in studying the Scriptures, in order to the edifying their People by a judicious Interpretation of them? As if our Author would have them all transformed into such as the 49th Canon of the Church of England refers to, who, though benefic'd, yet being unlicenc'd to Preach, are not to take on them to expound in their own Cure or elsewhere, any Scripture or Matter of Doctrine, and have no higher Privilege allow'd them, than that they study to read aptly and plainly (without glossing or adding) the Homilies already set forth, &c. (And by the way, I perceive the Compilers of those Canons were great Strangers to our Author's Notion of Preaching.)

But after he has examin'd the Pretences he feigns the Dissenters to make, (for 'tis evident they never brought any for not reading the Scriptures) he ventures to give us what he himself takes to be the true Reason of their supposed Neglect of it, which he draws from 2 Tim. iv. 3. of which he gives us an admirable Interpretation. The Apostles Words are, *For the Time will come when they will not endure sound Doctrine; but after their own Lusts shall heap up to themselves Teachers, having itching Ears.* "Now an itching Ear (saith the Bishop) is one that loves Novelty and Variety; because therefore our Church gives the People little that is new in her Prayers, or reading the Scriptures, but retains a Form of sound Words in the one, and the plain Word of God in the other. Hence it is, that some People cannot endure our Service, but heap up to themselves Teachers, that instead of Prayers and Praises of God's immediate Appointment, will gratify them every meeting with a new Prayer, without troubling them with such Prayers and Sermons as they think old, which are incomparably better; only the itching Ears of the People, as the Apostle foretold, are pleased with the Novelty and Variety of the one, and disgusted at the Repetition of the other, as the Israelites did that of Angels Food, *Psal.* lxxviii. 25. *Numb.* xxi. 5.

Ans. If we be so fond of Novelty and Variety as the Bishop supposes, he has been very studious to gratify our Humour in this new Paraphrase, of which I dare say no Expositor before him ever dream'd. For whereas the Apostle is plainly speaking of such as could not endure sound Doctrine, and therefore sought out Teachers that would gratify them with some new Doctrines, more grateful to their Lusts or Fancies, and entertain their itching Ears (as the Apostle explains himself in the next Verse) with Fables instead of Truth. The Bishop does with profound Judgment apply it to those that desire to have the Scriptures clearly explain'd to their Understandings, and impartially applied to their Consciences. As if the Apostle had here quarrell'd with the People for desiring Sermons, when he had in the very Verse before urg'd Timothy to preach the Word, to be instant in Season and out of Season, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long Suffering and Doctrine. And if we should grant the Bishop for once (tho' as I have shew'd him before there is no reason for it) that the Apostle by preaching the Word understood Reading it, yet according to himself,

rebuking, reproofing, and exhorting with all Long-suffering and Doctrine, must imply an Exposition and Application of what was read. So that the Bishop has unhappily expounded and applied this Passage of the Apostle, in direct Opposition to the very Scope of it, which was to urge Timothy to constant Preaching in our, and the common Sense of the Word, as the most effectual Means to cure People of that itching Desire after such new Doctrines and Fables, as would please their wanton Fancies, or vitious Inclinations. Whereas the Bishop imagines that the Apostle here condemns the People's Fondness for such Sermons, as the very Fault they were to be cur'd of, and so strangely mistakes the Remedy for the Disease. I confess how much soever our Ears may itch after Novelty and Variety, yet he could not reasonably expect they would be charm'd with Contradictions, which instead of tickling them, grate upon them. And truly if our Author gives us no better Exposition and Application of Scripture than this, we'll be much rather satisfy'd he should only Read it to us, for then there would be less danger of Misunderstanding it. But I wonder why his Lordship should tell us of Prayers and Praises of God's Appointment? Does he not know the Collects of the Liturgy are as much of human Composure as our free Prayers? Why then should they be any more compar'd to Angels Food than ours, which are rather more agreeable to scriptural Precept and Pattern? Nay, if the Scriptures read be Sermons of God's Appointment, they are not the less so, but the more for being explain'd and applied, as appears from this very Direction of the Apostle to Timothy, to preach the Word, to be instant in Season, &c. to rebuke, &c.

I shall conclude what relates to our Practice, with the concluding Words of this Chapter of the Bishop's.

"But as Aaron to please the Israelites made the Golden Calf, so some Ministers, tho' contrary to their own Principles, have changed God's Institution to please their People, and left out the constant regular reading God's Word, because their People grew weary of it. But let all Men judge who be have themselves most like the faithful Ministers of Christ, we who keep to the reading God's Word according to his own Institution, whether the People will hear or forbear, or they that comply with them, and lay aside God's Command, to oblige and please them.

Ans. I have already consider'd the Injustice of this Charge. And only add, that those more fully comply with God's Command, who Read and Expound, than those that only Read. And I am sure as the Dissenters Practice herein costs them more Labour, so, if their People be not more edify'd by it, it must be their own Fault. With what Justice then, or indeed with what Sense does his Lordship compare the Dissenters Practice herein, to Aaron's making a Golden Calf to please the People? Are indeed Lectures and Sermons such dangerous Idols, or is Hearing the Scriptures expounded when read, so pernicious a Piece of Idolatry? Is not the Interpretation of Scripture, as truly a divine Ordinance as the Reading of it? And will any Man that considers what he saith, set the one in Opposition to the other? Or rather would not the confining Ministers to the Reading the Scriptures only, tend to debase them into such a sort of Priests as Jeroboam made of the meanest of the People, when he set up the Worship of the Golden Calves, 1 Kings xii. 31. I mean such Priests as need little other Furniture for their publick Ministrations, than their Book and their Eyes, and are under no Obligation to study the Scriptures, because they are under no necessity of Interpreting them to the People? And what a sort of Clergy are to be found in Russia, Muscovy, and other Parts of the Christian World, where they are turn'd into meer Readers, we have so sad Accounts from History, that if his Lordship intend to turn his Clergy into such, by thus discouraging Sermons as an human Invention, I should not blame the dissenting Ministers for being loth to come under his Conduct and Regulation.

I shall conclude this Chapter with observing in reference to the Practice of the *Establish'd Church*.

1. That I suppose the Bishop will not pretend any Warrant from *Precept* or *Example* in the *Holy Scriptures*, for the Reading such uninspired Books as those of the *Apocrypha*, together with the Canonical Writings of the *Old* and *New Testament*, in the time of publick Worship: And therefore I hope he will censure this himself, for one of his *human Inventions*. Especially since himself owns there is a tenth Part of the *Old Testament* left out of the Churches Order for the Reading it, sure to exclude that; and introduce in the stead of it, the Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, *Tobit* and his *Dog*, &c. looks very like the preferring meer human Composites (some of which contain foolish and incredible Relations) before that Part of God's living Oracles. Not to mention how little Care is taken to distinguish them, when read, from the Canonical Scriptures, and prevent the common People's mistaking them for such. But however his Lordship's Prudence is commendable in taking no notice of this Matter, because those *Accusations* are best past over in silence, against which there is no *Defence*.

2. That the common Practice of the *Conforming* Clergy in the Country, of having only one *Sermon* on the Lord's Day, nay, in the far greatest Number of *Parishes*, of having no publick Worship at all one Part of the Day, is a *Defect* that needs some effectual Reformation.

3. That the *Dissenters* seem to have better Reason to blame the *Conforming* Clergy, for casting out the *Exposition* of the Scripture when read, (as that Exercise is now distinguish'd from *Sermons*) than the Bishop to reproach them for not reading the Scripture.

Remarks on the CHAPTER concerning Bodily WORSHIP.

And here First, As to the *Directions* of the *Holy Scriptures* concerning it.

1. I Do readily agree with the Bishop, That *bodily Worship* is commanded in the *Scriptures*.

Not that I suppose it (as his Lordship does) to be a distinct Part of Worship from *Prayer*, *Praise*, &c. but only a suitable *Adjunct* of it (of which more afterwards).

2. I do agree with him also, that the most common Postures of *bodily Worship* mention'd in Scripture, as us'd in *Thanksgivings* and *Prayers*, were *Prostration*, *Kneeling* or *Standing*. As to this last of *Standing*, the Bishop takes notice of it as us'd in *Thanksgivings*, and pag. 143. owns it to have been a *Scripture-posture* in *Prayer* too. But since he gives no Instances of it, as us'd in *Prayer*, I shall take leave to subjoin a few, and the rather because this is the *Posture* the *Dissenters* most generally use in this Duty, when publicly perform'd.

Of this *Posture* in *Prayer*, the best Expositors understand *Abraham's* standing before the Lord, Gen. xviii. 22. Thus the *Levites* stood up in that *Confession* and *Prayer* they made, Neh. ix. 4, &c. So to cry to God, and stand up, are us'd as synonymous Expressions, Job xxx. 20. And Jer. xv. 1. *Moses* and *Samuel's* standing before God, is put for *praying* to him. So also, Jer. xviii. 20. And accordingly it was (as *Grotius* observes on Matt. vi. 5.) the most universally receiv'd Custom among the *Jews* to pray standing. Thus, Luke xviii. 10, 11. Two Men went up to the Temple to pray, and Standing is the religious Posture us'd by each of them. So Mark xi. 25. When ye stand praying, forgive, &c. Hence *Prayers* were not only call'd *Stations* by the *Jews*, (among whom it was a celebrated saying, That without *Stations*, the World could not subsist) but also by some of

the most ancient *Christian* Writers. For the *Christian* not only imitated the *Jews* in this religious Posture; but because they accounted their Lord's Days their joyful Festivals, they forbade kneeling on them, and requir'd standing.

3. As *Prayer* and *Thanksgiving* are such Acts of Worship wherein we immediately address our selves to God, so *Hearing* seems rather to be a mediate Act of Worship, and therefore the same Posture of Devotion seems not necessary therein, as in our direct Addresses to him. And hence we read of *Sitting*, as the Posture us'd in this part of divine Worship, Ezek. xxxiii. 31. And this is practis'd both in their Congregations and ours.

Being thus easily agreed as to the *Directions* of Scripture, it remains that we consider,

Secondly, the Application of them, In which the Bishop undertakes to represent the Principles and Practice of the *Dissenters*.

I. As to our Principles, he saith, You do not allow *bodily Adoration* to be any part of God's Worship.

Ans. If he mean that the *Dissenters* do not suppose that God is to be worship'd with our Body as well as Spirit, and that we are not oblig'd to use such external Postures and Behaviour, as may most fitly express our inward Reverence of God, and Subjection to him, nothing can be more groundless than to affirm this concerning them. But if his Lordship mean, that they do not allow *bodily Postures* of Devotion, to be in the same Sense a Part of religious Worship, as *Prayer*, *Praise*, *Hearing*, &c. are, it is true; and they think he has made a very unaccurate Enumeration of the Parts of Worship, when he has omitted *Baptism*, which is one undoubted Part of it, and made those devout Postures a Part, which are more properly an *Adjunct* of it. For they are not a distinct Duty from *Prayer* and *Praise*, &c. but relate to the manner of performing them, which should be fit to represent our profound Veneration for that glorious Majesty whom we adore. And in vain does he refer us to what he had said, pag. 105, 106, &c. for the Proof of these devout *bodily Postures*, being in this Sense a Part of Worship. For we find nothing more there, than that God requires these external Marks of our inward Reverence, when we offer up our *Prayers* or *Thanksgivings*, and has forbidden our paying them to any graven Image, that accordingly it was the Practice of holy Men, both in the *Old* and *New Testament*, to offer these Parts of Worship to God in such devout Postures; and that the Scriptures frequently call these external Postures of Devotion by the Name of *Worship*, on the Account of their being the outward Expressions, or the visible Marks and Signs of it. All which we readily grant; but if he had said any thing to the purpose, he should have prov'd, that meer bowing the Knee, or *Prostration*, &c. when there was no other part of Worship offer'd, neither *Vocal* nor *Mental*, is yet made in Scripture a part of *Worship*; which as he has not yet done, so I presume he will not in haste do it. He does indeed tell us, pag. 110. that *bodily Worship* is the most proper external Act of Adoration, that *Praying*, *Praising*, &c. are not in Scripture termed *Worship*, and that these are not immediate direct *Worship* properly so call'd, because they do not, as bending or bowing the Body, directly signify the Subjection of our Minds to God, in which inward *Worship* properly consists, and accordingly he tells us, the Words us'd for *Worship* in the *Old* and *New Testament*, signify properly and originally some *bodily Action*.

Ans. That those *bodily Actions*, which are external Marks of Reverence towards God, and Subjection to him, are call'd in Scripture *Worship*, has been already granted; but the Reason why they are call'd *Worship* in general, rather than *Prayer* and *Praise*, &c. is not because these latter are not immediate direct *Worship* properly so call'd, but because these *bodily Actions* are the external Expressions of religious Reverence and Homage, common to all these several Parts of direct and immediate Worship. For there is a more

direct Signification of our Subjection to God in our Prayers, when we expressly declare therein our Humiliation for our Sins, implore the Pardon of them, acknowledge the rightful Authority of God over us, and renew our Vows of Obedience to him, than can be suppos'd in any external Postures whatsoever. The Signification of our Homage, by Words, being more distinct, clear, and full, than by Gestures. I might say the same of those Praises, one great Part whereof consists in celebrating the sovereign Authority and Dominion of God, as well as the Perfections of his Nature. So that these Duties do more directly express the Devotion of our Minds, tho' Postures of bodily Reverence must be annex'd, because God must be glorify'd with our Bodies as well as Spirits.

But he tells us, *The Directory not only leaves out, but excludes bodily Worship, by requiring all to take their Seats, or Places, without Adoration or bowing themselves towards one Place or other.*

And this the Bishop severely decries, as a Rule directly opposite to natural Reason, as well as to the Commands of God, and the Examples of his Saints.

Ans. If the Bishop had duly consider'd the true Occasion of this Caution in the Directory, he would not have put us under a Necessity of reviving the Memory of those Faults that seem'd buried with their Authors, by straining those Expressions of the Directory beyond the true Intent of them. For 'tis well known this Caution was levelled against the manifold Bowings and Cringings which Archbishop Laud had endeavour'd to introduce into the Church; who, upon the vain Conceit of some peculiar Presence of Christ at the Altar, zealously propagated the Custom of bowing towards it; and he having a great Influence on the Disposal of Church-Preferments, on the Account of his eminent Station, and his great Interest at Court, all the aspiring Clergy were ready to strive who should out-do each other in that sort of Bowing, which was then the surest way to rise. The Parliament was greatly offended with these and the like Innovations, and especially at the Rigour wherewith he had endeavour'd to impose them on the inferior Clergy. Now the Westminster-Assembly (compos'd almost entirely of such as were Conformists) being call'd to reform such Abuses, do, in order to the effectual Banishing these Innovations, give this Rule, by which they intend no more, than that no such external Adoration or Bowing should be used by the People as they entred into the Church, because they suppos'd such external Adoration should only be us'd when some Part of publick Worship was performed. But that they did by no means intend to forbid such external Adoration when any Part of publick Worship was offer'd, that requir'd such Marks of our religious Reverence and Homage, is hence evident, viz. from their requiring such as come in after publick Worship is begun, reverently to compose themselves to joyn with the Assembly in that Ordinance of God that is then in hand, which can import no less than the putting themselves into a bodily Posture most suitable to that Ordinance, and expressive of due Veneration towards God in it. 'Tis true, indeed, as to the particular Posture, they leave the People to that Liberty the Scripture has done, which, tho' it recommend several, yet does not confine us to any one, to the Exclusion of the rest. So that his Lordship has palpably misrepresented this Rule of the Directory (on that Occasion too needful and justifiable) that he might have some Pretence to find fault with it. For as I have here explain'd it to him, he may easily see, 'tis neither contrary to Reason nor Scripture, but only to a superstitious Custom of Archbishop Laud's Invention, or at least, to one authoriz'd and impos'd by him.

II. Since then the Bishop has no just Quarrel with the Principles, let us consider what he has to say against the Practice of Dissenters. And here he tells us,

1. At your Thanksgivings and Praises you neither bow nor stand up.

Ans. If he mean this of our singing of Psalms, he knows our Posture is the same herein with that us'd in the Parish Churches, and liable to no other Objections than theirs. If he intends it of those Thanksgivings we offer up together with our Prayers, what he here asserts, if he speak of the Dissenters in general, is notoriously untrue, and contrary to plain Matter of Fact, as I shall have occasion to observe farther in his Charge that refers to our Prayers.

2. He charges us with casting out of our Worship the Confessions of Faith themselves, which, he tells us, are a material Part of the Service of God, for which he cites Rom. x.

9. If thou shalt confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine Heart that God has raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved, pag. 129.

Ans. Why does his Lordship think the bare Citation of that Text a sufficient Proof of what he here infers from it, when he knows well enough, that these Words are, by the Stream of all judicious Commentators, understood concerning the external Profession of the Christian Religion in general, (which we especially make in our Attendance on all the publick Institutions of our Lord) but by none that I can meet with besides himself, concerning the Repetition of a Summary of the Christian Faith in our publick Assemblies. If they were to be understood of the latter, 'tis but a very short Summary we are here requir'd to repeat, and such an one as we never perform any Part of divine Worship without repeating much more. But for the Repeating that particular Summary, commonly call'd the Apostles Creed, or any other later one of human Composition, there's not one Word in this Place, nor indeed any Precept or Example in Scripture. So that the Rehearsal of such a Confession of Faith, is, according to the Bishop's Notion, a meer human Invention. And yet I am far from condemning the Practice of the Establish'd Church in rehearsing the Apostles Creed; and have known it retain'd in some Meetings of Dissenters. Only I see no reason why those that use it, should censure those that do not, when there is no clear Warrant for it. And the Bishop should, of all Men, be least forward to do it.

3. He accuses the Dissenters of sitting generally at their publick Prayers.

Ans. If he speak here of the Generality of Dissenters in England, and in this Part of Ireland, what he saith is notoriously untrue. I know few or none that do it, except such as pretend bodily Infirmary, in which Case I suppose the Bishop himself will allow it as much as to a sick Man to pray in his Bed. If he design this Charge only in reference to the Dissenters in the North of Ireland, where alone there seems to be any Ground given for it, I shall first represent to him what Account the Ministers there give of this Matter, and then add my own Thoughts in reference to it. Now they not only affirm, that the better Sort of their Hearers do generally stand, but that they frequently in their Discourses to them, recommend that or kneeling, as the fittest Posture, where bodily Infirmary does not hinder it. But they dare not be too peremptory in their censuring those that pretend such Infirmary, since many of their People travel three or four Miles to their Meetings, and may therefore be reasonably suppos'd to be incapable of long Standing, without danger of discomposing their Minds for the Worship of God. And for Kneeling, the Places where they meet are usually too much crowded to admit of their using that Posture. And there are some of them think their Sitting in such Cases warranted by scriptural Pattern, particularly the Instance of David's sitting before the Lord, 2 Sam. vii. 18. As to this Account, I shall only briefly subjoyn, that I am truly sorry there are so many that by sitting in publick Prayer, have given some Occasion for this Censure of the Bishop's. For tho' I doubt not, real Infirmary is a just Excuse for not standing; yet 'tis too probable, that too many under that Notion too far consult their Ease; for stand-

ing is generally us'd by Dissenters in England, even in those Places where many of the People go as far to their Meetings. And for that Passage alledg'd, 2 Sam. vii. 8. I do truly think there is some Weight in what the Bishop has offer'd, to render it probable that the Word should be translated, *David stay'd, or abode*. And certainly so many plainer and more numerous Examples of *Kneeling* or *Standing* are to be rather imitated by us, than this doubtful one of *Sitting*. So that for such as use this slothful Posture without real Necessity, to indulge their Ease, I cannot excuse them from *Irreverence* in it. And hope they will not persist in a Practice so offensive to their Brethren elsewhere, and dislik'd by their Pastors. And methinks they should be sensible of the Indecency of it, if they consider, that they themselves universally *kneel* or *stand* in Closet and Family Prayer, and 'tis unaccountable why they should not as universally do it in publick Prayer, where their bodily Strength will permit. But then I must add, as to his Lordship, that as he has no reason to reproach the Dissenters in general with this unseemly Practice, so, since the Ministers in the North have so faithfully declar'd to their People their Dislike of it, they can no more justly be upbraided with it, than the Conforming Clergy with all that *Toying* and *Trifling*, and that more open *Irreverence* that is too common in many Parish-Churches, and much more in the Cathedrals.

4. His next Charge is, *At the Sacrament you sit, not only whilst you receive, but at the Thanksgiving and Blessing before*. And this Posture (he saith) the Directory imposes on the Communicants, tho' contrary to Scripture, in respect of that Part which concerns the Prayer and Thanksgiving, and without any Command, or so much as Example from Scripture, in respect of the Sitting at the time of receiving.

Ans. That the Dissenters generally sit at the Thanksgiving or Blessing before Receiving (or at the Thanksgiving after it) is again notoriously contrary to Matter of Fact. If this be practis'd by some in the North of Ireland, they are singular in it; nor shall I undertake to excuse them in it. For tho' they alledge for it not only the Example of the Multitudes sitting at a common Meal when our Saviour gave Thanks, Matt. xiv. 19. but that there's no Evidence of the Apostles discontinuing their Table-Gesture, when Christ pass'd from the Celebration of the Passover, to the Celebration of his Holy Supper (for the Text saith, *As they were eating, Jesus took the Bread, and blessed it, &c.* without any mention of a Change of their Posture); yet, because this is but a doubtful Matter, I think it far safer to use the Postures of Reverence, more generally recommended to us in our Thanksgivings and Prayers by the Scripture, than to venture to omit them on so uncertain a Ground.

But I wonder why the Bishop should so positively assert, That the Directory imposes on Communicants this Posture of Sitting at the Thanksgiving and Prayer before Receiving. For I can see no Ground for it from their own Words, which I perceive his Lordship was too wise to quote, and I shall therefore cite for him, and leave the Judgment to every indifferent Reader.

After this Exhortation, Warning and Invitation, the Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the Minister is to begin the Action with sanctifying and blessing the Elements of Bread and Wine set before him; the Bread in comely and convenient Vessels, &c. Now 'tis plain, that these Words, about ordering the Table, come in as a Parenthesis, and can import no more, than that the Table must be so placed, that the Communicants may sit at, or about it; but that they must actually sit during the Blessing or Thanksgiving, is no way affirm'd, much less impos'd; and I am sure the quite contrary is generally practis'd.

But for Sitting during the time of Receiving the Elements, that indeed is suppos'd, tho' not enjoyn'd by the Directory, and is generally practis'd by Dissenters.

I hope his Lordship does not think our Practice herein unlawful, since he declares, pag. 118. 'Tis not

his Intention to assert that the Scriptures require Kneeling at the Lord's Supper. If then the Debate be, whether our Posture or theirs comes nearer to the Practice of the Apostles, and is more suitable to the Nature of the Institution it self, I think the Dissenters will have the Advantage. And since his Lordship has stated the Controversy thus, I shall carefully examine what he has here offer'd in favour of their Practice, as preferable to ours.

He tells us, pag. 118, 119. "That the Altar was of old the Lord's Table, from whence his Attendants were fed, from Mal. i. 7. That on this Account the Israelites came to the Altar, and worshiped before it, as being God's Table, on which the Sacrifice was presented as his Meat, of which they were permitted to partake; from 2 Chron. vi. 12; 13. and in 1 Kings viii. 54. 2 Kings xviii. 22. That the Communion-Table is call'd the Lord's-Table; 1 Cor. x. 21. That the Israelites partaking of the Altar, is propos'd as an Example for our partaking of the Lord's Table, 1 Cor. x. 16, 18. That in Psal. xxii. 29. there is an Allusion to this religious eating with bodily Worship, that we must receive the Eucharist in Remembrance of Christ's Death, whom we are commanded to worship, Psal. xlv. 11. See pag. 118, 119, and 120.

Ans. His Lordship has so ill hap in his Criticisms, that he has directed us here to one of the strongest Arguments that I know of against himself. And to make this good, I must set this Account of the Jewish Sacrifices in a clearer Light, which he has treated so confusedly.

The learned Dr. Cudworth, in his excellent Treatise on the Lord's Supper as a Feast upon a Sacrifice, divides the Jewish Sacrifices into three Sorts.

1. Such as were wholly offer'd up to God, and burnt on the Altar; and these were call'd *Burnt-Offerings*.

2. Such wherein, besides something offer'd to God on the Altar, the Priests had also a Part of, and these he subdivides into the *Sin* and *Trespass-Offerings*.

3. Such wherein, besides something offer'd to God, and a Portion bestow'd on the Priests, the Owners themselves had a Share; and these were call'd *Peace-Offerings*.

Now in all Sacrifices there was a Feast upon them. For the first sort of Sacrifices, viz. *Burnt-Offerings*, had always *Peace-Offerings* annex'd. In the second Sort, tho' the Owners did not eat of it themselves, as not being perfectly reconcil'd, because of some legal Uncleaness, yet the Priests did eat of it as their Proxies. But in *Peace-Offerings* the Owners are suppos'd fully reconcil'd, and were admitted to eat of the Sacrifice themselves, as a *fœderal* Rite of Amity and Peace between God and them; for God entertain'd them as his Guests at his Table, and feasted them with his Provisions, according to the Custom of those Oriental Nations, of confirming Covenants by eating and drinking together. Now Christ's offering himself a Sacrifice on the Cross, was most directly typify'd by the *Burnt-Offering*, and the Lord's Supper is a mystical Feast upon the Memorials of that Sacrifice, in Allusion to these religious Feasts upon Sacrifices under the Law of Moses.

From hence it plainly follows, that if the Practice of the Jews, in reference to their Feasts upon the legal Sacrifices, be the fittest Pattern for ours in our Feast on the Memorials of the Sacrifice of Christ in the Lord's Supper, (as the Bishop does with very good Reason assert, when, from 1 Cor. x. 16. he tells us, *That the Israelites partaking of the Altar, is propos'd as an Example of our partaking of the Lord's-Table*, pag. 119.) then we must use the same Posture in our receiving the Lord's Supper, which they us'd in those religious Feasts upon Sacrifices, of which the Lord's Supper is the *Anti-type*. If then the Jews celebrated those Feasts in a Table-Gesture, we should use the same Gesture in our Celebration of the Lord's-Supper. The Bishop would indeed persuade us that the Jews did not, because we read of Acts of

external-Worship paid to God at the Offering up of *Sacrifices*. But 'tis plain this Argument has no Force in it, unless he could prove they continued in that *worshipping Posture* during the time of their *Eating or Feasting* on the Things that had been offer'd. But of this he has not brought us the least Shadow of Proof, as he may see, if he review his own Discourse on this Head. Nay, we do in our Celebration of the Lord's Supper, first offer up Acts of Worship to God (I mean solemn Thanksgivings and Prayers, in which we celebrate his infinite Mercy, in giving his Son to dye, as the great Propitiation for our Sins, and by Faith as it were present that Sacrifice to the Father, and implore his Pardon in Vertue of it) before we sit down to feast upon the Memorials of Christ's Sacrifice. And tho' I might here content my self with shewing the Invalidity of his Argument, yet for once to do a Work of Supererogation, I shall prove that the Jews did celebrate these religious Feasts upon Sacrifices, not in a *worshipping Posture*, but in a *Table-Gesture*, not *Kneeling*, &c. but *Sitting*.

His Lordship knows that all our Protestant Divines* plead against the Papists, that the golden Calf was worship'd by the *Israelites* no otherwise than as a visible Symbol of the true God, and with the accustomed Rites which they us'd in the Worship of him. Of which Rites we have this plain Account, *Exod. xxxii. 5, 6. And when Aaron saw it, (i. e. the golden Calf, concerning which they said, These are thy Gods, O Israel, that brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, ver. 4.) he built an Altar before it, and made Proclamation, saying, To Morrow is a Feast to the Lord, or to Jehovah. And it follows, And they rose up early in the Morning, and offer'd Burnt-Offerings, and brought Peace-Offerings, and the People sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. Where their Sitting down to eat and drink was their celebrating this religious Feast upon the Sacrifice, the Peace-Offerings being the Provisions they fed on. And accordingly when the Apostle Paul has occasion to mention this Instance of their Idolatry, he recites no more than their Sitting down to eat and drink, &c. that being a sufficient Evidence of their joyning in the Sacrifices, on which this was the religious Feast. Of such a Feast upon a Sacrifice we have a remarkable Instance given us, 1 Sam. ix. 12, 13. compar'd with Ver. 22. Ver. 12, 13. And they answered them and said, He is, behold, he is before you, make haste now, for he came to Day to the City, for there is a Sacrifice of the People to Day in the High-Place. As soon as ye come into the City, ye shall straitway find him, before he go up to the High-Place to eat; for the People will not eat till he come, because he does bless the Sacrifice, and afterwards they eat that he bidden; and Ver. 22. we read that Samuel took Saul and his Servant, and brought them into a Parlour, and made them sit in the chiefest Place among them that were bidden, which were about Thirty Persons. So that Sitting was evidently their Posture in this religious Feast upon the Sacrifice. Such a religious Feast was that mention'd, 1 Sam. xvi. 6, &c. and Sitting was again their Posture in the Celebration of it. See Isa. lvii. 7. Ezek. xxiii. 41. in both which Places, Sitting was the accustomed Rite in all those Feasts upon Sacrifices among other Nations, as well as the Jews. So Amos ii. 8. And of such Feasts on Sacrifices, see more *Exod. xxxiv. 15. Exod. xviii. 12. Psal. cvi. 28.**

And from hence we may not only infer (according to the Bishop's own Argument) that sitting at this mystical Feast on the Memorials of Christ's Sacrifice, is hereby warranted as lawful, but that 'tis most agreeable to the Nature of the Institution it self, as the Lord's Supper is, *Epulum ex oblatis*. Nay, this Posture seems hereby recommended to us, as most fit to signify our partaking of the precious Vertue and Fruits of the Sacrifice of Christ, and the Honour the blessed God puts upon us, when he admits us to sit down as Guests at

his holy Table, in Token of our being receiv'd into a State of Amity and Peace with him. And we are not (as the Bishop groundlessly supposes, pag. 120.) requir'd to offer immediate Worship to Christ, or to the Father in the Act of Receiving at all. We are indeed then requir'd to eat and drink in Remembrance of our blessed Saviour; but this rather argues, that Meditation is then our proper Business, and not Prayer or Praise; any farther than some ejaculatory Desires or Thanksgivings may be intermixt in our Meditations. But for solemn Worship, we have proper Occasion for it, both before and after this mystical Feast, and in that we do use a *worshipping Posture*. And as none that know our Principles can question our paying divine Honour to Jesus Christ as the incarnate Word, or God manifested in the Flesh, so none can reasonably imagine our celebrating this Feast upon his Sacrifice in the Posture most suitable to such religious Feasts, to be a Denial of his Divinity: And therefore we are little concern'd in the Order of the Protestant Churches of Poland, in Opposition to the Socinians, if they thought this Rite of Sitting to be of ill Signification and Original; it appears from what has been said, that they were mistaken; but as Kneeling is of a far more suspicious Original, so we are sure it has been abus'd to the vilest Idolatry.

It remains, that I consider the Bishop's Answers to the Argument for Sitting, drawn from the Practice of the Apostles when they administered the Sacrament.

As to the First, That we are not required, nor is it convenient to imitate all that Christ did; and that the Apostle Paul mentions not this Posture as any Part of what he had receiv'd from Christ concerning this Sacrament. I need only reply, That 'tis certainly safest to imitate the Example of the Apostles in such a Posture as is evidently most agreeable to the Nature of the Institution. And tho' the Apostle Paul does not expressly mention it as receiv'd from Christ, yet he sufficiently intimates so much to us, when in the foregoing Chapter he compares this Feast on Christ's Sacrifice with the religious Feasts on the Jewish ones, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, 18, &c. in which this Posture was so universally receiv'd, that there was no need of expressing it.

For his second Answer, That he has prov'd religious Eating was accompany'd with bodily Worship, and therefore if it were granted that we were oblig'd to receive this Sacrament in a Table-Posture, from the Example of our Saviour, yet it would not follow that we should not receive it kneeling, &c. pag. 123, 124.

Reply. It appears sufficiently from what has been already alledg'd, that the Bishop confounds the Worship paid when the Sacrifice was offer'd, with the Posture us'd when they came to feast upon it. And I have already produc'd him undeniable Evidence, that they celebrated their religious Feasts upon Sacrifices sitting, or in the same Posture as their other Meals, and never kneeling, or in a *worshipping Posture*; and consequently it will follow, that if we should receive it in a Table-Gesture, we must receive it sitting, and not kneeling.

For his third Answer, That our Saviour was not at a common Supper when he instituted this Sacrament, but at the Passover, which was a sacramental Eating, and had a peculiar Posture prescrib'd for it, Exodus xii. 11. and tho' some think (but without Warrant from Scripture) that the Jews did not observe this, yet 'tis own'd they observ'd another, which differ'd from the common Posture of Eating, and was accounted religious; however, 'tis spoken that our Saviour perform'd this Eating with several religious Ceremonies that were not in the first Institution. And he here instances in the Cup, mention'd, Luke xxii. 17. and therefore (he adds) if we would imitate Christ, we ought to eat the Lord's Supper in a way peculiar to it self, and different from our common Meals.

Reply. That our Saviour was celebrating the Passover when he instituted his Supper, is undoubted, and that the Passover was no common Supper, is also true.

* See Dr. Stillingfleet's Defence of his Discourse of Idolatry, Pag. 752, &c.

For (as Dr. Cadworth has, in the Discourse I mention'd before, evidently prov'd) it was a religious Feast upon a Sacrifice; but all this plainly concludes against his Lordship, because in every one of the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, there is express mention of their sitting down when they celebrated this religious Feast; Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 18. Luke xxii. 14. *ἀνακείμενοι, ἀριστούσαντες*. For the Posture prescrib'd, Exod. xii. 11. there is no express mention either of their sitting or standing, and I do not see any clear Ground those few Expositors go upon, that conclude, the Israelites were then to eat the Passover standing, because they were to have their shoes on; and even those Expositors suppose this Posture of standing to have been only us'd at that time, to signify their Haste in fleeing from Egypt to be so great, that they had not time to eat otherwise, but to have been dis-us'd afterwards, and the common Posture of other religious Feasts upon Sacrifices resum'd in the Celebration of this, viz. sitting. And whereas he tells us, That 'tis own'd the Jews observ'd a Posture in the Passover different from the common Posture of Eating, and accounted religious; I must add, that his Lordship is still unhappy in using Arguments that make against himself. I perceive he was so prudent, as not to tell us wherein this Posture us'd in eating the Passover differ'd from that us'd in their common Eating. For all that I can find concerning it, in the best Expositors, is only this. All agree that they did eat the Passover sitting, but whereas in sitting at Table, in their common Meals, they sometimes sat with their Bodies more erect and strait, and sometimes in a more easy Posture, leaning on one side: Grotius, Buxtorf, and Dr. Lightfoot tell us, the Jews did usually in their eating the Passover rather choose this more easy Posture, and (as the last adds) to signify the more fully their Freedom from that Servitude to which their Ancestors were subjected in Egypt. So that of the two, this Posture had less of external Reverence, than that sometimes us'd in their common Eating, and not more; for it was also us'd in their common Eating, when they kept State, and indulg'd most their own Ease and Pleasure. So that if the Bishop can hence draw any Argument against us, 'tis that our Posture of sitting upright has rather too much of Reverence in it, than too little. For the Cup mention'd Luke xxii. 17. I know not what it can signify to his Purpose; whether we suppose with Grotius, that 'twas usual to conclude the Passover with drinking round; or with others, admit of a Transposition of the Words: 'Tis evident our Saviour observ'd the common Posture of religious Feasts, viz. sitting; which Posture they us'd also in their common Meals, only in their religious ones they always us'd (as Grotius speaks) *sessione solida molliori & honoratiori*, the more soft and honourable way of sitting at Meat.

But his 4th, and full Answer is, "That this Argument, drawn from the Practice of Christ and his Apostles, goes on a false Supposition, that our Saviour instituted this Sacrament in the common Posture of Eating, which no wise appears in Scripture, neither can it be infer'd from any thing said or intimated by the Evangelists, or St. Paul, but rather the contrary". And to render the contrary more probable, he alledges, That our Saviour and his Disciples must be suppos'd to be in a worshipping Posture when he gave Thanks, and blessed the Bread, and therefore that 'tis probable that he rose to bless and distribute the holy Sacrament, as he did to wash his Disciples Feet, John xiii. 4. tho' there be no mention made in the three other Evangelists, of his rising to do the former, any more than of his rising to do the latter.

Reply. This is, I confess, a bold Stroke, to call that so peremptorily a false Supposition, which us'd to be allow'd us by those whose Practice herein differs from ours, as most probable at least. But 'tis no unusual Thing for some Persons to supply the Defect of an Argument with an Air of Assurance in proposing it: And that the Bishop's Argument here has no Force in it, I hope to convince him, if he will examine this

Matter without Prejudice. I have shewn him before, that all the Evangelists agree that they sat in eating the Passover. He himself owns there is no mention made of their changing their Posture when Christ instituted this Sacrament. All the Strength of his Argument then lyes on the Probability of his blessing the Elements in another Posture, and consequently distributing them so. Now since the Lord's Supper was an Antitype of the Jewish religious Feasts upon Sacrifices, if it appear that there were solemn Thanksgivings us'd in those Jewish Feasts, and yet notwithstanding those that eat of them, sat while they eat, then this solemn Blessing or Thanksgiving us'd by Christ, gives us no Ground to conclude that his Apostles did not sit in their celebrating this mystical Feast on his Sacrifice, but we have just Reason to conclude the contrary: Now all Writers do agree, that in the Passover-Feast there was solemn Thanksgiving us'd, and yet all grant that Christ and his Apostles did eat it sitting. And the same may be observ'd in other religious Feasts upon Sacrifices, in that mention'd, 1 Sam. ix. 13. we read expressly of the Sacrifice being first blest by Samuel, and yet we read as expressly of their sitting down when they came to feast upon it. So that the Bishop's Argument has no Weight in it, since, if apply'd to that Rite in the Jewish Religion, that's parallel to this in the Christian, it concludes false, and against plain Matter of Fact.

For his last Answer, "That the Apostle Paul severely reproves the Corinthians for their Irreverence in receiving this Sacrament, and threatens them with Damnation, for not discerning the Lord's Body; that is, for receiving it as their common Food, without distinguishing between them by a reverend and religious Receiving it. And, that 'tis but a due Distinction between it and our common Food, to approach to the Lord's Table with as much Reverence as the Jews did to their Altar, at which they never sat down."

Reply. What that Irreverence was which the Apostle reproves, he tells us, That every one took before others his own Supper, and one was hungry, and another drunk, 1 Cor. xi. 21, 22. And this indeed was very gross Irreverence, and such as shew'd they did not duly consider the Nature and Design of this Institution, as it was a common Feast upon Christ's Sacrifice, wherein they were to commemorate his Death, and spiritually partake of his Body and Blood, i. e. of all the precious Fruits of his Death and Sacrifice. But he does, by no means, charge them with Irreverence for receiving the Bread and Wine in the same Posture they did their common Food, tho' the Relation here given of their Practice renders it highly probable they did receive it so. His Reproof either relates to the inward Exercise of their Minds, that they did not approach that Ordinance with that Knowledge of, and Faith in a crucify'd Saviour, or with those devout Affections towards him, which became those that receiv'd such Memorials of his Body and Blood; or to their external Deportment, that their Manner of Eating was confused, disorderly, uncharitable, and intemperate, but not one Word about their not eating in a Posture of Worship. The solemn Thanksgivings that precede and succeed our Receiving, as well as the Quality of what we eat and drink, and its Consecration to this holy Use, are sufficient to distinguish this religious Feast from our common Meals. And tho' the Jews might kneel at their Altar, when, with the Sacrifice, they offer'd up their Prayers, yet I hope he is, by this time, convinc'd they were far from kneeling at their religious Feasts, since they rather us'd the most easy way of sitting in them.

If then it appear that sitting was the Posture us'd by the Disciples of Christ, when he administred this Sacrament, if this Posture be most agreeable to the Nature of the Institution, as 'tis a Feast on the Sacrifice of Christ, if the Posture seem to carry something in it most fit to signify the Honour God admits us to in Vertue of that Sacrifice, (viz. to be treated by him as his reconciled Children and Friends, by being Guests at his Table)

Table) then for any Man to censure this Posture as irreverent (as the Bishop seems to do, pag. 144.) is little better than to reproach the Apostles of Christ and their blessed Master too; and to refuse this Posture on Pretence of Humility, is to refuse an endearing Mark of God's peculiar Favour and Condescension to us; and though I am so charitable notwithstanding all this, that I dare not positively condemn *Kneeling* as unlawful, yet how the Bishop will defend it from the stroke of his own Principles, I cannot tell. For if this be the true account of the Matter, *Kneeling* is a way of celebrating this Part of divine Worship, which is neither expressly commanded in Scripture, nor warranted by any Examples there; nay, set up to the Exclusion of that way which we have plain Example for, and which is most suitable to the Nature of the Institution; let him then try how he will defend the Lawfulness of it, without contradicting himself.

And thus much for the Posture us'd in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. But before I come to consider that Institution itself, I must add a few Remarks on some remaining Passages in his 3d Section of this Chapter about *Bodily Worship*.

His 5th Charge is, *Too many of your Perswasion condemn us, who conform to God's Word in these Particulars, as guilty of Superstition, and endeavour to render our Conformity ridiculous, &c.*

Ans. If he mean that many of the Dissenters condemn and ridicule them, for using the foremention'd scriptural Postures of Devotion, I cannot imagine what ground he has for what he asserts. I have convers'd with them much more than his Lordship, and I never could hear any such thing from them. I confess many Dissenters may condemn such Practices among them as bowing towards the East, (or as the Landians, towards the Altar) bowing at the Name of Jesus, rather than that of Christ, or the Name of the Father; or of the holy Spirit, or the Name of God, or *Jehovah*, (as if there were some peculiar Reverence due to those five Letters). The Reading in the Cathedrals one part of their Service in the Body of the Place, and the other at the Altar, when there's no Communion to be celebrated, the Standing up at the Reading one Part of the Scriptures more than another, when all have the same Stamp of divine Authority; and the Bishop himself has put a very good Argument into their Mouths against them; for these are ways of Worship, that have neither scriptural Precept or Pattern, and therefore, according to his Principle, must be suppos'd to be human Inventions displeasing to God.

To these particular Accusations he adds this general one:

In short, I entreat you to consider that you have not one visible Act of Adoration among you in your Assemblies, except we reckon in this Number, that your Men uncover their Heads at Prayer, and yet even this is not requir'd by your Directory.

Ans. If he speak of Dissenters in general, is it not strange he should so confidently out-face the Truth in matters of Fact; when 'tis so notorious, that Standing, which is a visible and a scriptural Posture of Adoration, is so generally us'd by Dissenters in all their Thanksgivings and Prayers? If some in the North of Ireland are too negligent herein, 'tis the Fault of those particular Persons, and no more justly chargeable on the Body of Dissenters, than the far grosser Irreverence of too many of her Members, is chargeable on the Establish'd Church. For the Directory, it does in general require external Reverence, but leaves the particular Expressions and Marks of it, as the Scripture has done, to the People's Liberty; and accordingly, as some that have convenience for it use *Kneeling*, so the generality use *Standing*, because there are few of our Meetings, but either the Straitness of the Seats, or the Number of those that meet, renders *Kneeling* less practicable to the main Part of the Congregation. And *standing* is as undoubtedly a scriptural Posture of Devotion as *kneeling*.

Having thus clear'd Matters of Fact, I must add, that for the Pretences he here produces for the Neglect of *bodily Worship*, 'tis evident the Body of Dissenters are no way concern'd in them. For I could never yet meet with one of them, that ever pretended that *bodily Worship* might be neglected. For even those that sit at Prayer (and weakly alledge the fore-cited Example of David for it) yet are uncover'd, and intend that as an Expression of their Reverence in all Acts of immediate Worship. And much less did I ever hear any Dissenter alledge such trifling Reasons as these, for which his Lordship has not thought fit to produce any Author, and therefore I know none we can fasten them on but himself. And if he fram'd these Arguments, he does well to answer them; or if he have met with some in his Conversation of so fortify an Opinion, that have no better Pleas for it, 'tis but just he should endeavour to shew them their Mistakes; but why he cannot confute such weak People, without gross Slanders against those that are no way concern'd in their Errors, I know not; and I desire his Lordship to consider what else he can make of the following Passages.

Page 137. Speaking of these external Postures of Reverence, he saith, *In cases of Necessity we think they may lawfully be omitted; but you are taught, that in no Cases they may be lawfully practis'd; you are taught rather to stay at home, than to conform in their outward Gestures or Circumstances. You are advis'd rather to abstain all your Lives from the Lord's Supper, than receive it kneeling. Now if you think God hates them so much, &c. and accounts them a polluting his Ordinance, &c.*

Ans. If his Lordship cannot produce so much as one among the Dissenting Ministers that ever taught their People, *That such Postures of bodily Worship may in no Cases be lawfully practis'd*, then I hope he will own himself guilty here of a very immoral Practice. And if he can produce any such Person, I dare undertake that he shall be publicly censur'd by his Brethren for teaching so senseless and ridiculous Doctrine. But to make this a general Charge against us, is the most inexcusable Aspersion that he could possibly cast upon us, and such as we must demand from him, that he either prove, or ingenuously retract. I might say the same concerning our People's being taught rather to stay at home, than to conform in their outward Gestures, if he understand this of scriptural Gestures us'd in the Establish'd Church. For what he adds as to kneeling at the Lord's Supper, he cannot be ignorant, that some of the most considerable Writers for the Nonconformist Cause in England, have defended the Lawfulness of it, though his Lordship cannot do it without contradicting himself. There are others indeed that do think it unlawful, because they think it not only unsuitable to the Nature and Design of the Institution, but a needless Symbolizing with the Romish Church, in a Posture abus'd to the most pernicious Idolatry, by which they are the more confirm'd in that Idolatry, notwithstanding the publick Protestation of the Establish'd Church against that Abuse. I shall therefore only add, that if any refuse to receive the Sacrament kneeling, his Lordship has the least reason to blame them, who by the Rubric and Canons is oblig'd to give it to none in the Church, but such as kneel; for sure 'tis a lesser Fault to be too rigid and scrupulous as to our own Practice, than to impose it on others too, and to deny them the Privileges of Christian Communion, for want of Conformity to an unscriptural Gesture. If the former run into an Extreme, moderate Persons may have some Right to reprove them, but those have none who run much farther into the other.

Again, What Excuse can the Bishop have for that Passage, pag. 138, 139.

"But in your Meetings, there is no Obligation on any one to signify his Concurrence with the Congregation in any ordinary Act of Worship, either by Word or Gesture, and therefore this end of publick Assemblies, (viz. to signify our Sense and Be-

“ lief of the Being, &c. of God, and to stir up the
“ same in others) is utterly defeated by you. The
“ *Directory* does not require or allow the People so
“ much as to signify their Assent, by adding their
“ *Amen* to the Prayers or Thanksgivings there offer'd.
“ But on the contrary, you ridicule those that practise
“ it, pursuant to the Directions and Examples in
“ Scripture. And as to Gestures, such as kneeling,
“ standing, or bowing the Body, you condemn them
“ all as Relicks of Idolatry and Superstition. There
“ remains therefore in your Assemblies, nothing where-
“ by the People may testify their Belief or Assent to
“ what they hear, which was one Design of the
“ Meeting. Thus, by turning all bodily Worship
“ out of your Assemblies, you have made void this
“ great end of them, and left no visible Distinction
“ whereby any one may signify whether he assents to
“ the Worship offer'd, or dissents from it. The whole
“ Assembly being to one another, meer Spectators
“ and Hearers, not joint Worshipers.

Ans. His Lordship was I suppose weary of retail-
ing his Aspersions, and therefore here gives them to
us by whole-sale. For 'tis not true that there is no Ob-
ligation on any in our Meetings to signify his Concurrence
with the Congregation, in any ordinary Act of Worship by
Gesture. For the *Directory* requires that such as come
into the Congregation, should reverently compose them-
selves to join with the Congregation in that Ordinance that
is then in hand. Which implies their joining in such
devout Gestures, as the Nature of that particular Ordinance
does require. And their constant Attendance
on the several Parts of publick Worship, with their re-
verent Behaviour therein, is a publick Declaration of
their joining in it. 'Tis again untrue, that the *Di-
rectory* does not allow the People to signify their Assent
to the publick Prayers and Thanksgivings by saying
Amen. For the very *Catechism* compos'd by them in
Explication of the Conclusion of the Lord's Prayer implies
the contrary, that we should in Testimony of our Desire
and Assurance to be heard say *Amen*. I confess I know
not what sort of Modesty has made it too usual among
us, not to repeat our *Amen* so loudly as is generally
done in the *Parish Churches*; and in this particular, I
am of the same Judgment with the Reverend Author
of that Sermon in the Morning-Lectures, on 1 Cor. xiv.
16. who advises the pronouncing it more audibly.
Nor do I know of any *Dissenters* that ridicule any Con-
formists for doing so. But to charge us (as he here
does) with condemning kneeling, standing, or bowing down,
as Relicks of Idolatry and Superstition, is so gross a Calumny,
and so unbecoming a Man that pretends to Sincerity
and Candour, that he is oblig'd in common Justice
to repair the wrong he here has done us. For kneeling
and standing are Postures so universally us'd by
the *Dissenters*, and so frequently recommended and
urg'd in their printed Discourses and Sermons, that
they cannot, without the most stupid Self-contradiction,
condemn them as Relicks of Idolatry and Superstition:
Nor did I ever hear of one Person that ever scrupled
the Use of them. Some may indeed have censur'd
kneeling at the Sacrament, bowing towards the East, or the
Altar, &c. as such Relicks of Idolatry and Superstition;
but what's this to the use of those Postures in reli-
gious Worship in general, of which the Bishop here
speaks?

For those weak People of whom he tells us, pag.
141. That they object against kneeling and standing in
the Congregation, that 'tis troublesome to them; they do
indeed offer a very lazy Excuse; and if the Bishop has
met with any such, he does well to shame them out of
it. But I can by no means be of the Bishop's Opinion,
that any leave them on this score, because they find
a way of Worship among the *Dissenters* easier than
theirs; nor do I find that a Man can sleep more se-

curely and quietly in the Meetings, than in the *Pa-
rish Churches*. I am sure I have oftner heard such sloth-
ful People awaken'd by severe Reproofs in the *Dis-
senter's Assemblies* than in theirs. So that I suspect those
will fail of their Design, who come to our Meetings in
hopes to take a more undisturbed Nap there.

The Bishop seems, pag. 143. to assert, That kneeling
in publick Prayer, is a Duty which we are bound to provide
Convenience for. But as he wisely takes it for granted,
instead of proving it, so he groundlessly imagines the
Dissenters to have some Aversion to it, whereas I know
of no Posture more universally us'd by them in that
Duty in their Closets or Families, where they have Con-
venience for it. And I have seen it frequently us'd in
those larger Seats in their Meetings, that were wide
enough to allow room for it. So that I perceive his
Lordship is as great a Stranger to our Judgment and
Practice, as if he liv'd in some remote Part of the
World, and yet pretends to give an Account of it,
with as much Confidence, as if he had continually fre-
quented our Assemblies. I think I may pretend to
know them better, and therefore must in Justice to
them add, that in those Meetings I have frequented,
I have observ'd as great an Appearance of external
Reverence and Devotion, of Seriousness and Gravity, as in
any other Protestant Churches whatsoever, either at
home or abroad.

The Bishop concludes this Chapter with this Ob-
servation, " But the Truth of the Matter, as it seems
" to me, is, That your neglecting to kneel at the most
" solemn of all Christian Ordinances, the Lord's Sup-
" per, does harden you against Reverence in the other
" parts of divine Worship: And it is no wonder it
" should do so; for if Reverence be not thought ne-
" cessary in that Duty, it may well seem unnecessary
" in any other.

On which Words I shall only add, That if by Re-
verence in that Ordinance of the Lord's Supper, he
means kneeling while we eat the Bread, and drink the
Cup, I have shew'd him that the *Apostles* us'd no such
Reverence, and he may with the same Justice reproach
them, as he does us. But it will by no means follow,
that we must not use a worshipping Posture, when Acts
of immediate Worship are offer'd, because we use it
not, when no such Acts are requir'd; as none are,
during our eating and drinking in remembrance of
Christ, in that Institution. So that I may more justly
observe, that his Lordship's neglecting so long to reason
solidly, and to speak Truth concerning the *Dissenters*,
has so harden'd him in the contrary Practice, that he
seems resolv'd to go on in it to the end of the Chapter.

For the Practice of the Establish'd Church in refer-
ence to bodily Worship, I need add nothing to what has
been already observ'd, (pag. 123, 124.) concerning
bowing at the Name of Jesus, standing up at the Reading
some part of the Scriptures, rather than others; Reading in
the Cathedrals one part of their Service at the Communion
Table, where few of the People can hear it, &c. For
which Practices, the Bishop must either bring us ex-
press scriptural Precept or Pattern, or must censure them
for his sort of human Inventions; and truly some of them
look too like superstitious ones; for they are either us'd
and retain'd for no reason at all, but meer arbitrary
Pleasure, or for such Reasons as include some super-
stitious Conceit in them, as if some peculiar Honour
and Homage were due to that Name of our Saviour
above others, and greater Veneration were due to some
part of Scripture above the rest; and as if there were
either some peculiar Sanctity in the Prayers, or in the
Place, when they are read at the Communion Table, or
there were no better way of instructing the People in
their Obligation to communicate, than by this dumb
Sign of reading some part of the Communion Service
there.

Remarks on the Fifth CHAPTER concerning
the LORD'S SUPPER.

And here,

I. FOR the Account he gives us of what the Scriptures prescribe concerning the Frequency of Celebrating this Institution, I shall very easily agree with his Lordship.

For though I think his Reasoning from the time of celebrating the Passover, and from the general Topic of our doing it as often as we have Convenience for it, is not very cogent to prove any Obligation upon us to celebrate this Sacrament every Lord's Day; yet I do think his other Arguments from Scripture are of great Weight to prove, that in the Apostles time this Ordinance was made one constant part of their Lord's-days Worship, and I think it past doubt that this was the universal Practice of Christian Churches for several succeeding Ages. So that in this respect I fear that the Reformed Churches themselves have not yet come up to the Practice of the truly Primitive and Apostolical ones, as I truly think were highly desirable. Many learned Authors, both Conformists and Non-conformists, have freely deliver'd their Judgments to the same purpose; and I know of none that have disputed the matter of Fact, on which their Arguments for reviving this Practice are founded. I know there are other judicious Persons that do not think the Arguments drawn thence to be demonstrative, and do still conceive the Words, *As oft as ye eat this Bread, &c. and do this as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me*, to leave the Frequency of performing this Duty to the Determination of human Prudence. And though their Exceptions do not so far weigh with me as to alter my Judgment, yet I dare not be harsh in censuring such whose Apprehensions herein are different from my own.

All the Debate then remaining between the Bishop and me, will be concerning

II. The Practice of the *Establish'd Church*, and that of the *Dissenters*.

For the Practice of the *Establish'd Church*, I wonder why he should pretend their Church has provided for those that desire to receive every Lord's-day, merely because of her ordering some part of the Communion-Service to be read every Lord's-day, when 'tis so publicly known that there is no Bread and Wine provided for such as may be dispos'd to communicate: And why should the People be taught their Duty only by such dumb Signs as that? or part of the Communion-Service be read when there is no Communion intended? He does indeed very justly observe, that the Canons require no more of every Parishioner, than that he receive thrice a Year; but why he should lay the Blame of their People's Receiving no oftner, on the ill Example of the *Dissenters*, I cannot imagine. For if it appear that the *Dissenters* generally receive far oftner than their Canons require: It will be very unaccountable how their Example should encourage that Negligence of the Conforming Laity, which it rather reproves. I confess, for the Method of driving Men to the Sacrament by Punishment, (if he intend this of the severe Penalties that follow upon a *Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo*) we do not much admire it. To be admitted to the Lord's Table, we esteem so great a Privilege and Honour, that we think none should partake of it, but such as do very earnestly desire and seek it; and are in the Judgment of human Charity well fitted and prepared for it by competent Knowledge, and an inoffensive Conversation.

But we do by no means think those deserve to be admitted at all, whom nothing else can prevail with to come to this Sacrament, but the fear of a Prison; and who are hal'd to that Holy Table, merely to escape the *Jaylor's Clutches*. Nor is it reasonable to put Men under so strong Temptation to dissemble with God in so solemn Vows, for the Preservation of their secular Interest. And for those Dissenters that scruple Kneeling, nothing could be more unchristian than to deny them the Lord's Supper, without their Compliance with that Posture; and yet punish them for not receiving it in their Parish Churches, which was no better than to punish them for their being afraid of sinning. And if this be the Discipline which his Lordship complains of being weakned, I know of few moderate and wise Men that will be much troubled at it.

For the Practice of DISSENTERS.

1. He very groundlessly infers, That because the Directory leaves it to the Ministers, &c. to determine how often this Institution shall be celebrated, that they exclude it by this Rule, from being an ordinary constant part of God's Service. For no more can be justly drawn from those Words, than that they left the Matter to the Liberty of those that had the Over-sight and Care of particular Congregations. So that if any Ministers thought the constant Celebration of this Sacrament every Lord's Day, most convenient for the Comfort and Edification of their People; this Rule does by no means forbid, but rather enforce their doing it. But those indeed that think otherwise, are no farther impos'd on by this Rule, than to be obliged to do it frequently, which the Directory (as the Bishop owns) expressly requires; and I doubt not they intended by frequently, oftner than thrice a Year. Nor can I imagine why he should any more compare our Practice with the Papists than their own: For do the Parish-Ministers, every Lord's Day, offer the Sacrament to the People, or invite them to it, or afford them Opportunities for it, any more than the Dissenters? Or rather, do not the Dissenters generally afford them Opportunities much oftner? Why should he then so severely condemn the Dissenters for what they are less guilty of than themselves? If he pretend that the Sacrament is offer'd, because part of the Communion Service is read: Does he not know, that if the People take that for an invitation, they'll find themselves disappointed? And sure 'tis better to make no Offer of it than a delusive one.

2. He very confidently asserts, That the Dissenters rarely press the People to Communion; they have few Sermons or Discourses to that purpose: And many of them condemn our Zeal for endeavouring to restore the constant Communion predated in Scripture.

'Tis strange that his Lordship should continually put us on so ungrateful a Task, as the denying the Truth of what he saith, by advancing such groundless Accusations; I am sure the Generality of them administer this Sacrament far oftner than the Generality of the Conforming Clergy; and 'tis seldom or never administered without their taking occasion to press People to it. Nor do I find any of their printed Discourses on that Subject, that omit their doing it: Nay, I am inclined to believe, there are as many Non-conformist Writers as Conformists, that have preach'd and wrote for restoring the constant Communion predated in Scripture: And one would think that Experience should be sufficient to convince him, that the Dissenting Ministers press it more. For of those that attend the Parish Churches and the Meetings, I think 'tis evident, that if we make allowance for the Numbers in general of those of each Perswasion, the Communion of the Dissenters will be found much more numerous as well as more frequent. I confess, if his Lordship only mean, that we do not promiscuously urge all People to come to this Ordinance, how ignorant or wicked soever, 'tis true; and I hope he will not blame us for that.

that, unless he think we may turn the Church into a common Sink and Receptacle of profligate Sinners, and invite Swine to that Holy Table (for such are all notoriously vicious Persons in the Language of the Scripture.) On the contrary, we have too great Reason to complain, that too many such are admitted in the Parish Churches, notwithstanding the ineffectual Provision of the Rubrick and Canons against this Abuse; of which no Reformation can be expected to any purpose, till particular Pastors be restored to the due Exercise of their pastoral Power. But for those that have competent Knowledge, and are of unblameable Deportment, they are frequently urg'd to attend this Institution; and particularly in the North of Ireland, the Minister, in visiting the several Districts, enquires of the Elders concerning such, that besides the general Invitation from the Pulpit, he may particularly urge them to their Duty.

3. For the Practice of Dissenters, he saith, 'Tis worse than their Principles; and concerning it he adds these remarkable Words:

I appeal to you, Whether it is not reckoned a great thing among many of you, if once in a Year or two, a Communion be celebrated in one of your Meetings? Nay, among some of you 'tis often omitted for several Years together, and in some Places for ten or more. I fear I may say, your People generally have too little Sense of the Obligation of receiving it at all; and your Ministers indulge them so far in this Corruption, that a Man may live comfortably among you, and with the Reputation of a Professor, to thirty or forty Years of Age, and never receive at all. And by the best Enquiry I could make, I could not compute that above one in ten that go to your Meetings, ever receive through the whole Course of their Lives, notwithstanding Christ's positive Command to do it in Remembrance of him. So unhappily are Men overseen in laying aside the Commands of God for their own Inventions. I should be glad to find that I were mistaken in this Computation. In the mean time you must give me leave to tell you plainly, that this Practice of rare or no Communion is so peculiarly your own, that I think you are altogether singular in it; and are so far from having any Precedent for it in Scripture, that I doubt whether any Precedent can be found for you even among the most degenerate and barbarous People that ever call'd themselves Christians.

Ans. In order to our passing a right Judgment on this Accusation of the Bishop's, I must give a brief Account of matter of Fact. For those Meetings in England, and the South of Ireland, where Pastors are settled, the most of them constantly celebrate the Lord's Supper once a Month, others once in six Weeks, or two Months, and a few once every Lord's Day. I do not believe there are six that have it so seldom as once a Quarter; so that if the Bishop speak here of the generality of Dissenters, (as we have Reason to suppose, because he does not here, as elsewhere, confine his Charge to any part of them) to reproach them as guilty of rare or no Communion, not to be preceded among the most degenerate and barbarous People that were ever called Christians, is a Calumny of such a heinous Nature, that I shall in meer Civility and Respect to his Character, forbear to treat it as it deserves; and shall only desire him to bring the Parish Churches to that Frequency of Communion, so generally practis'd among the Dissenters, before he treat us any more with such rude Language, as we might with so much advantage retort. If his Lordship pretend that he design'd to confine this to the North of Ireland, though he has express no such thing, yet how little Ground he had for this heavy Charge, will appear upon a due Examination of matter of Fact: Of which I have this Account given by those that know it much better than he can pretend to do.

'Tis so far from being true, that 'tis rare if once in a Year or two a Communion be celebrated in their Meet-

ings, that it's universally usual in every Meeting, where an ordained Minister is settled, to have the Lord's Supper administred constantly once a Year, and twice in the larger Towns. And what is more considerable, wherever 'tis administred, 'tis usual for two Thirds of the Congregation to be Strangers. For 'tis their Custom in the North to have very large and numerous Communion; so that when the Sacrament is administred in one Meeting, 'tis usual for most of the Members of neighbouring Parishes to frequent it: To which purpose they bring Certificates (or communicatory Letters) from their own Ministers: So that the Generality of them (as I am assur'd) do communicate four or five times in a Year, many of them do it much oftner; and all of them have the Opportunity of doing it ten, twelve, or fifteen times a Year, if they will take the Advantage of receiving it as often as 'tis administred within a few Miles of their respective Habitations. And they alledge these two or three Reasons that have induc'd them to this Method, 1. That hereby the vast Number of Communicants tends to increase the Solemnity of the Institution, and represents in a more affecting manner the Communion of Saints. 2. That every Parish having usually but one Minister, 'tis requisite the Ministers of neighbouring Parishes should assist them on that Occasion; and consequently they usually bring their People along with them. 3. That the Ministers of particular Congregations prepare their own People for it, by visiting them round, examining every particular Member anew, about their spiritual Estate, and making due Enquiry about their Conversation; all which takes up a considerable time. This being a just Account of their Practice, though I must freely profess I do prefer the general Practice of Dissenters elsewhere, of administring the Lord's Supper in each Congregation once a Month, and could heartily wish it were made a constant part of the Lord's Day Worship; yet I see not with what tolerable Justice the Bishop could upbraid them with their rare or no Communion, when the Members of their Meetings do generally communicate much oftner than the Members of the Parish-Churches: Nay, when their Minister's not celebrating it oftner in each particular Meeting, is occasion'd by so extraordinary Care taken to prepare their People for it: Whereas there can be no other Account given why the Parish-Ministers, who take no such Pains with their People, administer it so seldom, but either their own Laziness, or the People's Indevotion. And whereas he saith, A Man may live among them with the Reputation of a Professor, to thirty or forty Years, and never receive at all. If he mean by a Professor, a Person accounted truly religious, they declare they know not of one Instance of that kind. And whereas he saith, not one in ten that go to their Meetings, receive through the whole Course of their Lives, they do profess, that by the best Computation they can make, there is not one in ten, or rather in twenty or thirty, that do not receive, except such as are with-held for want of competent Knowledge, or on the account of Scandal; and those that communicate once, do it ordinarily on all following Occasions.

So that upon the whole, the Bishop is much more concern'd to find a Precedent for the Generality of the Members of Parish Churches in their rare or no Communion, than the Dissenters are for the Members of their Congregations. And much more is he concern'd to find a Precedent for himself in his so rarely speaking Truth concerning the Dissenters; and I fear that he will hardly find any (if I may return him his civil Expressions) except among the most degenerate and barbarous Writers that were ever called Christians, I mean those Romish Priests, who in their writing against Protestants, have acquir'd a peculiar Dexterity in the practice of that unchristian Maxim, Calumniare fortiter, aliquid adharebit, Throw dirt enough, and some of it will stick.

Remarks on the CONCLUSION.

I. **F**OR that part of it which contains his Lordship's Advice to those of his own Clergy, I shall take no further Notice of it, than as it concerns the Dissenters.

Page 166. He tells them, *They are never to despair whilst they have God's Truth on their side, though whole Provinces should fall off from the Church, as all they in Asia did from St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. 15. Though none should believe our Report, as it happened to our Saviour himself.*

Ans. This looks too like his former Language, when he so uncharitably excluded us from the Catholick Church: For does he indeed think that Men's going to the Dissenters Meetings is a *Defection from Christianity, and turning Infidels to the Doctrine of the Gospel*, as the Expressions he alludes to import? Since we agree in the Articles of Religion profess'd by the Establish'd Church (to which, by the way, the Dissenters of the two more strictly adhere) since (as himself owns, page 4.) we agree about the inward part of Divine Worship: Nay, since we agree in the same external Parts of it, *Praise, Prayer, Hearing, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper*; and only disagree about the Mode of ordering those external Duties: Is it not most unreasonable, and contrary to Christian Charity, and I might add to common Sense, to speak of such as in these circumstantial Modes differ from him, as *fallen off from the Church, and disbelieving the Report of the Gospel*? What is this but to turn the circumstantial Modes of Worship into *Fundamentals*, and thereby to turn the Reformed Church in this Kingdom into a *Sett and Party*, i. e. to incur the grossest Sort of *Schism*, and most opposite to *Christian Love*? I hope I have in these Papers shewn our manner of performing these Duties, to be more agreeable to scriptural Precept and Pattern, and yet I would sooner suffer my Right Hand to be cut off, than that any such Expression should drop from my Pen, that should thus confine the Church of Christ to the Dissenters, and censure others as *fallen off from it*. For I honour the Parish Churches as a very excellent part of the Catholick Church, and such, as compar'd with the Roman, Greek, Abissine, &c. Churches, has attained to an excellent degree of Reformation.

Page 167, 168. He suggests to his Clergy, *That they cannot be supposed to be zealous in their Office, out of any private Interest, or Prospect of particular Profit, because their Maintenance and Preferments are ascertained by Law, and depend not on the voluntary Contribution of the People*: And he insinuates on the other hand, *That the Dissenters are more liable to be acted by other Motives, since they must attain to Honour or Support by making or gaining a Party*.

Ans. If the Dissenting Ministers be acted in their Nonconformity by a Regard to Temporal Interest, they deserve to be begg'd for Fools. Does he think, that upon their Conforming, they might not aspire to Ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments, as well as others, if their Judgments could comply with all the Declarations and Subscriptions that are requir'd? How many could I name him, no way inferior to his Lordship in any Ministerial Abilities, who never had so much as 100 l. a Year from their People, while he enjoys, by common Report, a Bishoprick worth 2000 l. Not that they envy him his Wealth; but they think it unreasonable he should upbraid them with their Poverty, as if it laid them under Temptations to counteract their Judgments to serve their Interest; when if they could have done so, they never needed to expose themselves to those Necessities. For 'tis plain, that, quite contrary to what he suggests, the Temptation of Interest lies chiefly on the other side. What Interest can influence those Dissenting Ministers to make or gain a Party, who are sure to be Losers by their adhering to it, and have all possible Prospect of bettering their Condition

by forsaking it? And how much greater danger are those in of being influenc'd by it, whose excessive Preferments depend on their turning the Church into a Party, by keeping up narrow uncharitable Terms of Ministerial Communion? And why should he think the inferior Clergy may not be mov'd to be zealous in their Office, from a Prospect of Interest and Profit? Does he think himself and his Brethren Immortal? May they never expect a Fall of Church Preferments? Or are those Preferments so corruptly distributed, that no Diligence of an inferior Clergy-man in his Office will signify any thing to recommend him to them? Does Favour or Bribes so entirely prevail, as to exclude all Consideration of Merit? Either he reasons very weakly here, or else he insinuates what is very little to the Credit of the Church.

Page 88. He does well to remind them, *that they are Ministers of the Gospel, not of a Party*. Ans. But why then does he speak of all that dissent from them, as *fallen from the Church, and become Infidels*?

He also in the same Page justly speaks of our Differences as of little Concern, comparatively with the common Interest of Holiness and Religion: But when he tells us of these Differences being insisted on only as the Occasions and Badges of those People, who being resolved to separate themselves, are oblig'd to take up little Differences for a Distinction: I would gladly know who are most chargeable with taking up little Differences, to make them the distinguishing Badges of a Party: They that arbitrarily impose such unnecessary Terms of Ministerial and Christian Communion, as our common Lord never requir'd, and so make their own dividing Hedge an Enclosure in his sacred Vineyard; or they that only scruple Compliance with these suspected Terms, and desire that the common Rule of Christianity may be the only Rule of Conformity? They that on the account of these Differences cry up themselves alone as the Church, or they that plead only to be a part of it, or at most a more uncorrupted part? One would think the former look more like Persons resolv'd to separate themselves, especially when they contrive such Racks for Mens Judgments and Consciences, as the Act of Uniformity contains. And the latter cannot reasonably be supposed so obstinate, unless he imagine them fond of Poverty and Misery, and in love with Separation for its own sake.

Page 169. He suggests, *That while they have been defending their common Christianity against Papists, Deists, and Socinians, the Dissenters have taken that Advantage to undermine them with their People*: Nay, *that some of them have even join'd with those Enemies to pull down their Constitution*.

Ans. I think it is apparent, that the Dissenters have rarely wrote in Defence of their own Cause, without being assaulted first. It was he first started the Controversy in this Kingdom, by excluding them from the Catholick Church: It is he has again renew'd it, by a fresh Charge of our Worship having little of God's immediate Appointment; but abundance of human Inventions. Now if we be guilty, 'tis indeed reasonable we should be silent; but if innocent, does he think our Reputation too inconsiderable to be worthy of a Defence against the most severe, and yet the most unrighteous Accusations? And if he did formerly, with the same Sword, attempt to stab his Popish Adversaries, and his Dissenting Brethren, can he blame them for warding it off themselves, especially when at the same time they warded it off from the Generality of the Reformed Churches, (whose Reputation he must have wounded through our Sides) and directed the Point of it more fully against the Papists.

But I would gladly know, who those Dissenters are that join'd with the Papists, Deists, and Socinians, in a Confederacy to pull down their Constitution. For I cannot imagine what ground he has for this Charge, unless he refers to the Attempts made in the late King James's Time, towards the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test. And if he intend that, does he not know,

know, that there were far more of their Clergy, even the Dignitaries of their Church, that join'd in that Design with the Court, than of Dissenting Ministers, of whom I could never hear of above one or two concern'd, and even they had been both exasperated by the barbarous Execution of those Laws upon themselves. And was it more criminal in them to attempt to burn the Rod that had so unmercifully lash'd them, than in those to join in that Design who had no other Temptation, than hope of Court-Favour and Preferment? Nay, does he not know that the Body of the Dissenting Ministers and People generously refus'd to concur in that Design when earnestly solicited to it; merely because they valu'd the general Interest of the Reformed Religion, before any separate Interest of their own? And would not a Man of Candor and Ingenuity, have rather commended the Carriage of the main Body of them, than reproach'd them with the Faults of so few, (in which he knows they might recriminate with so much Advantage) especially when such as reproach them were so accessory to those Faults by unchristian Rigour and Cruelty? And by the way, if by their *Constitution* he means our Frame of Diocefan Episcopacy and Government, why does he suggest our Concurrence with Papists to pull it down, when he knows well enough, if the Papists were in Power, they would continue and uphold the same Constitution, and only change the Persons?

II. For that Part of the Conclusion which is address'd to the Dissenting Ministers of Derry.

First, I do fully concur with him in his Advice, not to treat one another with scurrilous and unseemly Reflections. But I hope he will not account those such, wherein a Man is justly reprov'd for gross Misrepresentations of other Men's Opinions and Practices, when he might easily have inform'd himself better; or a trifling Argument is not always treated with Grimace, but sometimes with the Slight it deserves.

Secondly, I do also heartily concur with him in his Request to them, That they will not make the Difference between us seem greater than really it is.

And I hope he will find it punctually observ'd in these Remarks, in which I have so often disclaim'd the Advantage given me by his own Principles, to censure several Practices in the Establish'd Church as unlawful. And therefore I hope I may, without Offence, humbly request his Lordship to take his own Advice; and truly if he had done so sooner, he had spar'd me the ungrateful Labour of these Remarks on his late Discourse, which I hope may convince him, that the Tendency of his whole Book is to make the Difference between us seem greater than it is; partly by mis-reporting our Principles and Practices, and partly by an unreasonable Charge of *human Inventions in the Worship of God*, that has no other Foundation, than either those Mis-reports, or that necessary Use of Christian Prudence, in determining some circumstantial Modes of Worship, which they make as well as we, and must be made in order to the Execution of God's own Commands relating to his Worship. Nay, it seems to be the main Purpose of his Discourse, to represent the Worship of Dissenters, as so corrupted by human Inventions, that 'tis become vain and unacceptable to God; which is a Censure that Charity forbids me to pass on the Worship of the Establish'd Church, tho' I think I have prov'd that of the Dissenters much more conformable to Evangelical Precept and Pattern. For I doubt not, a gracious God makes merciful Allowance for manifold culpable Imperfections, where the Worship is in the main agreeable to his Word, and those that offer it thro' Weakness, discern them not. But I perceive 'tis far easier to give good Advice, than to take it.

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And for the particular Requests which his Lordship does here, in so friendly a Manner, address to the Dissenting Ministers of his Diocese, I shall take the Liberty to interpose my single Opinion. As,

1. I can freely concur with him, in recommending that Use of the Lord's Prayer, which, as he justly observes, the *Directory* approves, because I take it to be a very comprehensive Summary of the Matter of Prayer, deliver'd in the most accurate Method and Order. But then I must add, that as this Use of it in our publick Assemblies, is not with any Certainty determin'd in Scripture, so 'tis a Matter wherein good Men may well exercise their mutual Forbearance and Charity.

2. I do as freely concur with him, in desiring them to endeavour the reforming that irreverent Practice, which too many of their Hearers seem to indulge themselves too far in; viz. Of *Sitting* in the time of publick Prayer. 'Tis contrary to the general Practice of their Brethren elsewhere, and I think of all the Reformed Churches; and what is more considerable, very disagreeable to the Precepts and Examples propos'd in the Holy Scriptures. And I hope his Lordship will think the more open Irreverence and Levity, too common in many Parish Churches, to need as effectual Reformation.

3. I do also concur with him, in desiring them to adhere more strictly to the Advice of the *Directory*, by more frequent Celebration of the *Lord's Supper* in each particular Congregation.

For tho' I am fully satisfy'd by their Accounts of Matter of Fact, that their Members do ordinarily communicate more frequently than those of the Parish Churches; and that none has the Name of a Professor among them that lives in the Neglect of this Duty, quite contrary to the *Bishop's* Supposition; yet I look on the Practice of their Brethren in England, as in this Particular, more conformable to the Rule of the Scriptures, among whom 'tis administred much oftner in each Congregation. For I think it highly probable, that it was in the Apostles time one constant Part of the Lord's-Days-Worship. I know this is not so practicable among them, while they take so extraordinary Pains with the People every time they administer this Ordinance to them. But I do not see any absolute Necessity for that; they may continue their stated particular Visitations, without making them necessary to every Communion. And, perhaps, there may be too great a Difference put between this and other Parts of divine Worship, by imagining that the frequent Celebration of it would tend to lessen the Reverence due to it. To all that are serious, the frequent Renewal of their Vows on the Memorials of a crucify'd Saviour, is the most likely and effectual Means to keep their Souls under the constant Awe of them. But the treating this Subject as it deserves, would require a large Discourse. I shall therefore only subjoyn, That I hope his Lordship will take his own Advice, by endeavouring to have the Sacrament more frequently administred in the Parish Churches; and especially, that he will put his Clergy on imitating the Zeal and Diligence of the Dissenting Ministers, in their Care to prepare their People for so solemn an Institution, and to keep those from it, whose open and notorious Wickedness tends to infect others, by the Contagion of their Example, and to prostitute the Honour of Religion to the Contempt of an Atheistical and profane Age.

4. For this Advice about Reading the Scriptures, I shall so far concur with him, that I wish the Rule of the *Directory* for reading one entire Chapter out of each Testament may be observ'd, when the Shortness of the Days will not leave room for Exposition, without excluding that other way of reading parallel Texts, that occurs in what we call Preaching. But I must beg his Lordship's Pardon for preferring the Reading one Chapter with a clear Exposition of it from parallel Texts, to the bare Reading two, or three, or

more, without it; notwithstanding his so confidently obtruding upon us his former groundless Conceit, as if it were an undoubted Truth, *That 'tis a carnal and sinful Humour in the People to be fonder of Sermons and Lectures of human Composure, than of the pure Word of God in its naked Simplicity.* For if he mean by it, *That 'tis a carnal and sinful Humour to be fonder of having the Word of God read, explained, and applied, than barely read,* (as certainly he must if he speak any Thing here to the Purpose.) This is (as I have already shewn him) no wiser a Conceit, than if he should tell us, 'Tis a carnal and sinful Humour to be more affected with the Word of God when we clearly understand it, than when we do not. And if so, why should this sinful Humour of the People be indulg'd by preaching at all? Why should any Pains be taken to inform their Judgments, by leading them into the true Sense of it? Or rather, Why should the Bishop so weakly oppose the Purity and Simplicity of the naked Word of God to a clear Exposition of it? which us'd to be oppos'd only to the Mixture of other Doctrines that are either contrary to, or at least, not deliver'd in those inspir'd Writings. For tho' Sermons and Lectures be, in Part, of human Composure, yet such as truly answer that Character, are nothing else but the naked and pure Word of God explain'd and enforc'd upon the Consciences of the People, without any Mixture of foreign or corrupt Doctrines. For even in their Sermons themselves, a great Part of the Time is spent by the People in consulting and comparing various Parts of the Word of God. And if such human Composures adulterate the Simplicity of the Word of God, why should they not be excluded altogether, and the Clergy be turn'd into meer Readers? Or rather, may we not in such confus'd and deceitful Reasonings as these, suspect a carnal Humour in Men's crying up the bare reading the Word of God, to shift off the unwelcome Labour of expounding it? And therefore, I should rather recommend the Practice of the *Dissenters* in their constant *Expounding* as well as *Reading*, to the Imitation of the *Conforming Clergy*; and I would particularly advise his Lordship not to speak so slightly on all Occasions concerning Sermons, because Preaching has hitherto been accounted the most valuable Talent that he is Master of.

5. For his 5th Advice. 'Tis indeed true that many learned and sober *Non-Conformists* have judg'd occasional Communion with the Parish Churches in the ordinary Lord's-Day-Worship lawful, and have advis'd their People to practise it where they could have no other Opportunities of publick Worship. Nay, many of them have vindicated and practis'd such occasional Communion with them in the Lord's Supper (tho' I question whether any of them fully approve it in reference to Baptism.) And tho' I have no Pretence to the first of the Characters he gives such *Non-conformists*, yet he will find the same charitable Temper and Practice recommended in the Reflections on his Answer to Dean Manby, pag. 64. But methinks his Lordship should, when he considers the truly Christian Moderation of such *Non-conformists*, reflect with some Concern on his own uncharitable Principles towards them, in that *Discourse* which he has never yet disown'd. And it would seem very unreasonable in him to be too peremptory in demanding this from the *Dissenters*, unless he would express equal Charity on his Part, and declare the *Lawfulness of Communion with their Churches.* And since he cannot deny but that he has so fair Examples of *Catholic Charity* set before him, I hope he will follow them; for otherwise this *Request* will appear on his side very *partial and unreasonable.* And I hope this *Discourse* may convince him that we have no sinful human *Inventions* among us, to affright him from *Communion* with us; much less do we make such *Inventions* the *Conditions* of our *Communion* in any Part of God's instituted Worship. Nay, since he so earnestly urges our *occasional Communion* with them, I would desire him to render it more practicable, by removing that unhappy Bar

to it, which the 5th Canon of the Church of Ireland lays in our way. For by that Canon, all are denounc'd excommunicated, who shall affirm and maintain that there are within this Realm, other Meetings, Assemblies, or Congregations, than such as by the Law of this Land are held and allow'd, which may rightly challenge to themselves the Name of true and lawful Churches, and 'tis order'd that such be not restor'd till they repent and revoke their Error. Now he knows we all affirm and maintain our Churches to be true and lawful ones, and therefore are by the Canon Excommunicated. Nor can we be without a plain Violation of this Canon re-admitted, without retracting what we are so far from accounting an Error, that we think the contrary Opinion a very uncharitable one. So that to invite us to *Communion* with them, while this Canon stands in force against us, is but to tantalize us, and offer us with one Hand what they withhold with the other. And there are but two Ways to remove this Obstacle to our *Communion* with them, viz. either to discard that rigid and sour Canon, or to procure an *Act of Indulgence*, and then our Assemblies being allow'd by the Law, will not come within the Reach of it.

6. For his Advice to the *Dissenting Ministers* of Derry, to warn their People against such Books as maintain Principles contrary both to theirs and those of the *Establish'd Church*, since he is pleas'd to name one of my own, I am more particularly concern'd to consider what dangerous Principles it contains.

Now of the Principles laid down in those Books, and the Principles common to him, with the *Presbyterian Ministers* in the North, to which they are contrary, his Lordship gives this Account: "You are sensible that among those Protestants that dissent from our Church, some are *Congregational*, and others *Presbyterian*; you of this Diocese where I am concern'd, profess to be of this latter Sort, and agree with us, in owning, that by Christ's Appointment, the particular Churches in convenient Districts ought, according to Scripture-Precedents, to associate under one Government, and these again to unite themselves into greater Combinations of *Provincial* and *National* Churches: The Difference between you and us, is concerning these particular Districts, namely, Whether the Government of them ought to be in a Presbytery with a Bishop, as President and Governor by Christ's Appointment, or in a College of Presbyters absolutely equal. So then we both own *National* and *Provincial* Churches, as well as single worshipping Congregations; but the *Congregational* Dissenters deny, that Christ instituted any other Church besides a single Congregation, and affirm, that all other Churches, such as *Classical*, *Provincial*, or *National*, are human Inventions, and that every single Congregation is independent, and may, indeed, keep a fair Correspondence with its neighbouring Congregations, but it is not under any common Government with them. These last are the avowed Principles of Mr. Baxter, Dr. Owen, Mr. Loh, Mr. Humphrys, Mr. Boyse, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Clerkson, and generally of all the late Defenders of the Dissenters Cause in England and Ireland that I have met with.

Ans. I must own my self greatly oblig'd to his Lordship, for giving me a Place among so many excellent Persons, for whom I have so great a Veneration. But I must beg his Pardon if I think him a very unfit Person to represent the Principles of others, who so seldom does right to their Judgment when he goes about it. For I know none of those Reverend Authors he has nam'd, that would take this for either an accurate or just Account of their Sentiments in this Matter; I am sure neither Mr. Baxter nor Mr. Humphrys wou'd: And 'tis no way ingenious in the Bishop to give us this confus'd Stuff as Mr. Baxter's Principles, who has deliver'd his Thoughts on this Subject so often and so largely, and with so admirable Accuracy and Clearness; so that I shall rather choose to refer the Reader

to his many excellent Writings relating to this Subject of Church-Government, than to attempt to give any Abstract of his Judgment from them. But for my own Principles, I know none I have yet avow'd, but what are contain'd in the *Reflections* upon the Bishop's Answer to Dean Manby, having no where else deliver'd my Sentiments in reference to Church-Government; and for those I appeal to the Reader, whether the Bishop has done me any Justice in his Representation of them. And to that Purpose, I must beg the Readers Pardon for transcribing those two Passages in the *Reflections*, which are the only Places that relate to this Purpose.

"Page 17. Particular Churches are the chief in-
"tegrating Parts of the Church-Catholick. These
"Churches consist of one or more Pastors, and a Chri-
"stian Flock associated under his or their Oversight
"for personal Communion in Faith, Worship, and
"Holy Living. These Churches are oblig'd by the
"very Dictates of the Light of Nature, and general
"Rules of the Holy Scripture, to endeavour the Pre-
"servation of all necessary Unity, by the amicable
"Consultations of their associated Pastors. The Judg-
"ment of such associated Pastors should be submitted
"to by the People under their Care, when 'tis not re-
"pugnant to the Word of God, and contrary to the
"Interest of Religion. But the People do not owe
"them a blind Obedience, nor have such Pastors any
"Power but for Edification. Much less can such Bi-
"shops pretend to a higher Power, whose very Office
"Christ never instituted, and whose pretended Relation
"to their Diocesis is not founded on the Peoples Con-
"sent to it. And if such Bishops should claim the sole
"Power of Church-Government in a Nation, &c.

So pag. 57, 58. Having there objected against the Bishop's Assertion, That the Supreme Government of our Church has always been in a National Council, or Convocation; that Dr. Stillingfleet (now Bishop of Worcester) durst not own such an Ecclesiastical Governing Head of the Church of England. And that neither the Light of Nature, nor general Law of Scripture, would suggest such an Assembly (i. e. one so chosen and constituted) as the Governing Head of the Church of England. I then add, "A duly elected Synod of Pastors in a Nation, to en-
"deavour the nearest Unity and Concord of the par-
"ticular Churches (as far as 'tis to be expected on
"Earth) by their amicable Consultations, we grant to
"be most desirable and eligible wherever it may be had.
"And the Judgment of such a Synod should be com-
"ply'd with in all Things not repugnant to the Word
"of God. But we cannot say so of an Assembly
"chiefly compos'd of Men, whose Office is not only
"an Usurpation, but such as renders true Church-
"Government impossible, and whose Interest and
"Grandure inclines them to keep up the Divisions and
"Corruptions which they have made. And to such a
"Convocation's being entrusted by Christ, with the
"National Church-Government, which Mr. King is
"pleas'd to assert, I oppose the Judgment of the truly
"learned Archbishop Usher, which he often profess'd
"to Mr. Baxter"; That Church Councils are not for Go-
"vernment, but for Unity; not as being in Order of Govern-
"ment over the several Bishops, but that by Consultation they
"may know their Duty more clearly, and by Agreement main-
"tain Unity, and to that End they were antiently celebrated.

Since then this is all I have asserted in this Matter; How comes the Bishop to say, 'tis my avowed Principle, That Christ instituted no other Church besides a single Congregation, and, that all other Churches, such as Classical, Provincial, or National, are human Inventions; and that every single Congregation is independent, and may, indeed, keep a fair Correspondence with its neighbouring Congregations, but it is not under any common Government with them, when there is not one of these Propositions in the *Reflections*; nay, when I am so far from avowing them, that there is not one of them that I can assent to as here laid down by his Lordship. And what Authority can he pretend to declare for me what my avowed Principles are? If he had any thing to say against the *Reflections*,

he should in common Justice have quoted my Words, and given me leave to speak my own Thoughts; (as I have done by him in these Remarks) at least he should not have obtruded upon me what I never said or thought. 'Tis none of my Principle, That Christ instituted no other Church besides particular Congregations. For I believe he instituted both the Catholick Church, and such National or Kingdom Churches (as that great Light of his Age, Mr. Baxter pleads for, in his late Discourse on that Subject) i. e. a Society constituted of a Christian Sovereign Magistrate, and of Christian Subjects worshiping God ordinarily in true particular Pastoral Churches; over which the foresaid Magistrate exercises a coercive Government by the Sword, as Pastors exercise a Ministerial one by the Word. I do also judge Classical, Provincial, and National Synods to be so far from being an human Invention in the common Sense of the Word, i. e. a sinful or superstitious Invention of Men, that I think them highly agreeable to the Light of Nature, and the general Rules of Scripture, and have, in the *Reflections*, positively asserted, That particular Churches are oblig'd to endeavour the Preservation of Unity and Concord, by the amicable Consultations of their associated Pastors. I do not therefore think any particular Church to be so independent, as to be under no Obligation to enter into such Associations, but the contrary. And to give him the true Account of this Matter, what I have asserted in those *Reflections*, is but the common Principles wherein both the Presbyterian and Congregational Divines are agreed, as he may see, if he compare those Passages I have quoted, with the Heads of Agreement between them since drawn up. For in the sixth Head, there are these three Particulars laid down.

1. That in order to Concord, and in any other weighty and difficult Cases, it is needful, and according to the Mind of Christ, that the Ministers of several Churches be consulted and advised with about such Matters.

2. That such Meetings may consist of smaller or greater Numbers, as the Matter shall require.

3. That particular Churches, their respective Elders and Members, ought to have a reverential Regard to their Judgment so given, and not dissent there-from, without apparent Grounds from the Word of God.

These are Propositions of the same Import with those in the *Reflections*, and they are so far from being inconsistent with any Principle of those call'd Presbyterians, that the most eminent of those at London have subscrib'd them. 'Tis true, indeed, the Presbyterians do assert more than this; and the Assembly of Divines, in their humble Advice concerning Church Government, have some Assertions, to which the Congregational Divines do not fully assent: But as to these Differences, as I have not, in the forementioned Book, declar'd my own Judgment, so I know no Right the Bishop has to declare it for me, when he does not know it. I have indeed quoted the Judgment of Archbishop Usher concerning the Antient Councils, which he thought were not for Government, but Unity, &c. And if he will, on this Account, rank that venerable Primate among the Congregational Divines, they will, no doubt, think themselves greatly honour'd with his Company. But for my own Thoughts, I shall freely subjoin, that I am greatly inclin'd to think, that the Difference between those that make Synods only Consultative Meetings, and those that call them Church Judicatories, and ascribe a governing Power to them, is, in a great Measure, rather Verbal than Real. For those that make them Church Judicatories, assign them only a ministerial and declarative Power, and never imagin'd that the People ow'd a blind Obedience to their Determinations. And those that make them only Consultative Meetings for Preservation of Concord, yet assert such a Deference due to their Judgment, That it should be comply'd with, both by particular Pastors, and their Flocks, in all Things not repugnant to the Word of God: Nor do they deny that such Synods may disown such particular Pastors and their Flocks as walk disorderly, by rejecting their just and necessary Determinations, as no Members of their Association,

Association, or that they may entirely disclaim Christian Communion with those particular Churches that persist impenitently in maintaining such Corruptions in Doctrine and Worship, as directly strike at the very Vitals and Essentials of the Christian Religion. And I see not what those can justly attribute to such Synods more than this, who make them *Governing Assemblies* or *Ecclesiastical Judicatories*. Nor do I know any great Difficulty there is, in moderate and wise Men's joining in all the real Use of such Synods, in order to the Preservation of the Churches Peace; notwithstanding these different Names or Notions they affix to such *Ecclesiastical Assemblies* and their *Determinations*: Of which more may occur, when I consider what his Lordship objects against the *Principles* he ascribes to me.

On the other hand, The Bishop has not truly stated the Difference between the *Presbyterians* and *Prelatists*, when he tells us; 'Tis concerning these particular *Districts*; namely, *Whether the Government over them ought to be in a Presbytery, with a Bishop as President and Governor, by Christ's Appointment, or in a College of Presbyters absolutely equal?*

Ans. Does not his Lordship know, that our Modern Prelates not only pretend to a distinct and superior Office, (and not merely a higher Degree in the same Office) but assume all *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* to themselves? Do they not plainly exclude all Presbyters from any share in it? Are not all Church Censures past by the Chancellor, solely in the Bishop's Name, without any concurrence of the Presbyters of the Diocess, who have no Voice in them, nor are so much as call'd or requir'd to be present in the *Spiritual Court*? Nay, if this be all that our Prelates pretend to, viz. To be Presidents in a *Diocesan Synod*, in which the Presbyters of the Diocess share in the Government, how came they to reject Archbishop Usher's Model of *Episcopacy*, that allows such a stated Presidency to Bishops, when this was offer'd by the Divines call'd *Presbyterians*, at the memorable *Savoy Conference*, as the Ground of Accommodation? For tho' those Divines did not think such a stated Presidency of one Person of immediate *Divine Appointment*, yet they thought it such a *prudential human Constitution*, as they could for Peace sake submit to. But he knows the Bishops rejected that Offer with Scorn, nay, would not stand to the King's Declaration about *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, that gave them much more of Power than Archbishop Usher's Model. So that his Lordship seems not to understand the Principles of his Brethren, and I am beginning to hope is of more moderate Sentiments in this Point, than those Commissioners at that Treaty were.

It remains only under this Head, that I consider what he has to object against those Principles of mine, as they are now truly cited from the *Reflections*. For I hope he does not think me oblig'd to defend Positions that are none of my own.

"Now it is manifest (saith he) That these Principles of theirs, are much more different from your Principles than ours are: And the Difference is much greater, and more material. For it's possible on your Principles and ours to preserve Unity, and keep up some Value for Excommunication, since he who is censur'd in one Church, cannot be received in another, neither with you, nor us; whereas in the Congregational way, he that is Excommunicated in one Congregation may remove to another, or set up one for himself, if he pleases; at the worst, if he should, it would be counted but an Irregularity. These Principles are destructive to the Peace and Unity of the Church, as well as to our common Cause.

Ans. For the Congregational Divines, I see no difficulty in clearing their Principles from these invidious Consequences he draws from them; for all of them assert that he who is justly Excommunicated in one Church, ought to be receiv'd by no other whatever. But for my own, which I am only here concern'd to defend, I would desire his Lordship to review his Ar-

guments, and tell me where the Force of them lyes. What Unity of the Church are those Principles laid down in the *Reflections* destructive of? Is it destructive to the Churches Unity to assert, That the Light of Nature, and general Rules of Scripture, oblige the Pastors of the Church to associate for its Preservation by their mutual Consultations; and that the Judgment of such associated Pastors should be submitted to, whenever 'tis not repugnant to the Word of God? Nor do I disallow, but approve of Associations in those lesser or larger Districts, and the regular Subordination of the lesser to the greater. What then can he find in my Principles destructive of the Churches Unity, unless he imagines it to be so, that I assert, That the People do not owe a blind Obedience to such Synods, and that such associated Pastors have their Power for Edification, and not Destruction. And dare he pretend the contrary? Does not the Church of England declare, That all Councils may err, and will he assign an absolute Authority in the Church to those that are but fallible? Nay, is not the Pretence of the People's being absolutely oblig'd to receive and submit to the Decisions of General Synods, the very Foundation of Popery, and the chief Source of all those monstrous Corruptions in Doctrine and Worship, which have been establish'd in it by the pretended decisive Authority of such Councils? Have not all those Councils that have claim'd such unlimited Authority been the fatal Engines of tearing and corrupting the Christian Church, instead of preserving its Purity or Peace? As he may see prov'd with uncontroable Evidence, in Mr. Baxter's History of Bishops and their Councils, and in the Defence of it.

Again, How do these Principles of mine hinder the keeping up a just Value for Excommunication, or any other Censures of the Church? For it no way follows from them, That he who is censur'd in one Church, may remove to another, or set up one for himself if he pleases. For he that is justly censur'd in one Church, should not be receiv'd by any other whatsoever; and where the Pastors of particular Churches are associated, as I suppose they ought to be, this is always one necessary Rule for the Preservation of Unity. 'Tis true, if the Person excommunicated complain of Wrong done him, he may refer his Case to the Judgment of the Classical or Provincial Synod for Redress of it. But, if it appear that he is justly Excommunicated, for any other Pastor to receive him, 'tis such an irregular Practice, as if persisted in, may justify his Brethren in excluding him from being a Member of their Association. And for a justly excommunicated Person to set up a Congregation for himself, is so heinous an Addition to the Crime for which he was Excommunicated, that such associated Pastors may justly warn the People against the Danger of encouraging him in so impudent an Usurpation of Authority in the Church, when he is not fit to be so much as a Member in it. Nor would this Usurpation of the sacred Office by such a justly excommunicated Person be only an Irregularity (if he means by that a Disorder that's culpable indeed, but yet tolerable and inconsiderable). For he is incapable of the sacred Office, because destitute of the Qualifications necessary thereto, 1 Tim. iii.

So that upon the whole, the Bishop is grossly mistaken, in supposing that any Principles of mine are more different from those of the Presbyterians, than those of the Prelatists are. For I have asserted none but what any Presbyterian will grant; tho' they may assert more than my Subject then led me to: Whereas the Principles of those Prelatists, that approve our present Constitution, are not only very different from theirs, but truly lessen the Value of Excommunication, and render Church-Discipline impracticable. For what can more effectually pour Contempt on the Censures of the Church, than to have the most solemn of them, I mean Excommunication, decreed by a Lay Chancellor; and what is worse, decreed usually upon so frivolous Causes, in so rash and precipitant a Manner, and made merely an Engine to squeeze the Purfes of Men, rather than reform their Manners. And what can more effectually

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render true Church Discipline impracticable, than for one Man to engross the whole Exercise of it in a large Diocese, containing many score or hundred Churches, (whereas every Pastor finds it a Work hard enough to perform it a-right in his single Congregation) and to exclude those particular Pastors entirely from it, to whose Office it does belong, and without whose Concurrence it can never be rightly administered.

I shall only add, That what any Conforming Divines have wrote, in Answer to any Principles of mine, I know not. And for such Books as Mr. Baxter has wrote in Defence of the Nonconformists Cause, such as his *Nonconformity stated and argued*, and his *Treatise of Episcopacy*: If he think them carefully answer'd, I wish he would direct us to the Answerers: For I know of no such Answerers, unless he take railing or nibbling at Books to be answering them. But if he refers to the Debates between Mr. Baxter and Dr. Stillingfleet, and to the *Vindication* of the latter against Mr. Humphrys and Mr. Baxter, he may easily see how little that *Vindication* signifies, in the first part of Mr. Baxter's *Catholic Communion*; which is a Survey of the *Vindication*. And by the way, that judicious Divine was so far from entertaining Principles so destructive to those of the Northern Presbyterians, (as the Bishop here groundlessly imagines) that he commends those in Scotland for their National Church-confederacy, and the happy Concord produc'd by it. *Nation. Churches*, p. 5.

6. For his last Request to the Presbyterian Ministers of his Diocese, That they would concur with him in beating down such Vices and Immoralities as are opposite to our common Christianity; such as Adultery, Fornication, Blasphemy, Profanation of the Lord's Day, &c. I doubt not he'll find their most ready Compliance, and have both their Hearts and Hands to concur with him in so necessary a Work. And I may, I think, venture to assure him, they will receive no Persons excommunicated for such Vices, into their Congregations; nor give them the least Countenance. But I hope his Lordship will not reckon those guilty of Fornication, who are Married by Nonconformist Ministers upon due Publication of the Banes of Matrimony, nor expect that they should reject their own Members, when the Spiritual Courts, for want of other Prey on that Score, draw them into their Clutches, and bring them under their Lash. Nay, as they have very little hope of any great Reformation of Manners, from either the Persons that compose those Courts, or their manner of proceeding in them, both which they think greatly need to be reform'd, so I hope his Lordship does not expect that they should turn Informers to bring Grist to their Mill.

And if complying thus far with his Lordship's forementioned Requests will contribute so much to his living more easily with the Dissenters, and to the taking off that Uncharitableness which the Differences that remain are apt to cause, I hope those of his Diocese will herein give him all the reasonable Satisfaction he can desire; and then I hope his Lordship will not continue the Feud on his part, by putting such uncharitable four Covenants into his new Leases, as plainly imply his Intentions and Endeavours to expel them, and suppress their Meetings wherever his Power and Interest can reach. For otherwise, he will give them too great Occasion to apply to these obliging Expressions, when compar'd with his Actions, that unhappy Remark, *The Voice is the Voice of Jacob, but the Hands (these rough and hairy ones) are the Hands of Esau*.

III. For his Lordship's ADVICE to the Conforming Laity of DERRY.

I shall take no further Notice of it, than to express my great Satisfaction,

1. In his recommending to them the Worship of God in their Families. The general Neglect of this has been

one great Source of the deplorable Degeneracy and Corruption of our Youth. And I heartily wish the Clergy were herein more exemplary to the Laity, by making their Houses lesser Churches and fruitful Seminaries of Religion. I hope the Dissenters of that Diocese, as well as in other Parts of the Kingdom, set them herein a Pattern worthy their Imitation. But why his Lordship should in their Family Prayers, seem to confine them to the Words of the Church, I see no reason, unless he supposes those Forms such a Catholicon in Devotion, as some boast their Recipe's to be in Physick, that will suit all particular Diseases.

2. In his exhorting them not only to Innocency of Life, but to Christian Moderation too.

For certainly when our Zeal, instead of being laid out to promote the great and important Interests of our common Christianity, is chiefly spent about lesser Matters disputable among truly good Men; it turns into a preternatural and feavourish Heat that preys on the Vitals of Religion. But I must add, that I understand not why Innocency of Life and Moderation in the Conforming Laity, should any more convince the Nonconformists of the Unreasonableness of Separation from them, than the like Innocency and Moderation of the Nonconformists should convince their conforming Brethren of the Unreasonableness of Separation from them. And no doubt but all good Men on both sides enjoy that Communion of Saints which our Creed speaks of; and where their Difference of Judgment about some Modes of Worship, unavoidably occasions that Difference of Practice (which some improperly call Difference of Communion) yet there is no reason it should disunite their Affections. They retain Communion in the Essentials of Belief, Worship, and Holiness, and are cemented by those common Bands of Christian Unity, mentioned Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6. (One Body, one Spirit, one Hope of their Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father :) And so far as they are acted by the genuine Spirit of Christianity, they will endeavour to preserve this Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, by mutual Forbearance as to that Diversity of external Rites and Modes, about which it cannot be expected but that the different Apprehensions of pious Men will occasion Diversity in their Practice, especially where any unnecessary or suspected Rites are imposed.

IV. For his ADVICE to the Dissenting Laity of DERRY.

I shall only offer the following Remarks,

1. His Lordship does well to refer them to their Bibles, as I have also done in this Discourse; and I hope they will herein imitate those noble Bereans by examining what is said, according to that unerring Standard and Test of Divine Truth.

2. That Men are more fond of their own Inventions than of God's Commands, is a Truth that Experience puts out of all doubt.

But that all those Popish Corruptions of Image-worship, Prayers for the Dead, Purgatory, the Intercession of Saints, half Communion, and Worshipping the Host, were merely introduc'd by the violent Fondness of the People for them, against the Will of the Church Governors, who generally oppos'd and condemn'd them, is an Observation that I can see little ground for in Church History. As to some of them, I think it far more probable, that they had their Rise either from the imprudent Zeal, or the politick Contrivance of the Clergy, who found them serviceable to squeeze the Purfes, as well as enslave the Consciences of the People. 'Tis certain, that when these Corruptions were once entertain'd, the Clergy were generally the most violent Defenders of them, and the most cruel Persecutors of all that made any Attempts towards Reformation.

But

But the Bishop applies this *Observation to extempore Prayers*, which as he supposes to be an *human Invention*, so he tells us, "The People have brought them into practice against the Opinion and Constitution of the Church Governors, and of the first Reformers, who all did settle Liturgies in the Churches, which they reform'd. This *Knox* did in *Scotland*, whose Liturgy we have ready to produce, to the Conviction of those who pretend to be his Successors, and yet condemn Forms of Prayer as unlawful. This *Luther* did for *Germany*, and *Calvin* for *Geneva*, and for the *French Church*, whose Liturgies as still used by them.

Ans. I hope I have already sufficiently prov'd, that praying without Forms is as much of Divine Institution as praying with them; and consequently the Bishop has no more Reason to call the one a *human Invention* than the other. Nay, since there is not the least Evidence of any stinted Liturgy prescrib'd, or recommended to the Christian Church by Christ or his Apostles, but so strong Presumption to the contrary; that in the Apostolical, and I may add in the two or three following Ages, even ordinary Pastors us'd *Free-prayer*, or prayed in the Exercise of their own Abilities: There is much more Reason to rank such stinted Liturgies among the Bishop's sort of *human Inventions*. For they have certainly neither Precept nor Pattern for them in the *New Testament*, as us'd in the Christian Church; and we do in the Use of them vary from *Apostolical Pattern*. And I take this Account he has given us of the *Original* of what he calls *Extempore Prayers* to be a very lame and untrue one. For if *Free Prayer*, unconfin'd to a stinted Liturgy, was the Practice of the three first Centuries, (and Dr. *Comber's* Proofs to the contrary, are, I think, invalidated by his modest and learned *Examinator*, to the full Satisfaction of an unprejudic'd Reader.) Then the Bishop is first concerned to acquaint us how such stinted Liturgies were brought into general Use: And if he will take the Opinion of the learned *Capellus* in this Matter, (even in that very *Disputation* in which he so severely censures the Compilers of the *Directory*) prescribed Liturgies were unknown to the apostolical and succeeding Ages, and were not introduc'd till those Persecutions ceas'd, which kept alive the Zeal of the primitive Christians; and till through the Favour of *Christian Emperors*, the number of Christians increas'd; but the Fervour of true Piety and Devotion was allay'd. And then they were gradually introduc'd for the Use of simple and unlearned Ministers; who through their Sloth were unfurnish'd with Gifts, and through their Ignorance in danger of venting such unsound Notions as subtle Hereticks might instill into them †.

But it was much later before stinted Liturgies came into general Use, even in those Ages (the fifth, sixth, &c.) in which the Clergy gradually degenerated into Laziness and Ignorance, as well as Worldliness and Pride, and true Devotion sunk into Formality and Superstition. And hereby the ruling part of the Clergy had the easier Opportunity to propagate all their gainful Errors and Superstitions among the People, by infusing the Poyson of them into the publick Offices of Devotion. For such prescribed Liturgies were first set up in Patriarchal and Metropolitan Churches, such as *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Constantinople*, &c. And there was very great Diversity of them in the Western, as well as Eastern Churches, for some Ages; till by the Artifices and Tyranny of the Popes, all, or most of the Western Churches were reduc'd to a Conformity herein to that of *Rome*, whose publick Offices had frequent Additions to them, and Changes in them.

And therefore 'tis no wonder, that when our first Reformers began to oppose the Corruptions of Popery, they should yet retain the use of Liturgies. For the Clergy were at that time so generally over-spread with

deplorable Ignorance, that it was not to be expected that those of them that embraced the Reformation should be immediately qualify'd to pray without Forms; to which they had never been accustomed. They were so far from being capable of that, that they were judged generally unfit to instruct the People; and therefore Homilies were compos'd for their Use as well as Liturgies. But as, when by the Revival and Increase of Learning, the Clergy generally acquir'd better Abilities, and so Homilies were gradually laid aside, (the Strong having no more need of such Crutches) so the same might have been expected in reference to Prayer as well as Preaching. And accordingly the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland, did gradually revive the Practice of praying without a stinted Liturgy. And those in France and Holland, that retain some few short Forms, yet leave their Ministers at liberty to exercise their Gifts in free occasional Prayer, and look on such stinted Liturgies as exclude this Exercise of the Ministers Abilities, as too great an Encouragement to Sloth and Ignorance in them. Insomuch, as the fore-said *Capellus*, when upon the like Mistake with our Author, he so sharply chides the Non-conformists in England, for condemning Forms of Prayer as unlawful; yet does he warmly censure the Rigour of such, as under pretence of certain and prescribed Forms of Liturgies, study to banish out of the Church all use of Prayer conceived by particular Ministers themselves, and disowns this from being his Design.

So that the main Reason why our first Reformers retain'd Liturgies, does not extend to such a State of the Church wherein the Learning and Abilities of Ministers are or should be so improv'd, as to set them as much above the need of stinted Forms of Prayer, as of Preaching. And accordingly, those Churches whose Reformation was carried to the greatest height, did not by any Forms of Prayer they retain'd (to express their Concord in that Duty) exclude the use of free Prayer. Nor do any Dissenters condemn all publick use of Forms, but only such as tempts Ministers to a Neglect of the Gift of Prayer, and hinders them from suiting all the Exigencies and Occasions of their Flocks in that part of their publick Devotions.

For the Bishop's Reason why the Generality of the People are better pleas'd with *Extemporary Prayers*, than with such Forms, viz. *Because the Novelty of the one gratifies more Men's carnal and itching Ears with a kind of sensual Delight, and requires less Pains to strain up their Minds to true Devotion*, p. 184, 185. 'Tis a very confused one, wherein there is something of Truth, mixt with weak and censorious Mistakes. 'Tis true indeed, that considering the general Temper of Mankind, the Variety of Matter, as well as of Expression in free Prayer, tends more to raise Mens Devotion, than the constant Repetition of the same Forms. Nor can the People so readily believe that a Minister prays from his Heart, when he reads a prescribed Form, as when he delivers a free Prayer, that is the Result of his previous Meditation. So that in this respect free Prayer has much the Advantage above Forms, that 'tis a greater Help to inward Devotion, which is sufficient to recommend this Mode of Praying, as in general far preferable to the other. There is something of Truth in those Expressions of Sir W—C—* (tho' perhaps there is too much of the Air of a Gentleman in them) *When a Man quality'd, endued with Learning too, and adorn'd with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well-deliver'd Prayer before a Sermon; it has the Appearance of a Divine Rapture; he raises and leads the Hearts of the Assembly in another manner than the most compos'd and best studi'd Forms can do. And the Pray-we's would look like so many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with those who speak with so powerful Zeal, that Men are tempted to believe Heaven it self has directed their Words to them.* But why the Bishop should make it a carnal Temper

† See *Theol. Sal.* p. 657.

* Character of a Whig and Tory, p. 20.

in the People to desire the best Helps that can be given them to excite their Devotions in Prayer, and cure their natural Indisposition to that Duty, I cannot conceive. It looks rather like a carnal Temper in the Clergy to deny them this excellent Help, to indulge their own Sloth and Ease. Nor do I see why the People must be accus'd of *itching Ears*, because they are prone to be more dull under the constant Repetition of the same Forms, than under the Variety of Matter and Expression that occurs in *free Prayer*. He might as well upbraid them with *itching Ears*, because they would be more dull in singing, if the same Psalm and Tune were constantly used, than when Variety of both is allow'd them; or because they would be more dull if the same Homilies were constantly read, than under that more grateful Variety of Instructions that Sermons contain.

But I wonder most why his Lordship should, in this respect, compare *free Prayer* to Images, and Relicks, and mediatory Saints, p. 185. unless he fancies that the Use of Images, Relicks, and mediatory Saints, does as much more contribute to raise true Devotion in the Worship of God, than the Simplicity of his own uncorrupted Institutions; as the use of *free Prayer* contributes more to it than *stinted Forms*. And if he truly think so, the Papists are greatly obliged to his Lordship for this favourable Character of the Tendency and Effects of these Superstitions. But if his Lordship had duly consider'd, that while *free Prayer* continu'd in the Church, these Superstitions were unknown in it, and that they were gradually introduc'd in the same Ages in which *stinted Liturgies* gradually came into general Use, it might have prevented this invidious, but groundless Comparison between the Influence of *free Prayer*, and that of those gross Corruptions. I am sure such *stinted Forms*, when read out of a Book, look more like lifeless Images of Devotion, than those Prayers that are the Result of the serious Meditations and Affections of him that delivers them.

And if the Fondness of ill People for any way of Devotion be an Argument that 'tis not of God, (as the Bishop further insinuates, p. 185.) I am apt to think it will make much more against *stinted Liturgies* than against *free Prayer*. For he will hardly be able to persuade us that the Debauchees of the Age dote on *Extempore Prayers* (as he calls them) and that the most Serious and Religious have the same violent Passion for prescribed Forms.

3. We must beg his Lordship's Pardon, if we cannot easily believe, 'tis only Conscience that makes the Conforming Clergy so generally decline *Extempore Prayers*. For if by *Extempore Prayers*, he means such as are free and unconfin'd to any prescribed Forms, he seems himself to own, p. 54. That there are some Occasions that require it even in publick, and I see no ground to doubt but that they are ordinarily more convenient than set Forms; if those Prayers be most convenient that tend most to raise true Devotion in the Minds of the People.

But we must much more beg his Lordship's Pardon, for not believing what he adds for Confirmation of this Account of their disusing *free Prayer*. For it seems a very surprizing Discovery that he has made to us, when he tells us, p. 186. 'Tis manifest that *Extempore Prayers* would be much more easy to most of us, and less burthensome than the Service we use. You may think otherwise, but assure your selves that you are mistaken. And I dare appeal to those that have tried both, whether is most easy: There are such, both amongst you and us, that have made the Experiment. And I dare refer it to them, to declare on their Consciences, which of the two Services they look on to be the greater Burthen to him that performs them. Whatever you may think, if we would indulge our selves, it were no hard Matter for the meanest of us to pass an *Extempore Prayer* on our Auditory, or turn the Heads of our Sermon into one.

Ans. We pay a great Deference to his Lordship's Judgment; but we cannot, without offering great Violence to our own Understandings, bring them to assent to

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so incredible a Paradox, meerly because 'tis deliver'd with so extraordinary an Air of Assurance; much less can we entertain that as a manifest Truth, which to us seems so contrary to common Sense. For we cannot imagine what unsupportable Burthen it should be for a Man to read the Service of the Church when he has the Book before him; unless when he is pain'd with sore Eyes, or terribly hoarse with a great Cold; for then it may possibly be some considerable Trouble to him. But for a Minister to deliver *free Prayer* in a publick Assembly (and the Bishop knows the Dissenters are seldom accused for theirs being too short) requires both serious Meditation before hand, to suit it to the Occasion, and to the State of his People; and the laborious Exercise of his Judgment, his Invention and Memory, which is a real Burthen and Difficulty to those that are not, by deep Study and frequent Exercise, habituated to it. Nay, though the Dissenters should pray in that new Way his Lordship has contrived for them, by patching together several pieces of old Forms to make a new Dress of it; yet this would require some Exercise of their Judgment and Memory to tack them right together, and to repeat them without Hesitation. And this sure is not so easy a Matter, as what he cannot deny every School-boy to be capable of, viz. to turn over the Leaves, and read what is usually in a fair and large Print. His Lordship may, if he please, appeal from common Sense to Experience; but by all that I have yet convers'd with on this Subject, his Assertion seems as strange to them as it does to us. Nor can I meet with any of these Vertuoso's in Devotion, that pretend, upon any Experiments they have made, to give their Suffrage to his new Observation. We do not indeed doubt of his Lordship's Abilities, but he must allow us to doubt of those of the Body of the inferior Clergy, who, I fear, would think it a severe Imposition upon them, if their Diocesans should oblige them to the frequent Exercise of their Talents this way. For I have heard several Clergymen, of no mean Parts, complain of the unhappy Inability for *free Prayer* that general disuse had brought upon them, and I believe I might herein with much better Reason appeal to Experience. But since his Lordship's Hand is in for Paradoxes, I think he should have added one more, viz. That 'tis manifest, that 'tis a far greater Burden for the Clergy to read the Homilies of the Church, or other Mens Sermons, than to preach Sermons of their own; and I doubt not he may with as much Reason appeal to the Experience of those that have tried both, to attest the Truth of it. And if he can make good the Truth of these two Paradoxes, the Nonconformist Ministers will hence forward pass for lazy Drones, while the poor Readers of the Church are accounted the truest Labourers. But to give the latter their due, the most of them take too much Pains for that sorry Hire that's allow'd them by such of their Brethren as are laborious enough to engross Church-Livings, but too far consult their Ease to make the Duties of their Function any Burthen to them.

Lastly, For his Request to the Dissenting Laity, That they would believe he heartily desires and studies the Good of their Souls, I hope they are willing to gratify him herein, as far as rational Charity can allow: Only it would greatly facilitate their Belief of it, if they found him more tender of their good Name and just Reputation. And they are sorry to find, that notwithstanding all his Professions of Good-will, he should shew so little Regard to that, not only in a continued Series of unjust Accusations through his whole Book, but especially in the following Words; in which he has drawn up a comprehensive summary Charge, sufficient to render them odious if it be believed; but they are confident too apparently groundless to gain Credit with any that will pass a righteous and impartial Judgment on these Matters.

His Lordship's Words are, "For how is it possible, that any Man that has a Zeal for the Purity of God's Worship, should not have his Spirit mov'd within

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him,

"him, to see a well-meaning People so strangely misled, as to content themselves to meet together, perhaps for some Years, with a Design to worship God, and yet hardly ever see any thing of God's immediate Appointment in their Meetings? Now to my Thoughts, this is manifestly the Case of many of you, since a Man may frequent some Meetings among you for some Years, and never hear a Prayer, a Psalm, or Chapter, which has been immediately dictated by God, and never be call'd on to bow his Knee to God, or see either Minister or People address themselves to him in that humble Posture. Lastly, never see any Body offer to administer, or desire to receive the Food of Life in the Lord's Supper. These are melancholy Reflections to me, who believe that God has requir'd these in his Worship: And therefore I hope you will take it in good part that I endeavour to restore them to you.

Ans. If the Case of the Dissenters be truly such as the Bishop represents it, his Zeal to recover the Purity of Divine Worship among them, is highly commendable; and would deserve their thankful Acknowledgments. But if the whole of this heavy Charge be so far from being manifestly true, that 'tis rather apparently groundless and unjust; there will be some occasion to suspect, that his Lordship's Zeal has more of Heat than Light in it; and is but the Zeal of a Party, that often transports Men beyond all bounds of Truth, when 'tis their Design to render those odious whom they account their Adversaries. And whether this Charge be not so apparently groundless and unjust, will appear upon the Review of it.

For do the Dissenters content themselves to meet together for some Years, and yet hardly ever see any thing of God's immediate Appointment among them, when they have every Lord's Day Prayer, Praise, Reading and Expounding, and applying the Word of God, and frequently Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which are all Duties of God's immediate Appointment? Or can he tell us of any other parts of Divine Worship besides these, that are instituted by God? But his Lordship perhaps does not speak so much of these Parts of Divine Worship themselves, as of the manner of performing them. For when he comes to make good his Charge, he tells us, *A Man may frequent your Meetings some Years, and never hear a Prayer, a Psalm, or a Chapter, which has been immediately dictated by God, &c.* But why does he charge the Dissenters for never using a Prayer immediately dictated by God? If he speak of Psalm Prayers, what he saith is notoriously untrue.

If he speak of Prose Prayers, why does he make it our Crime to use no such Prayers immediately dictated by God, when he cannot produce any shadow of Proof of any such Prayers immediately dictated by God, for the use of the Christian Church, unless the Lord's Prayer? Nor is there any clear Evidence of its being dictated as a Form to be used in our publick Assemblies: Or does he think their Collects any more immediately dictated by God, than our free Prayers are? I hope he may from the foregoing Discourse find, that the latter are more agreeable to the Precepts of the New Testament, and much more to the Pattern of the Apostolick Church, than stinted Liturgies.

Again, Why does he tell us that the Dissenters may, in several Years, never hear a Psalm immediately dictated

by God? When Psalms are constantly sung in their Meetings, much more than in the Parish-Churches. And can he find any other Use of them prescribed to the Christian Church? (except that of their being read for Instruction, as they are among us equally with other parts of the Old Testament.) Or is he so weak as to imagine that a Prose-version of the Psalms is immediately dictated by God, but a Metre-version is not; when God has immediately dictated neither; and when the true Sense of the Original is as much the Word of God, when in Metre, as when in Prose? Again, Why should he tell us of our not hearing a Chapter immediately dictated by God, when he never immediately dictated any such Division of the Scriptures into Chapters at all: Nay, when an entire Portion of Scripture, and usually a whole Chapter, and sometimes more, is so constantly read and expounded, besides the reading so many parallel Texts to explain and urge some Doctrine or Precept of the Christian Religion? (i. e. when the Scriptures are read all the several ways we have any Pattern for in the Christian Church?) Again, Why does he make it a Crime that we do not bow our Knees to God, when we either use that Posture, or that other of Standing; which is as much a scriptural Posture, and equally expressive of our religious Reverence in all our immediate Addresses to God? Again, why should he accuse those as never seeing one Offering to administer, or desiring to receive the Food of Life in the Lord's Supper, who (though they communicate seldomer than other Dissenters, yet) ordinarily do it oftner than the Conforming Laity, in most parts of the Kingdom? One would think his Lordship might have spar'd them the Labour of so obvious and easy an Apology, by forbearing such Accusations as have not so much as an Appearance of Truth or Justice. But if he cannot perceive Things that are so clear and plain, the Dissenters will, in Requital of his Prayer for them, beg of God, that he may open the Eyes of his Understanding: And they hope when those Scales are fallen off, (I mean those unhappy Prejudices that hinder him from discerning these things in their true Light) then these melancholy Reflections will quickly vanish, with which his Mind has been so much disturb'd on this occasion. For now, if he please, he may clearly see the Dissenters enjoy already all those divine Appointments which he is so solicitous to restore to them, and (whatever others do) free from any Mixture of sinful human Invention.

And as they thank him for his Endeavour to instruct them, so they humbly request he would calmly and impartially consider what is here offer'd for their necessary Vindication; which if he do, they do not despair, but it may recover him to a more favourable Opinion of his Brethren, and a more charitable Temper towards them; and may oblige him, as an Evidence thereof, not only to retract his former uncharitable Exclusion of them from the Catholick Church; but this super-added Injury, in charging their Worship with human Inventions; and so frequently misrepresenting their Opinions and Practices contrary to plain Evidence, in order to the countenancing that groundless Accusation. For such Justice and Charity towards our Fellow Christians, is most becoming those that profess to expect that great Day, when the universal Shepherd will appear, and call both Pastors and their Flocks to a strict Account at that general and final Visitation.

A P P E N D I X

To the REMARKS I have already made on the Bishop's Discourse, I think it necessary to subjoin these two additional ones.

I. **T**HAT his Lordship has omitted one material part of Divine Worship, about the manner of performing which, the Contest between the Establish'd Church and the Dissenters does most directly concern this Charge of human Inventions in the Worship of God.

For of those two Sacraments, which are the two Parts of positive instituted Worship peculiar to the Christian Religion, he has only consider'd that of the Lord's Supper; but has said nothing concerning the other, which is as undoubted a part of Divine Worship, and the very Sacrament of our Initiation into the Christian Church, viz. Baptism. I confess his Prudence and Foresight seems very commendable in this wary Silence and Omission. (For 'tis easier to answer such Objections as he himself makes for the Dissenters, than those they make for themselves.) But I cannot so much commend his Candour and Ingenuity in it; for he could not be ignorant that here the Dissenters particularly us'd to fix their Charge of human Inventions in the Worship of God, which the Bishop has been so far from endeavouring to clear their way of administering this Ordinance from, that he has rather furnish'd us with an invincible Argument, *ad hominem*, to make it good. There are two Things which the Dissenters object against the Way of celebrating this part of Divine Worship in the Establish'd Church; the one is the Use of the Cross as a dedicating Sign; the other is, the making Godfathers and Godmothers Sponsors for the religious Education of those Children whose Parents are living, to the Exclusion of the Parents themselves.

Now let us examine each of these Practices by the Bishop's own Principle. Those ways of Worship (saith he, p. 3.) are displeasing to God, which are not expressly contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, or warranted by the Examples of holy Men therein. But neither of these ways of celebrating Baptism can plead any such express Command, or so much as Example in the Holy Scriptures; none that I know of, having so much as pretended to produce either for them. So that unless the Bishop retract his own Principle, he must discard both these Practices as sinful human Inventions. But as I lay no great Stress on an Argument founded on so ambiguous a Principle, so I shall add, that I fear these two Things will prove human Inventions, according to the juster Notion of them given in the Remarks on the Introduction.

For the Cross in Baptism, I see not how it can be clear'd from being a new human Sacrament. For there wants nothing but Divine Institution to make it as much a Sacrament as Baptism itself. For what more can be requir'd to the Nature of such a Sacrament of the New Covenant, in reference to both the Parts of it, than to be a visible Sign, whereby God's Promise of the Blessings of that Covenant is confirm'd to us, and we brought under solemn Obligation to the Duties of it. For if such an external Sign be appointed by God for these Ends, 'tis a Divine Sacrament; if by Men, 'tis a human Sacrament, or a Part of positive Worship of human Invention. Now that the Establish'd Church has appointed this

visible Sign of the Cross for both these Purposes I mention'd before, is, I think, sufficiently evident from her own express Declaration concerning it. For these are her Words in the 30th Canon of the Church of England.

"The Holy Ghost, by the Mouth of the Apostle, did honour the Name of the Cross so far, that under it he comprehended not only Christ crucified, but the Force, Effect, and Merit of his Death and Passion, with all the Comforts, Fruits, and Promises which we receive or expect thereby. And afterwards, the Church of England hath retained still the Sign of it in Baptism, following therein the Primitive and Apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honourable Badge; whereby the Infant is dedicated to the Service of him that died on the Cross, as by the Words of the Common-prayer-book may appear. The Words in the Service-book, to which the Canons refer, are also these; "We receive this Child into the Congregation of Christ's Flock, and do sign him with the Sign of the Cross, in token that he shall not be ashamed to confess the Faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner against Sin, the World, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful Soldier and Servant to his Life's End."

Here is the Sign of the Cross set up to represent Christ crucified, and all the Comforts, Fruits, and Promises which we receive or expect as the Force, Effect, and Merit of his Death and Passion: And sure Baptism can represent no more to be either received or expected by us. 'Tis also advanc'd as an honourable Badge, by which the Person baptiz'd is dedicated to the Service of him that died on the Cross; and consequently brought under solemn Obligation to all the Duties of the New Covenant, to confess the Faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner against Sin, the World, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful Soldier and Servant to his Life's End: And what more peculiar Duties of the Covenant of Grace can Baptism oblige us to?

Nay, as those Sacraments of Divine Institution are intended, by their Signification, to excite us to our Duty by way of moral Causality, or Influence, so the same is ascrib'd to this Ceremony amongst the rest appointed by the Establish'd Church, that 'tis apt to stir up the dull Mind of Man to the Remembrance of his Duty to God by such a notable and spiritual Signification, whereby he may be edified. See Pref. to the Cerem.

So that crossing in Baptism is as much a Sacrament as any thing can be, that is not divinely instituted, *i. e.* 'Tis a Sacrament which Men have presum'd to institute to the like Purpose, and use as our Blessed Saviour has instituted Baptism it self.

Nor do any of those Excuses I have yet met with, signify any thing to take off this Charge.

We are sometimes told, That Baptism is perfect without it. See the 30th Canon.

Ans. Not to insist on what might be justly said, that the Canon enjoins the use of it in Baptism; and that a great part of the Office of Baptism is continued

after the *Crossing* is over, which seems to imply the quite contrary to what the *Excuse* insinuates; I do not see that this signifies any Thing to remove our *Objection*. For *Baptism* is perfect without the *Lord's Supper*, and yet that's a distinct *Sacrament*, and so will *Crossing* prove no less a *human Sacrament*, tho' it were administred in publick Worship at a different Time from that of *Baptism*. Only it looks the more presumptuous to joyn it with *Baptism*, as if we would supply our Lord's Defects in that Institution which he has made the initiating Symbol and Badge of our Christian Profession.

We are also told, *That the Minister baptizes in the Name of Christ, but signs with the Sign of the Cross in the Name of the Church, who, by that Rite, receives the Infant into the Number of her particular Members.*

Ans. I might content my self with replying, That there is no such Thing suggested in the Office of *Baptism*, nor in the Canon that relates to the *Cross*. The Words us'd by the Minister when he crosses the Child, rather relates to its being receiv'd into the universal Church, for that is the Congregation of Christ's Flock; nor is there the least Syllable in the Words following, of the Person baptized being sign'd with the Sign of the Cross, in token of his being receiv'd into this National Church. But I add, 'tis no way true that the Cross is only us'd as a Rite, by which the *Establish'd Church* admits the Baptiz'd into the Number of her Members; for the 36th Canon expressly asserts it to be an honourable Badge, whereby the Person baptized is dedicated to the Service of him that dy'd on the Cross, and refers to the Words of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, which are plain to that Purpose. And therefore the Difficulty still remains, by what Authority the Church can appoint Ministers in her Name to dedicate Men to the Service of a crucify'd Saviour, by a Rite or Ceremony of their own, when Christ has already appointed one of his own choosing for that End and Purpose? For if she could, why do we quarrel with the *Roman Church* for adding so many new Sacraments to those two which Christ has instituted already? Nay, why do we blame the *Romish Church* for their additional Rites, of Oyl, and Salt, and Spittle, and annexing such spiritual Signification and Use to them?

And 'tis yet more inexcusable to make such a *human Invention* a necessary Condition of Christian Communion in this Part of the Worship of God. For that is to deny Men the Benefit of God's Institution, to which all credible Professors of the Christian Religion, and their Posterity, have a Right, by the Charter of our common Lord, because they dare not comply with a meer *human Invention*, for which there is as little (if not less) to be said, than for any of those other Rites practis'd by the *Roman Church* in the Celebration of this Ordinance. And for the Custom of crossing themselves in common Conversation, practis'd by the Primitive Christians, to distinguish themselves from Infidels, we see not what Pretence it can afford, for this religious Use of the Cross, as a dedicating Sign in the publick Worship of God, especially as conjoyn'd with his own, viz. *Baptism*.

For the Use of Godfathers and Godmothers, as exclusive of the Parents publick Promise of the religious Education of their Children, there are these two Objections lye against it.

1. When the 6th Canon of the Church of Ireland ordains, *That no Parent shall be urg'd to be present, nor admitted to stand as Godfather for his own Child*, it plainly discharges the Parents from any publick Engagement to a Duty which God has most expressly enjoyn'd them, *Deut. vi. 6, 7. Eph. vi. 4.* And can any thing be more unreasonable, than to forbid them to bind themselves by a solemn publick Promise to a Duty, which God has so strictly bound them to by his own Authority, when one great Design of *Baptism*, wherein we dedicate ourselves, or our Offspring to God, is to bring us and them under such external publick Bonds to the Duties of God's Covenant.

2. Godfathers and Godmothers absolutely undertake

a Work that does not belong to them, unless upon Supposition of the Parents dying, and their adopting the Child. And what is far worse, hereby the Generality of such Sponsors are commonly involv'd in the Guilt of heinous Perjury, by undertaking positively to do that themselves, which not one of many ever performs. For besides their Vowing, in the Child's Name, to renounce the Devil and all his Works, &c. to believe the Articles of the Christian Faith, and obediently to keep God's holy Commands. (As if such actual Faith and Repentance were requisite to the Claim of Infants, to the Promises of God's Covenant, and the Seal of them.) They are also told by the Priest, what is their Part and Duty, in Pursuance of their Promise, viz. "To see that the Infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what solemn Vow, Promise, and Profession he has made by them; they are to call upon him to hear Sermons, and chiefly to provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in the vulgar Tongue, and all other Things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his Soul's Health; and that the Child may be vertuously brought up to lead a Godly and a Christian Life, &c. Now we may safely herein appeal to common Experience, how few make any more of this than a Matter of meer Ceremony and Form. And alas, how few that seriously consider how hard it is to discharge these Duties a-right for their own Children, would willingly entangle themselves in such solemn Engagements, to do all this for other Men's. And yet Parents must have their Children excluded from *Baptism*, if they cannot prevail with others to enter into such unreasonable and rash Vows, in which the most only trifle with the Almighty God, and dissemble with Men in so awful a Transaction.

If indeed either these Sponsors were only engag'd conditionally to take Care of the Child's holy Education in case of the Parent's dying, or were only made Witnesses of the Credibility of the Parent's Profession of Christianity, as some would pretend to salve the Matter, there were something to be said as an Excuse for this Practice. But 'tis evident from what I have already quoted, that they enter into a solemn Promise of all the Duties fore-mention'd. And for the common Custom of many such Sponsors, who pretend to excuse themselves from what they have promis'd, by devolving the Charge back on the Parents, as soon as the *Baptism* is over, 'tis no better than a profane trifling with so sacred a Thing as a publick religious Vow and Promise.

I might have objected farther, that the 14th Canon of the Church of Ireland forbids the Minister to refuse or delay to christen any Child brought to him on Sundays or Holy-days, without any Exception; whereas he should in all Reason enquire, whether the Parent be a professed Christian, unless it be suppos'd that the Children of professed Infidels have a Right to this Mark of God's Covenant.

II. The Bishop has taken no Notice of human Inventions in the Discipline of the Church, about which he knows the Contest between the Establish'd Church and the Dissenters chiefly lyes.

I speak not here of any lawful Determinations of human Prudence that relate to the Exercise of that sacred Discipline that Christ has instituted, but of sinful Corruptions of it, by instituting such new Officers in the Church without any Warrant, as deprive his undoubted Officers of part of that Pastoral Power he has invested them with, and render true Church-Government impracticable; and by Variety of Canons and Constitutions, not only unknown to the Scripture, but contrary to the Rules there laid down for the Preservation of Order, Unity, and Peace in the Church. But since his Lordship's Discourse does not lead me to enter on the particular Examination of this Subject, and he may find these Matters largely treated, in Mr. Baxter's Treatise of Episcopacy, the Terms of Christian Concord, the Search for the English Schismatick, and the Case of Nonconformity

stated and argued: I shall not, without greater Occasion, engage my self in a Controversy I have so little Fondness for, and expect so little good from any polemical Debates about. Only, since his Lordship is pleas'd to request several Things from the *Dissenting Ministers of Derry*, relating to their *Discipline* as well as *Worship*, in order to the facilitating an Accommodation, and begetting a more amicable Correspondence; I hope his Lordship cannot take it amiss, if we use the like Freedom, in offering, with all Humility, the following Requests to our Reverend Conforming Brethren, especially those whose Authority renders them most capable to promote the Reformation desir'd in them.

1. Since, as we humbly conceive, it was the most generally receiv'd Opinion of the first Reformers in England, in King Henry the VIIIth's, King Edward the VIth's, and of the Conforming Divines in Queen Elizabeth's Reigns, that a Bishop and Presbyter differ only in Degree, not in Order or Office, (as Mr. Humphrys has largely prov'd in a late Book, call'd, *The Healing Attempt*). We would humbly desire them to use their Interest, that that unhappy Clause may be ras'd out of the Preface to the present Book of Ordination, in which 'tis so peremptorily asserted, [That 'tis evident to all Men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, and antient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these three Orders in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.] That by three Orders, they mean three Offices, is plain from the very following Words, which Offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, &c. Now it seems to us very unreasonable, that all Ministers should be, by the Act of Uniformity, oblig'd to profess their Assent to this Proposition, when 'tis so contrary to the current Judgment of the Generality of the most eminent Protestant Conforming Divines in those three fore-mention'd Reigns; (to whom we might add several learned ones in the Reign of King James the First, and King Charles the First and Second) but especially when 'tis a Proposition at best disputable, both among learned Protestants and Papists; and, as far as we can judge, rather evidently contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the first and purest Ages of Christianity. So that we fear that few Ministers can sincerely profess their Assent to this Assertion, who have taken the Pains to make any impartial Enquiry into this Matter. And we are the more desirous of having this Clause ras'd out, because this new Opinion of Episcopacy, being a distinct Order and Office from Presbytery, is the Ground of that uncharitable Practice of the Establish'd Church, in requiring Re-ordination in all such at Home, as have been ordained by Presbyters, (i. e. true scriptural Bishops and Pastors) as a necessary Condition of being admitted to the Exercise of their Ministerial Function; nay, in urging Re-ordination too, on all the Ministers of Reformed Churches Abroad, who never had Diocesan Bishops among them. As if all the Administrations of those eminent Ministers in France, who are now so honourable Confessors in the Cause of Reformed Christianity, were meer Nullities, till Prelatical Hands were laid upon them.

2. Since the Archbishops and Bishops claim the Government of the Church as their Province, we humbly wish they would endeavour to recover the spiritual Part of their Authority out of their Chancellor's Hands, who have so long usurp'd the Keys of sacred Discipline, and have hitherto so scandalously manag'd them, as to bring the solemn Censures of the Church into general Contempt. And no wonder, when they are prostituted to so vile a Purpose as that of filthy Lucre, and thereby the Temple of God is turn'd into a House of Merchandize. We do not speak this against the Power of the Spiritual Courts in those Civil Causes, or in those Ecclesiastical ones which their Majesties, in Pursuance of their just Power, circa sacra, may authorize them to determine; but only their assuming the Cognizance of all Cases of Scandal, so far as they subject Men to the Censures of the

Church, and being entrusted with the Infliction of those Censures, even in reference to all the numerous Causes that come before them, so few of which properly belong to an Ecclesiastical Judicatory. For besides that, we think that the Power of inflicting those Censures belongs to Pastors, and cannot be delegated by them to a Layman, it seems a certain and unavoidable, tho' pernicious Consequence of such Spiritual Courts being entrusted with the Sentence of Excommunication, to enforce all their Decrees, that the most awful Judgment on Earth is like (to use my Lord Bacon's Expressions) to be made an ordinary Process to lacquey up and down for Fees*. We doubt not their Lordships have read Bishop Bedel's Life, wrote by the present Bishop of Sarum, wherein there is so loud and just a Complaint of the gross Abuses of this kind, and so noble an Example set them of Zeal for the Reformation of them. And no doubt, if they would concur in their Imitation of it, they might do it with rational Prospect of greater Success; and be happily instrumental to wipe off some Part of that Stain brought on the Church, by her tolerating these Corruptions, which (as the fore-mentioned Bishop of Sarum relates) pious Archbishop Usher so greatly lamented, and apprehended it would bring a Curse and Ruin upon the whole Constitution. See Bishop Bedel's Life, pag. 86, 87.

3. We could heartily wish, that when their Lordships have recover'd their own Authority out of their Chancellor's Hands, they would exercise it, in Concurrence with the Presbyters of their several Diocesses.

And herein also the fore-mention'd Bishop Bedel set them an excellent Pattern, *ibid.* pag. 90. And we hope the Bishop of Derry will urge them to an Imitation thereof, since he has laid it down as their common Opinion and Judgment, pag. 175. That the Government of the Church in such Districts as those of our Diocesses, ought to be in a Presbytery with a Bishop, as President and Governor by Christ's Appointment.

4. We would also humbly desire them to restore that godly Discipline which the Common-Prayer-Book tells us was in the Primitive Church, for bringing such as were convicted of notorious Sin, to publick Profession of their Repentance. For since the Church in the Office of Communion, yearly declares, That the Restoration of the said Discipline is much to be wish'd, it will look like a Mocking of Heaven, yearly to repeat such lazy Wishes of it, when there are no serious Attempts made towards it; and we can see no Reason why the Curses peculiar to the Mosaical Dispensation, should be substituted instead of it.

5. We could wish that Part of the Office for visiting the Sick might be review'd, which concerns Absolution.

For since there is no other Absolution own'd in the Reformed Churches, but either publishing the conditional Offers of Pardon in the Gospel, or a ministerial Releasing those from the Censures of the Church, on whom they had been inflicted before: We think it does too much countenance the judicial Power of Absolution claim'd by the Romish Priests, for the Minister to absolve the Uncensur'd in so peremptory Terms; I absolve thee from all thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, &c. For they seem to make the Minister pass a more positive Judgment of the sick Man's Repentance, than he is capable to do.

6. In order to the more effectual Exercise of that godly Discipline fore-mention'd, we wou'd earnestly request that the Parish-Ministers may be restor'd to that Pastoral Power which Archbishop Usher in his Model of Episcopacy shews that they were invested in, according to the former Book of Ordination; but of which they seem now depriv'd by the many Changes made in the New †. 'Tis certain they are most capable of a personal Inspection of the Lives of their Flock, and consequently of enquiring into any scandalous Miscarriages among them, and suiting their Admonitions to the Case of such Offenders, and judging whether there be,

* Considerations for the better establishing the Church of England.

† See the Healing Attempt, pag. 57, 58, 59, &c.

or be not a credible Profession of Repentance made by them. Nor can there be any Danger of their abusing that sacred Censure of Excommunication, by being too rash in it; for that Danger is fully obviated by the Method propos'd in the fore-mention'd Model of Archbishop *Usher*, which refers the Decreeing that Sentence to the *monthly Synod* of the Ministers in that Precinct, or part of the Diocese, of which the *Suffragan*, or *Chorepiscopus* is the *Moderator*. In the mean time, we could wish that Parish-Ministers were more effectually urg'd to observe the 20th Canon, which charges them not to admit to the holy Communion any of their Cure or Flock, which be openly known to live in notorious Sin without Repentance, tho' we can expect no very considerable Effects of such a temporary Suspension, when it obliges the Minister to turn Informer against such Offenders in the *Spiritual Court*, where they are sure to be put to great Charges; by which Method he is but like to alienate their Hearts from him, and frustrate the Success of all those Admonitions, by which he should endeavour to recover them to Repentance.

7. They would farther humbly desire, that some more effectual Care may be taken for the Tryal of those that are to be admitted into *Holy Orders*.

For the 32d Canon enjoins the Bishop to examine them in the Presence of those Ministers that shall assist at the Imposition of Hands, or at least, take Care that those Ministers shall examine them; yet we understand this is too often put off to an Archdeacon, or one of his Chaplains, and at best but too superficially perform'd. And we humbly conceive the Canon it self is very defective, in not recommending such particular Tryals as are fit for such Candidates of the Ministerial Function to undergo, in order to their giving a sufficient Specimen of their Proficiency in the Study of *Divinity*, and in the Knowledge of the *Holy Scriptures*. And herein we would humbly recommend to them the excellent Method propos'd by the *Westminster-Assembly* in their Propositions relating to Church-Government and Ordination, viz. "That such Candidates be examin'd touching their Skill in the original Languages, by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendring some Portion of them into Latin. They are to be examin'd also, what Authors in Divinity they have read, and trial shall be made of their Knowledge of the Grounds of Religion, and Ability to defend the Orthodox Doctrine in them against all unfound and erroneous Opinions, especially those of the present Age; of their Skill and Sense in the Meaning of such Places of Scripture as shall be propos'd to them, in Cases of Conscience, and in the Chronology of the Scripture, and in the Ecclesiastical History. They are to expound some difficult Place of Scripture; they are to frame a Discourse in Latin upon some common Place or Controversy in Divinity, and maintain a Dispute upon it; and they are to preach a practical Sermon before the People, those concern'd in their Ordination being present.

This Method is so exactly follow'd among the Dissenters, that those they ordain commonly pass twice thro' these Tryals, both when they are first allow'd to preach as Candidates, and at their Ordination. And as 'tis the most effectual that can be propos'd for preventing an ignorant and insufficient Ministry, so 'tis the more requisite that the like Care shou'd be taken in the Establishment of Church, where so many are tempted to crowd into the sacred Office, by the Lure of secular Interest; and so many Parents, from the Prospect of Preferment, thrust those of their Children upon the Service of the Church, whom they are at a Loss how to dispose otherwise of.

8. We could heartily desire some more effectual Course were taken for the Reformation of such of the Clergy, whose scandalous Lives stain the Honour of their Profession.

For the infectious Examples of such Clergymen are far more powerful to spread the Contagion of Wickedness and Vice among their Flock, than their Do-

ctrine to propagate Piety and Holiness. And 'tis no wonder, that either the Offerings of the Lord are abhor'd by the People, when they see them presented by so unballow'd Hands, or that they run without Restraint into all Excess of Riot, when they do but herein follow their spiritual Guides. 'Tis great Pity therefore, that the 42d Canon, which threatens such scandalous Clergymen with Ecclesiastical Censures, is not more faithfully executed. And it seems unaccountable why it should not as expressly order the Suspension and Deposition of such as are found incorrigible, as other Canons of the Church of England order their Suspension and Deposition for no greater Faults, than omitting the Use of any Form of Prayer, or any other Rite or Ceremony prescrib'd by the Service-Book, or appointing, or keeping Fast either in publick or in private Houses without the Bishop's Leave. For this is to lay greater Stress on the Churches Injunctions, than on God's Commands; and to punish Non-conformity to the former, more strictly than Disobedience to the latter. We shall only add, that if the Law of Moses so carefully provided that its Priests should have no Blemish or Deformity on their Bodies, sure much greater Care should be taken, that those who serve at the Christian Altar, should not be Persons of deformed Souls, and of a tainted Conversation. And we are heartily glad, that their Majesties, by their Royal Commission, have begun so necessary a Work in this Kingdom, as the Purging the Church from such scandalous Clergymen, as have too long been the Blemishes of their holy Profession, and hope it may extend to all other Parts where there is the like Necessity for it, as there appears to have been in the Diocese of Down and Connor.

9. They would also earnestly desire that so gross a Corruption as that of Pluralities and Non-Residence, so universally complain'd of, may be at last effectually reform'd.

In order whereto, they desire it may be seriously consider'd, whether our Canons themselves do not rather confirm than reform these Abuses. For by the 36th Canon, every Master of Arts, that is a publick and sufficient Preacher, is capable of Pluralities. The Time which he that enjoys them is to reside in each of his Benefices, is not determin'd. And by the 41st Canon of the Church of England, I find no other Bounds set to the Number of Benefices, than that they must not be more than Thirty Miles asunder. And tho' every such Pluralist be requir'd to have under him in the Benefices where he does not reside, a lawful and sufficient Preacher; yet it is both unreasonable in it self, that such a sufficient Preacher should sacrifice his painful Labours to pamper the Avarice and Ease of another: And 'tis too notorious, that such Pluralists, for the most Part, give so despicable and stingey Allowance to their poor Curates, that it cannot reasonably be expected, any Man of tolerable Abilities should be contented with it; and so to feed the covetous Humour of such mercenary Pastors, (as the Council of Trent it self calls Pluralists) their Flocks must be betray'd, by being committed to the Care of such, whom their Ignorance renders the Reproach of their Profession, and who, indeed, are fit for no other sort of Preaching, than this new one the Bishop of Derry has found out, viz. The Reading a Chapter out of the Bible. Nor do we think the Canons about the Clergy's Residence less exceptionable. For the 37th Canon supposes some Persons to be benefic'd that are not allow'd to be Preachers (tho', contrary to the foresaid Bishop's Notion, they are allow'd by the English Canons, to read plainly and aptly, without glossing or adding, both the Scripture and Homilies). And of these Incumbents that are unlicens'd to preach, no more is requir'd, than that they procure Sermons to be preach'd once a Month in their Cures, and that too, if the Living will bear it. And the same Canon only requires every benefic'd Man that is licens'd, to provide for the Benefice he resides not on, a preaching Curate, on the same Condition that the Worth of the Benefice will bear it. As if the Souls of the People were of so little Value, that they must rather perish for lack of Knowledge and Instruction,

Instruction, than such a *Pluralist's* Avarice be cross'd by resigning the *Benefice* to one that will take Care of the People's Souls, provided he may enjoy the Stipend the Law has assign'd for the Encouragement and Subsistence of such an one.

10. They would humbly desire that the Bishops would use their Interest and Endeavours, that the Rigour of the *Act of Uniformity* may be abated, in its requiring so express a Declaration from every Minister, of his Assent and Consent to all Things contain'd in, and prescrib'd by the *Book of Common-Prayer*, and the *Form and Manner of making and ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. For as far as we can judge, there are many Things in those Books, which the more Judicious and Charitable of our *Conforming Brethren* do not heartily assent and consent to, but with the Alteration of; and therefore such cannot make the said Declaration without doing it in so lax a Sense as too much countenances *Equivocation* in such important Matters as these are.

11. They would also earnestly entreat their *Conforming Brethren* to use their Endeavours to restore to their People that Right of choosing their own Ministers; which the *Canons* of so many Councils celebrated in the purest Ages of Christianity have so fully and frequently confirm'd to them; at least, we would desire that some effectual Provision may be made against *Pastors* being impos'd on them without their own Consent. For we would not in this Request entrench on the Power of *Patrons* any farther, than to desire it may be rendred consistent with this undoubted Privilege and Right of the People, which no human Laws can justly deprive them of. For since the People have Souls, whose Welfare so greatly depends on the Helps and Advantages that a judicious and serious Ministry does furnish them with to promote it, 'tis most reasonable that their Votes and Suffrage should be allow'd in the Choice of the Person, to whose Pastoral Care they entrust the Conduct of them. If it wou'd be a very unjust Thing to impose *Physicians, Lawyers, or Tutors* on others, where far lesser Interests are concern'd, how much more unjust were it for the People to have their Salvation so far put into the *Patron's* Hands, as to be oblig'd to acquiesce in whomsoever they present, tho' the Choice be never so apparently prejudicial to their eternal Interest? A negative Voice is the least that can, in this Case, be allow'd to the People, unless the Patron that presents were to be responsible for their Souls at the Day of Judgment, or could secure them from all the pernicious Effects that an ill Choice is attended with to their irreparable Loss and Detriment.

12. We would also humbly request, That that Incapacity for Communion with the *Establish'd Church* may be taken off, which their own *Canons* lay the *Dissenters* under.

There has been Occasion given already in this Discourse, to take Notice of one of them, viz. the Fifth, which excommunicates, *ipso facto*, all that shall affirm, or maintain, that there are within this Realm, other Meetings, Assemblies, or Congregations, than such as by the Laws of this Land are held and allow'd, which may rightly challenge to themselves the Name of true and lawful Churches. And sure they cannot expect we should forbear to vindicate our own Innocence, to escape this unjust Censure; or that we should voluntarily condemn so many excellent Churches to avoid the Condemnation of this uncharitable Canon. But our Incapacity for Communion with them is increas'd by the 3d Canon, which also excommunicates, *ipso facto*, not only all that shall preach, but all that shall, by other open Words, declare or speak anything in derogation or despising of the *Service-Book*, or any Thing contain'd therein. For we cannot possibly give to our Brethren any Account of our Dissent from them, either in Writing or private Conversation, without speaking open Words in derogation from some Things contain'd in the *Service-Book*. We cannot complain of the Use of the Cross, or of that sort of Sponsors in Baptism which the *Service-Book* requires, nor blame those uncharitable Rubrics that de-

bar the most serious Christians from those Sacraments, that do but scruple Crossing, Sponsors, and Kneeling; we cannot mention any of those numerous Defects in the Liturgy, contain'd in the Exceptions given in at the Savoy Conference, without coming under the terrible Sentence of this Canon. In a Word, we must either never speak our Judgment concerning that Book, tho' our own necessary Vindication never so apparently require it; or if we do, we are, as far as the Power of that unmerciful Canon can reach, Excommunicated, i. e. in the Language of the *Establish'd Church*, in her Form of Excommunication, cut off, as dead Members, from the Body of Christ. Again, we are Excommunicated if we affirm any of the 39 Articles to be in any Part such as we cannot with a good Conscience subscribe to, tho' 'tis known we cannot subscribe to the Disciplinary ones, tho' in England they have already done it to the Doctrinal ones. And that our Business may be yet more effectually done, we are again Excommunicated by the 4th Canon, if we affirm, That those who are consecrated according to the Rites of the Ordination-Book, are not lawfully made, nor ought to be accounted either Bishops, or Deacons; (i. e. if this Canon speak of Scriptural Bishops or Deacons) for 'tis sufficiently known, we neither account the Office of a modern *Diocesan Bishop*, nor that of a *Deacon*, in the Sense of the *Establish'd Church*, to be either of them of divine Institution.

Now we think it most reasonable, that those who so often urge us to their Communion, should remove such insuperable Obstacles out of our way. And we humbly conceive, there is that apparent Absurdity and Uncharitableness in these Canons, that will justify our Desire of their being discarded.

1. They are, in our Judgment, guilty of an apparent Absurdity: For we are Excommunicated by them without any other Admonition of our Fault, than what the Canons themselves give us. Whereas 'tis not merely the committing an Offence, that justly subjects Men to that terrible Censure, but persisting impenitently in it, according to our blessed Saviour's known Rule, *Matt. xviii. 15, 16, &c.* So that the Church in these Canons uses greater Severity than our Lord himself, who, in his Judgment, will not condemn Men merely for their Sins, but for final Obstinacy in them. And indeed, if these Canons be just, we are bound in Conscience, as knowing our selves Excommunicated, to abstain from the Communion of the *Establish'd Church*, till we have revok'd these Errors, as the Canon calls our Opinion and Judgment in these Matters. Now we think it very hard for Men to be thus peremptorily cut off from Christ without any personal Warning, that might give them Opportunity to prevent so terrible a Doom; for this makes these spiritual Canons more formidable Things than those Warlike Engines, that, at least, give some Notice by their Flash before they do Execution.

2. They are, in our Judgment, as apparently guilty of gross Uncharitableness.

For the Assertions for which we are Excommunicated by these Canons, relate to Matters that are disputable among such as are truly Orthodox and Pious; nay, among Divines of eminent Learning and Judgment. And consequently, to excommunicate Men for declaring their Opinion one way or other in these Matters, is so far from being consistent with Christian Charity, that 'tis the worst sort of Schism, and plainly tends to confine that Reformed Christianity among us, to a narrow Sect and Party, to which all sober Protestants may justly lay their Claim, as their common Interest. Nay, we think this sort of Rigour, in enforcing all contain'd in these three Books of human Composition, viz. The *Book of Articles*, (inclusive of that of *Homilies*, Art. 35.) that of *Ordination*, and that of *Common-Prayer*, with so peremptory Excommunication of all that declare their Dissent from any Thing in them, more inexcusable in one Respect, than the Rigour of the Council of Trent, in their Anathemas, viz. that our Convocations pretend to no such Infallibility in their Decisions, as the *Romish Councils*;

Councils; and therefore more of Christian Forbearance and Charity might reasonably have been expected from Men conscious of the common Infirmary of human Nature, which could no more secure themselves than us, from Mistakes in so dubious Matters as these are.

As to all these Requests to our reverend Brethren, we shall only add, that we hope they will either shew us our Error in judging these Things to be Corruptions, which we here beg the Reformation of, or else, that they will not account it criminal in us to reform them amongst our selves; nor urge us to receive them again after we have cast them out. For we may well be forgiven, that we are as unwilling to go backwards, as some seem to be to go forwards in the desirable Work of just and necessary Reformation.

Lastly, There is only one Request more we would offer to our reverend Brethren, wherein we hope we may more confidently assure our selves of their Compliance with us, viz. That we may all of us unite our Endeavours with greater Zeal and Earnestness for reviving that Power of practical Christianity and Holiness that is so visibly declining among us; particularly by labouring to promote more of Closet and Family Religion in those under our Care, and to preserve or reclaim them from those heinous Sins, (such as Swearing, Profanation of the Lord's Day, Intemperance, Uncleanliness, Pride, Luxury, &c.) that have again overspread this Land, and the Protestant Inhabitants of it, notwithstanding all the Calamities they have so lately brought upon us. And we would farther desire, That as they have greater Advantages of Access to our Magistrates than we have, they would use all their Interest and Influ-

ence to engage them to a more vigorous Prosecution of that necessary Work, the Reformation of Manners, by a more strict Execution of the Laws against open Irreligion and Wickedness. And we only crave leave to add these two Reasons that urge us to this Request; The one is, That our hearty Concurrence in advancing these undoubted and important Interests of our common Lord, wherein we profess to be agreed, will be the most successful Means to cement our Affections; and when our Zeal is warmly laid out this way, we shall find less of Inclination, as well as Leisure, to prosecute our lesser Differences: The other is, that there seems to be an extraordinary Necessity of our utmost Efforts to save a perishing People from that Ruin that hangs over our Heads. For as the heinous Sins that yet appear so barefac'd and uncontroll'd among us, are greatly aggravated, both by the former terrible Judgments under which we have so deeply smarted; and by the surprizing Deliverance that should have oblig'd us to other Returns to its blessed Author; so the many late Indications of divine Anger in our publick Lesser, and in the ill Aspect of our Affairs, plainly tell us, that the Great God is yet pursuing a Controversy against us; because we have not answer'd his just Expectations by returning to him. And as these renewed monetary Judgments, if they still prove ineffectual, preface a Stroke of destructive Vengeance, so we see nothing short of a National Repentance and Reformation likely to prevent it; and there appears no Probability of that, till both Magistrates and Ministers in their several Stations do resolutely engage in the Design of promoting it, from a deep Conviction of its absolute Necessity to prevent our Ruin.

P O S T S C R I P T.

UPON the Review of these Remarks, I thought it necessary here to deliver my Thoughts more distinctly and fully in reference to the following Passage, than was proper for me to do, in the Body of a plain Discourse.

Page 15, 16. I have asserted, That 'tis probable that the Psalms of David were compos'd in Metre, and produc'd to that purpose the Testimony of Josephus, to which I might that of Philo, Origen, Eusebius, St. Hierom, and Isidore Hispalensis †

But I would here add, in Explication of that Passage, that I do not take Metre or Verse in the strict Sense of the Words, as if there were the same kind of Measures and Verse in the Psalms of David, that were afterwards in use among the Polite Greeks and Latins; for though I know Gomarus in his *Lyra Davidica* has attempted to prove that the Psalms were compos'd in Metre, even in this strict Sense; and his Performance was at first greatly applauded by the elder Buxtorf, Heinsius, L. de Dieu, L'Empereur, Hottinger, and others, yet Lud. Capellus has so far blasted the Credit of it in his *Animadversiones* on it, that the Attempt seems given up as by other learned Men; so by Buxtorf (the Son) himself. But for such Metre or Measures in the Hebrew Psalms, as did accommodate them to Vocal and Instrumental Musick, and thereby gave them the Denomination of Verse as distinguish'd from meer Prose, I see no Reason to doubt of it; and this sort of Metre the Bishop has groundlessly confounded with mere Prose, in the Passage the Remarks refer to (*Disc.* p. 8.) from

which I shall now shew it ought to be carefully distinguish'd.

And to clear this, I shall lay down the following Particulars:

1. Poetry in general, was in its first Rise vastly different from what it was afterwards.

'Tis so in all other Arts and Inventions, and no doubt was so in this. See what Vossius observes to this purpose, *de Art. Poet. naturâ*, p. 76. when speaking of the *Versus*, *αὐτοσχέδιαι* mentioned by Aristotle, he adds, *Interim erant hi versus rudes & impoliti, mox aliqua cura accessit, & tamen tum quoque solo constabant Rythmo—hinc & aliqua metri ratio capit haberi sed rudior plane & imperfecta, Tandem & metrica lex certa fuit & perpetua.* See also *ib.* p. 81, 82. To the same purpose, Quintilian *Instit.* l. 9. c. 4. *Poema nemo dubius verit imperito quodam initio fufum, & aurium mensurâ, & similiter decurrentium spatiorum observatione esse generatum, mox in eo repertos pedes.*

2. The Bible Poetry differs vastly from that of the more polite Greeks and Latins (such as Homer's *Vergil*, &c.) and of the modern Europeans and Asiatics; nay, from the modern Jewish ones.

And the Difference lies chiefly, 1. As to Feet of a long or short Quantity artificially dispos'd.

2. As to a stated and constantly equal Number of Syllables.

As to both these Ingredients of strict Metre and Verse, the most learned Rabbies do indeed tell us they are not to be generally found in the Bible Poetry. See

† *Præf. ad Chron.* Euseb. *St. Hierom. Præfat. in Job Threnos Isaiam*, & *libror. Regum.* Euseb. *prop. Evang.* l. 1. c. 11. *Orig. l. c. 12.*

to this purpose *Cosri*, part 2. p. 133, 136, 137. *Dissert. Rabbinita*, at the end of *Cosri*, p. 408, 424. See also *Pfeiffer's Dub. vex.* p. 545, 546, and 536.

And indeed, though many learned Authors greatly applaud the Observation of Feet and of (*Rhythmus* or) a stated Number of Syllables artificially dispos'd, as a Thing of admirable use to excite or allay the Passions, and herein think the later Poetry has the Advantage of the ancient, (See *J. Voss. de Poem. Cantu. & Viribus Rhythmi*, p. 11, 12, 13.) yet on the other hand, the Observation of them does often hamper and cramp the Poet, that he cannot so freely vent himself. And though this Inconvenience may be tolerably avoided in more copious Languages, it must have been great in so narrow an one as the Hebrew Tongue undoubtedly is.

3. As to Rhimes (I speak not here of what the Latins call *Rhythmus*, but take the Word in the modern Sense for the ending of the Verse in Syllables of the like Sound.)

Of these there are but few in the Bible Poetry, and 'tis doubtful whether designed or by chance. And the general Use of these is certainly of a much later Date than of the two former.

3. Yet there are in the Bible Poetry, besides the different *Stile* and *Manner of Expression*, some Measures observ'd in Order to the accommodating the Words to Vocal and Instrumental Musick, on the Account of which Composure they were Verse, as distinguish'd from Prose.

The most learned Writers on this Subject of Poetry, give us the same Account of the ancient Poetry of other Nations. See *Ger. Voss. de Art. Poet. nat. & constit.* p. 11, 81, 82. So *J. Voss. de Poem. Cant. &c.* p. 1, 2. *Illud quidem certum omnem Poësin olim Cantatam fuisse—si itaque primitivam vocabuli acceptionem spectemus, Poësis vel Poëma nil aliud fuerit, quam qualiscunque compositio cantui apta, &c.*

And the most learned Rabbi's give us the same Account of the Bible Poetry.

Thus *Abarbanel, Dissert. Rabbini.* at the end of *Cosri*, p. 409. *Authores carminum priscorum necesse habuerunt accommodare numerum literarum ad rationem melodia quam composuerunt ad canendum, & ordinem collocationis earum ad formam sonorum, & hoc ordine unice respexerunt ad proprietates & requisita melodia.* Again, *ib.* p. 410. speaking of the Song of Deborah, *David's Psalms, &c.* he saith, *Omnes hi carminum Authores proposuerunt sibi tale aliquod genus, numerando literas ut aequaliter respondeant proportioni melodia ipsorum & pro variatione melodia variant quoque numeri literarum. Non est autem dubium quin habuerint melodias certas quæ longitudine temporis & captivitatibus in oblivionem venerunt.* Again, *ib.* p. 411. Enquiring what sort of Verse the Song in *Exod. 15.* was, he saith, *Certum est non fuisse ex primo genere (i. e. those Verses which had modern Feet and Rhime) sed ex secundo (i. e. those that had only such Measures as were requisite to accommodate them to singing, as he had explain'd the Distinction, p. 408.) Constat enim ex octonis versibus quorum duo sunt valde brevia, & duo alia valde longa, quatuor mediocria. And again, ib. p. 412. Vides in isto Cantico quandoque contrahi literas quandoque extendi & protrahi, per additionem quarundam literarum ad justam faciendam mensuram & modulationem, prout aliquando etiam una & altera hujus rei causa deficit, of which he gives several Instances, and then adds, *Non enim existimandum principem prophetarum errasse circa accuratam literarum rationem, & ordinem scripturæ illarum, verum carminis ratio & melodia necessitas sic postularunt.* See also the Judgment of *R. Azarias* and *R. Sam. Arcuvolt*, *ib.* p. 428, 429.*

And therefore, though *Pfeiffer* in his accurate Enquiry into this Matter, denies the *Psalms* to be compos'd in *Metre*, taking *Metre* in the strict Sense, yet he owns such Measures or *Metre* as I here assert, and therefore tells us, *Dub. vex.* p. 537. *Poesis veterum Hebræorum in selecta Vocum, & quodammodo proportionata ad Musicam accommodationem constituisse videtur.* And ac-

cordingly he compares *David's Psalms* to the *Magnificat* in Latin, *quod metricè conceptum non facile dixeris, At ceteralem styli conformationem non minus apte cantillari potest quam Psalmi Davidici*: (Of the same sort is the *Te Deum* ascribed to *St. Ambrose*, and yet *Dr. Comber, Orig. of Lit.* p. 179. tells us, that *St. Ambrose* speaks of that Hymn, when he owns that he made Hymns in Verse, and taught them to the People, *Comment. in Luc. c. 15. Tom. 3. p. 169.*) And again, *Concedimus Cantica & Carmina in præter accepta, cantuive accommodata. In quibus itaque non est metrica, neque tamen mere soluta oratio, sed Syllabarum atque vocum certo numero, seu proportionem quadam saltem rhetorica ad melodiam adstricta.* Where 'tis evident he takes *Metre* in the strict Sense; but asserts such Measures as are distinct from meer Prose. And indeed, some such Measures they must have had to conform their Sentences to Musick. In some of them (as particularly those *Psalms* I have quoted in the Remarks) those Measures are more obvious, and are like the Measures observ'd in many of the Hymns us'd in the Romish Church, such as that,

Æterna Cœli Gloria,
Beata spes Mortalium
Summi Tonantis unice
Castæque proles Virginis, &c.

Or that,

Ave maris Stella.
Dei mater Alma
Atque semper virgo
Felix Cœli porta
Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis Ore, &c.

But others of them we are more at a loss to understand, because we have utterly lost the ancient Hebrew Musick, even as to Instruments as well as Tunes; yea, the ancient Musick of other Nations is lost. See *J. Voss. de Poem. Cantu. &c.* p. 21, and 48.

Upon the whole then, since the *Psalms* were wrote in such sort of *Metre* and *Verse* as was then us'd; since the Knowledge of their particular Musical Tunes and Instruments is quite lost, we cannot be oblig'd to an exact Imitation of them; for that were to suppose us oblig'd to Impossibilities. The Commands therefore that enjoin Christian Churches to sing *Psalms*, necessarily oblige us to turn them into such sort of *Metre* and *Verse*, as will accommodate them best to be sung by the People. Whereas, to put them into no other *Metre* than the pointed *Psalter* in the Common-Prayer-Book, is to exclude the Generality of the People from any Capacity of complying with God's own Command for singing them. And as the Tunes of those pointed *Psalms* are quite different from the Hebrew ones, so they are as much a human Invention as the Tunes of the common *Metre-Versions*. And therefore to set up that pointed *Psalter* in the Service-Book, whose Tunes the Body of the People cannot follow, to the Exclusion of those *Metre-Versions*, according to which they can joyn in singing the *Psalms* (as the Bishop seems to design) is in his Language to set up a human Invention to the Violation of a Divine Command, by rendering the Peoples Observance of it impracticable.

And whereas the Bishop adds, p. 8. "That we cannot find that our Saviour and his Apostles in their Time, or those in the Age immediately following, sung any thing in Verse; but we are sure they sung Hymns in Prose.

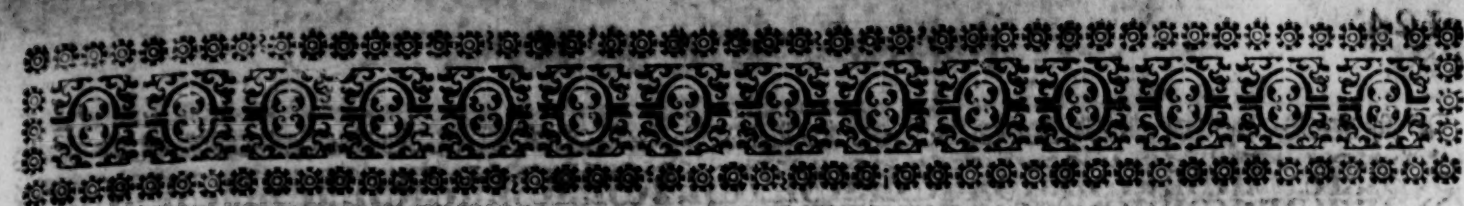
I shall only subjoyn, That I cannot imagine whence the Bishop should be sure, That Christ and his Apostles sung Hymns in Prose. For by the Account already given, 'tis no way probable, since the Hebrew *Psalms* (though compos'd when Poetry was but in its first Rise, and as it were unsledg'd and unform'd) were in Verse as distinguish'd from Prose. Nay, that in the Apostles Time, and in the following Ages, they sung

in *Metre and Verse*, seems more probable, from the Relation that *Eusebius* gives us from *Philo*, concerning the *Therapeuta*, or *Worshippers* in *Egypt*. *Philo* flourish'd in the middle of the Apostolical Age, of whose *Commentary Eusebius* tells us, *Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 16.* "That it contain'd manifestly the Canons or Rules hitherto conserved in the Church; and that, inso-
 "much as he (*i. e. Philo*) has curiously described unto us the Lives of our Ascetics, or religious Men; he plainly shews, that he not only understood, but
 "also greatly admir'd and approv'd those Apostolical Men, who probably descending from the Hebrews, did therefore observe the ancient Rites and Cere-
 "monies of the Jews. Now among other Customs of those *Therapeuta*, *Philo* relates, *Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 17.* "That they made Songs and Hymns to God in grave
 "and sacred Rhymes (*ᾠδαί*) of every kind of *Metre* and *Verse*, 'Tis true indeed, that *Scaliger de Emend. Temp. l. 6.* falls foul on *Eusebius*, for making these *Therapeuta* or *Worshippers* to be *Christians*; and *Valesius*, *Annot. in Eusebius*, p. 34, 35. falls in with him in that, though he dissent from him that these *Therapeuta* were *Essenes*, and pretends to prove the contrary. But the Arguments of *Scaliger* and *Valesius*, on both these Heads, are well answer'd in *Bruno's Dissertatio de Therapeutis*, printed at the End of *Colomes's* Edition of the Epistle of *Clement ad Corinthios*. But however that be, 'tis evident that *Eusebius* not only asserts such divine Hymns compos'd in *Metre and Verse*, to be in use among

Christians in his Age; but to have been a Custom deriv'd to them from the Apostolical Age, and continually preserved in the Church, as *Philo* supposes such Hymns to have been usual among the Jews. So that we have better Ground to conclude that *Christ* and his Apostles, and the following Ages, sung Hymns in *Metre and Verse*, than the Bishop has produc'd for their singing Hymns in *Prose*.

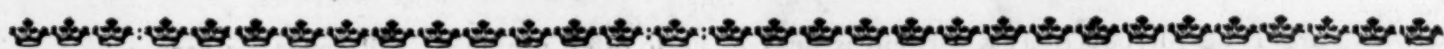
And for the alternate singing of the *Psalms* of *David*, *Dr. Comber* acknowledges the Truth of what *Theodoret* asserts, *l. 2. c. 24.* That this Custom was first brought into the Church of *Antioch* by *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, and from thence universally spread, *Orig. of Lit. p. 87, 88.* And *Dr. Hammond* saith, That *St. Basil* in the Description of a Clergy-man Officiating. *Ad Clerum Cesar. Ep. 63.* saith, they go to the House of Prayer, and after the Confession they prepare for the singing of *Psalms*, speaking of the first Apostolical Times; for now, saith he, we sing the *Psalms* in Parts, or by turns, it seems they had not done so before, but altogether; *View of the New Direct. Ed. fol. p. 138.* In other Hymns, 'tis true, we read of alternate Singing more early practis'd. And indeed, since the Scripture only requires singing *Psalms*, Hymns, &c. in general, without prescribing the particular Mode of it; Christian Charity should make us cautious of censuring such different Modes of others as sinful human Inventions, except when such an inconvenient Mode is chosen as excludes the main Part of the Congregation from joyning in this religious Duty.

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A
VINDICATION
OF THE
REMARKS
ON THE
BISHOP of DERRY'S
DISCOURSE
ABOUT
HUMAN INVENTIONS,

From what is
Objected against them in the ADMONITION annex'd to the
Second Edition of that DISCOURSE.

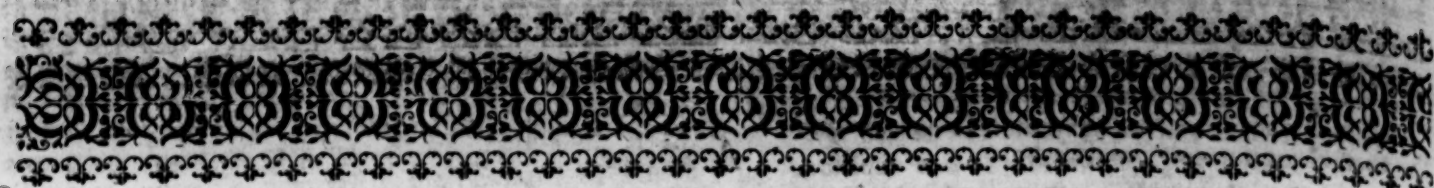


To the DISSENTING INHABITANTS of the Diocess of DERRY.

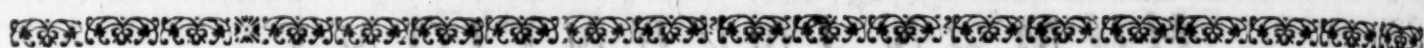
SINCE the Bishop of Derry has been pleas'd in his late Admonition to You, almost wholly to wave the Argument between Us; and to turn this Debate about your Worship into a Dispute about Matters of Fact: Nay, since he has frequently appeal'd to your own Consciences for the Truth of what he has said concerning You; acknowledging, That it would be odd for him to think of imposing on you in Matters you know so well, and that he can only hope to prevail on you by the Integrity of what he saith, [See Admonition, p. 141, 148, 158, 159, 187, 188.] I thought I could not reasonably refuse to concur with him in referring the Decision of this Part of our Controversy to your selves, as the most competent and proper Judges, the Matters controverted relating to your own or your Ministers publick Practices. And I may do it with the greater Assurance, because you'll find all that I now assert, attested by your own Ministers, (besides the Particulars relating to your Communion attested by such as are Elders, or principal Members in your Congregations.) And as they must doubtless know these Matters better than the Bishop can do, who is never present at their Worship; so I may justly presume they are not so prodigal of their Reputation to the World, as to avouch so many Things as true, which all their Hearers could convict them of Falshood in,

if they were not. I confess, 'tis something hard that the Bishop should thus put them to this double Labour, of proving their Practice by Affidavits, as well as defending it by Arguments. But when one is once engag'd with such unreasonable Disputants, there is no declining even such Drudgery as this. For since the Things which the Bishop objects against you, are such as himself supposes, will prove scandalous to all that profess Christianity, if those Objections be founded on palpable Mis-reports of your Practice, sure the just Esteem of so many Christian Pastors and Churches deserves a modest Vindication. And indeed this Vindication had not been deferr'd so long, if the Multiplicity of the Particulars to be enquir'd into had not retarded it beyond Expectation; and your Ministers were unwilling to run into so many Mistakes as the Bishop has unhappily done, by giving too hasty Accounts of these Matters upon slight Informations. I shall therefore freely leave this Part of our Debate (which now lies between the Bishop and your own Ministers) to your impartial Examination. And that those excellent Churches you are Members of, may, under the vigilant Care of such laborious Pastors, improve their external Rest and Peace, by walking in the Fear of the Lord, and in the Comfort of the Holy Ghost, and thereby be both edify'd and multiply'd, is the hearty Desire of,

Dear BRETHREN, Your affectionate Brother
and Servant in our common LORD,



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
REMARKS, &c.



In this Admonition of the Bishop's, we may consider the Introduction, the three Heads he proposes to give an Account of, and the Reflections he adds on some Passages in the Remarks.

IN the Introduction his Lordship is pleas'd to insinuate, tho' he does not venture directly to assert*, *That I have treated the Opinions and Practices of the Establish'd Church in a passionate and angry, in a scoffing and deriding Manner.* But since he has given no Instances or Proof of it, but referr'd it to the Readers Judgment, I shall, with some Confidence, appeal to it also, as being well assur'd of the Innocence of those Papers as to this Particular. Only, since he alledges a Passage in his Discourse against this way of treating Controversies, I hope I may take the Liberty of reciting one of my own, wherein I had taken Care to obviate this Objection. 'Tis *Remarks*, pag. 142. "I do fully concur with him in his Advice, not to treat one another with scurrilous and unseemly Reflections; but I hope he will not account those such wherein a Man is justly reprov'd for gross Misrepresentations of other Men's Opinions or Practices, or a trifling Argument is not always treated with Grimace, but sometimes with the Slight it deserves". Let but the Reader make me this reasonable Allowance, and I shall not be very fearful of his Censure on this Account.

For the Three Heads which the Bishop proposes to give an Account of relating to the *Remarks*, I shall examine them in their Order.

I. He acquaints us with the true Motive that prevailed with him to publish his Book, in which these Particulars are suggested.

1. He tells us how much Ignorance he found among the poor People †, *Insomuch, as of 800 or more of the Dissenters Communion, whom he personally discours'd, he found not above four Persons that could give any Account of their Catechism, and only two that could repeat it.*

Now as to this Matter of Fact which the Bishop professes mov'd his Compassion, I shall give him the Account sent me by the Dissenting Ministers that are in his Diocese, and I hope that Christian Charity which

he so often professes, will render it very welcome to him, by assuring him that the Generality of them are not so ignorant as he has mistaken them to be.

"We can give no Account how many Persons the Bishop has examin'd, but we know several whom he did examine that had the Assemblies Catechism, and could both give an Account of it, and repeat it, but would not; partly because they heard him so enveigh against it, that they judg'd he question'd them rather to affront than edify them; and partly because they were not free to subject themselves to an Examination he pretended to make as their Pastor. But to evidence how little Ground he had to suppose them so generally ignorant of their Catechism; if we may be allow'd to judge of other Congregations in the Diocese, by those two in the Parish of *Temple-more*, (alias *Derry*) where he resides, and may be suppos'd to have examin'd the greatest Number. We can, on good Grounds, affirm there are in those two Congregations six Hundred who can give a good Account of, and repeat the Assemblies Catechism: And we know of few in any of our Congregations that cannot repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.

Now if this Account of their own Ministers, who should be best acquainted with their own People, be true, the Bishop's Account is absolutely incredible, unless he has taken some extraordinary Pains to pick out the most ignorant Dissenters of his Diocese, that by them he might pretend to judge of the rest. But any one that considers the Genius of that People, and their particular Dissatisfaction with his Lordship, will be easily inclin'd to believe this genuine Account of the Matter; That he has mistaken their Silence for their Ignorance, and concluded they could not repeat their Catechism, because they would not admit him to be their Catechizer.

2. "He computes, that there being but Nine Meetings in the Diocese ‡, (and taking one Meeting-

* *Admonition*, Octavo Edit. pag. 134.

† *Ibid.* pag. 135.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 136.

"House and one Lord's-Day with another) not 300
"at each Meeting, and there being 30000 Dissenters
"in the Diocese, it may be thence concluded, that
"only One in Ten, or thereabouts, go to worship
"God any where on the Lord's-Day. And this he
"professes was a great Grief to him.

Now as to this Matter of Fact, I hope the Bishop cannot take it unkindly that I endeavour to allay his Grief, by offering him the following Account from the Dissenting Ministers in his Diocese.

"In the Parish of *Templemore*, alias *Derry*, there are
"two Meetings, in which there will be found above
"2400 who ordinarily worship God every Lord's-Day.
"For tho' every one of these does not attend every
"Lord's-Day, because some of them must be left to
"secure their Houses, yet these and more are ordinary
"Hearers, as the Ministers of those two Congregations
"can undeniably prove by their Examination Rolls.
"Nay, the least Congregation among us are ordinari-
"ly six Hundred, and some above a Thousand, that
"do worship God every Lord's-Day together. So
"that where Ministers are settled in Parishes, we do
"not know of one in Twenty that do not ordinarily
"attend on publick Worship. And for those which
"the Bishop saith have not been at any publick Wor-
"ship these seven Years, we know none such of our
"Communion. And for those Places that are not
"furnish'd with Ministers, the Ministers that are
"settled supply them as frequently as their Work in
"their own Congregations can allow.

Now if this Account be true, the Bishop's Compu- tation, and the Conclusion he draws from it, is far enough from being so. And that there are yet some Congregations that want Ministers, and can only have occasional Supplies, is much more their Grief, who are doing all they can to remedy it, than it can be sup- posed, to be his Lordship's, who does all he can to lessen the Number of their Meetings, by obliging his Tenants to suffer neither *Ministers* nor *Meeting-Houses* to be upon his Land.

3. The Bishop pretends*, "That his Book contains
"an Answer to what he found objected by those of
"the *Dissenters* that he convers'd with, against the
"ordinary Lord's-Day-Worship in the Establish'd
"Church, and that he confin'd himself to what he had
"seen and known to be their Opinion and Practice.

Ans. 'Tis evident by Mr. *Craghead's* Reply to his Discourse, which taxes him with the same Calumnies as the Remarks, That if those *Dissenters* he convers'd with, gave him that Account he pretends of these Matters, they were such as understood not the known Opini- ons or Practices of their own Teachers. As when they alledge so many Reasons either against the Lawfulness of all Forms of Prayer, and against joyning in pub- lick Worship where they are used, or against the pub- lick Reading the Scriptures, or against all bodily Wor- ship, &c. And therefore if the Bishop had been in- genuous in prosecuting what he now saith was his De- sign, he should have told us, that he intended only by this Book to correct the Mistakes of a few ignorant People, that neither knew the Judgment of their Pa- stors, nor the common Practice of the Congregations they joynd with. And that he intended not to charge the Generality of the *Dissenters*, even not those of his own Diocese with those weak Opinions, and weaker Arguments and Objections which he endeavours to cen- sure and confute. But he has been so far from doing this, that tho' in the Conclusion of his Book, he par- ticularly addresses himself to those of his Diocese; yet in his very Entrance on his Subject, he undertakes to represent the Practice of *Dissenters* in general, or (in his own Terms) of *them that differ from the Establish'd Church*. Nay, where he supposes his Charge only to be true of those in the *North of Ireland*, he takes care to confine it to them; and therefore he gives us just

Ground to conclude, that where he mentions the *Dis- senters* without any such Restriction, he is to be under- stood as speaking of the whole Body of them, accord- ing to the very Titles of his several Chapters, *Praise, Prayer, Hearing, Bodily Worship, how practis'd among Dissenters*. And to convince him of the Reasonableness of this, I shall put a parallel Case to him. Suppose I should write a Book about Ecclesiastical Discipline, how practis'd in the Establish'd Church, and among Dissenters; and in the Account of the Practice of the Establish'd Church, should represent the sad Neglect of all the Duties of their Function, both by Bishops and Priests; and accordingly should charge the Bi- shops with so many Years Non-Residence, in which there had been no Consecration of Churches, nor Con- firmation of Children, nor Ordination of Priests, and the Priests with such Neglect of their Cures, as a great many in the Diocese of *Dowry* and *Connor* were accus'd of: And suppose I should particularly address this Book to the late Bishop and Clergy of that Diocese, would his Lordship in this Case think me excusable from the Guilt of Calumniating, because I had par- ticularly address'd this Discourse to them, when I have not in the Body of the Book confined my Accusations to them, but speak all along of the Faults of the con- formable Bishops and Clergy in general, without any such particular Limitation? Or would he think me in- genuous in producing such Arguments as the Bishop and Clergy of the fore-mention'd Diocese may alledge to excuse themselves, as the common Reasonings of the Conforming Clergy: And yet, this were of the two more justifiable than the Bishop's Management of this Charge against *Dissenters*, in which he has wronged the Generality; even of those to whom he now pre- tends that this Discourse was confined, but much more the Generality of the *Dissenters*, against whom the greatest Part of his Book is levell'd without any Dis- tinction. I confess, to have told us plainly, that he only confuted the weak Discourses he had met with a- mong some few of the Dissenting-Laity, would have lessened the Character of his Book, by supposing the Cause of the *Dissenters* to be little concern'd in it; and so probably the main Design of it, to blast the Reputa- tion of the whole Party had been frustrated by such an ingenuous Confession. But without such an ingenuous Confession, I do not see how 'tis possible to excuse his Discourse from Untruth and Disingenuity; either in attributing to *Dissenters* in general, what is peculiar to those in the *North of Ireland*, (as in the Head of fre- quent Communion) or in ascribing to a whole Party without Distinction, so many Opinions, Arguments, and Practices, as either none at all, or none but very weak and ignorant People are chargeable with; of which there are so many to be found in all Perswasions, that he who will measure the rest of their Communion by them, can never want Matter enough to expose the wisest and soberest Body of Christians whatsoever. So that should we allow the Truth of all his Lordship here suggests, (*viz.* that he truly represents what the *Dissenters* he convers'd with alledg'd to him) It ap- pears how little this signifies to clear him from the Guilt of groundless Aspersions.

II. The Bishop proposes to shew†, *That I have granted the principal Things designed in his Book.*

As to these I assure him, That I see no Reason to re- tract any of those Concessions I have really made; and if they will be of any use to reconcile sober Protestants to more charitable Thoughts of each others Worship, I shall rejoyce in it. But then I must desire him not to stretch them beyond their just Bounds, as he seems to do in the following Particulars.

Thus, tho' I have own'd singing in Prose (as op- posed strictly to Metre) lawful in general, pag. 10. yet as to the Practice of it in Cathedrals, whereby the main Part of the Auditory is excluded from joyning

* *Admonition*, pag. 137.

† *Ibid.* pag. 138.

in the publick Praises, through their Incapacity to sing them in Prose; I have censur'd it as disagreeable to the Apostle's Rule, of doing all to Edification.

So, tho' I have granted Responses in general lawful, yet I have censured the Method of them in the Parish Churches, as apply'd to all Psalms, as not only unscriptural, but unreasonable and disorderly.

As to the 4th Concession, Tho' I think not those unscriptural Practices of singing Psalms by a Choir, and of Responses in the Parish-Churches, to fall within the Compass of what our Lord censures, *Mark vii. 7.* yet I think them a very defective and disorderly Way of Worship; to which I judge the more scriptural Way practis'd among the *Dissenters* far preferable.

For the 5th Concession, Tho' I grant praying with or without a Form in general undetermin'd in Scripture, yet I do not think it only a Matter of Convenience: For I doubt not praying with a Form is a Duty to those who cannot pray without it; and I think 'tis sinful to exclude necessary Matters of Prayer, by confining our selves to a Form, when we can pray without one.

From the 6th Concession he draws a wrong Inference, which I had particularly obviated; viz. That because God prescribed a Form of Words to the Jews, in some extraordinary Parts of Worship, therefore he does, in particular, command Christian Pastors and their Flocks to pray to him in Forms; for that must be the Sense of his Lordship's Inference, if it be any Thing to his Purpose: For I have challeng'd him to produce any Form prescribed to the Christian Church, except the Lord's Prayer, or any particular Command for the constant Use of that in publick; and for its being sometimes us'd as a Form, the *Westminster-Assembly*, in their larger Catechism, declare their Judgment for it.

For the 8th Concession, I do not own (as his Lordship here alledges) that there is no reading of Scripture in the *North of Ireland* in the *Winter-Quarter*; for tho' this Exercise is, in some Places, forborn during the *Winter-Quarter*, yet it is not in all; and particularly but in one Meeting in all his Lordship's Diocess, the rest continuing it thro' the whole *Winter*: Of which I shall have Occasion to take Notice afterwards.

For the 9th Concession, Though I have owned that bodily Worship is commanded in Scripture, yet I have not owned, but censured it, as practis'd by such as bow towards the East, or Altar, or at the Name of Jesus.

For the 10th Concession, Tho' I do not condemn kneeling in the Act of Receiving as unlawful, yet I have shew'd it to be disagreeable to Scripture-Example, and by the Strictness of the Bishop's own Rule, unlawful too.

The third Thing the Bishop proposes, is to shew *, *That whereas there are several Matters of Fact which he affirms, and I deny; the Mistake lies on my side, notwithstanding I impute them to him with great Assurance as Falshoods, &c.*

Ans. What I have charged him with as Untruths, in reference to the *Dissenters* in general, it lies on me to make good; what relates to those in the *North of Ireland*, as I have asserted nothing but upon their Information, so I can produce no other Vouchers than themselves: And sure I need not produce any other, since their Testimony concerning their own Practice, must, by all reasonable Men, be allow'd to be of greater Weight and Credit than his Lordship's, who cannot pretend to know so well as themselves what is done by themselves.

This premis'd, I come to examine the Matters of Fact, wherein the Bishop attempts to vindicate himself, tho' they are but a small Part of what I have charged him with Misrepresenting.

For the two first Matters of Fact, I shall take the Liberty to offer them in the same Order, and in the very Words of his Discourse, pag. 83, 84. 4th Edit.

"But the most sad and deplorable Defect of your Performance of this Duty, is the Casting out the Reading of the Word of God from most of your publick Assemblies, directly contrary to God's Institution and Ordinance for the Instruction of his Church; insomuch, that in many of your Meetings, setting aside a Verse or two for a Text or Quotation, at the Discretion of the Teacher, the Word of God is never publicly heard among them; this is Matter of Fact, and undeniable. And in all the Meetings in the *North of Ireland*, in a whole Year perhaps there is not so much Scripture read, as in one Day in our Church, by the strictest Enquiry I could make, *Disc. p. 83, 84.* And *Ibid. p. 84.* The *Dissenters* banish the Word of God out of their Meetings.—Sure 'tis a sad Thing, that a Man may go to most Meetings many Years, and never hear one entire Chapter read in them.

'Tis here obvious, That his main and positive Accusation is, *That the Dissenters have cast the Reading of the Word of God out of most of their Meetings; That setting aside a Verse or two for a Text or Quotation, at the Discretion of the Teacher, the Voice of God is in many of them never publicly heard among them: And that a Man may go to most Meetings many Years, and never hear one entire Chapter read in them; and this Accusation he more particularly fixes on the Meetings in the North of Ireland.*

In Opposition to this Accusation, I had told him, 'Tis the general Practice of the Dissenting Ministers in the *North of Ireland*, for about Three Quarters of the Year, (for in the most, the *Winter-Quarter* is only excepted) to read every Morning an entire Portion of Scripture, usually a whole Chapter, at least so much of one as they can go thro' with in an Exposition of half an Hour's Length.

The very same Matter of Fact, the Reverend Mr. Craghead has affirmed in his Answer, and more largely, without excepting the *Winter-Quarter*, since in his Diocess all the Dissenting Ministers, except one, continue their Lecturing thro' the whole Year.

Now this Matter of Fact, all the World must allow to be directly contrary to his severe Charge; so that if it prove true, his Lordship could have no Pretence to complain of my reproving him, for offering such barefac'd Untruths, for undeniable Matters of Fact.

Let us then enquire what he hath said to make good his Charge; and to that Purpose he alledges two Things.

I. "That the Reading the Scriptures should be so order'd, that the diligent Hearers may, in a competent Time, be acquainted with the whole Body of them": Whereupon he challenges me || to produce one Meeting in the *North* where this has been observed.

Ans. As to this Allegation, 'tis evident, that it concerns not the Matter of Fact in Dispute at all, which is, *Whether setting aside a Verse or two for a Text or Quotation, at the Discretion of the Teacher, the Voice of God is never publicly heard among them, and a Man may attend most Meetings many Years, and never hear an entire Chapter read in them.* For the Allegation concerns only the Manner of Reading them, whereas the Accusation supposes them not read at all, except a Verse or two for a Text or Quotation, &c. so that I might justly dismiss any farther Consideration of it; but since the Bishop gives me this Occasion to compare their Practice and ours, I shall suggest to him, That tho' we read not so much of Scripture as they in such entire Portions as whole Chapters, yet we read the Scriptures more regularly than they, and a Man may sooner hear them read thro' in a Meeting, than he can in most of the Parish-

* Admonition, pag. 141.

† Remarks, pag. 92, 93.

|| Admonition, pag. 144.

Churches. To clear this, I must premise, That in the Generality of the *Parish-Churches* thro' the Kingdom, there is no divine Service read, except on *Sundays*; now if we consult the *Kalendar* in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, we shall find, that (excepting the *Psalms*) there is never read from one Generation to another, but about 104 Chapters of the *Old Testament*, and that in such Order, or rather Disorder, as breaks the Coherence of the sacred History: So that a Man may, if he liv'd to 80 Years, attend the publick Worship in most *Parish-Churches* all his Days, and never hear the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th Chapters of *Genesis*, and so on: See the Lessons proper for *Sundays*. And how is the *New Testament* read? This *Sunday* we have *Matt. 1.* and *Rom. 1.* read; the next *Sunday* the 8th of each; and the next the 15th. Four Months hence, the 3d of *Matthew*, and the 4th of *Romans*: So that in the Generality of the *Parish-Churches*, the Scriptures are read most confusedly; so that the Hearers are incapable of observing the admirable Connexion of its Parts; and in most *Parishes*, the far greater Part of them is never read at all: Whereas in the Meetings, 'tis the general Practice to read on a Book in Order; and tho' their Exposition hinder them from reading so large a Portion, (for which there is abundant Compensation by their Expounding what is read from parallel Places of Scripture) yet they will, in the Course of some Years, be read all over, which they never are, nor can be, in the Generality of the *Parish-Churches* that are shut all the Week. But as this first Allegation, had it been true, signifies nothing to the Purpose 'tis brought for, so let us see whether the other be more considerable.

2. The Bishop appeals to our selves*, *Whether any of our Ministers ever read one Portion of Scripture, but what was either designed for a Text to a Lecture, or Sermon, or a Quotation. If any one pretend the contrary, he desires me to name the Time and Place that he may reprove those Informers, which I affirm have so grossly imposed on him; but till the Time and Place be named, his Assertion, he saith, is literally true, and in a larger Sense than he expressed it.*

Ans. I must desire his Lordship to review this Passage, and tell us, *Whether it be literally true, that except a Verse or two for a Text or Quotation, the Voice of God is never publicly heard in their Meetings, when 'tis (as Mr. Craghead informs him) their ordinary Practice to lecture every Lord's-Day, and usually to read a whole Chapter, or divide a long one that's full of textual Difficulties. Is a whole Chapter or half a long one, only a Verse or two for a Text? Nay, is it literally true, That a Man may go to most Meetings many Years, and never hear an entire Chapter read, when in the Generality of them he shall most commonly hear a whole one read every Lord's Day? But what does he mean, when he challenges me to name the Time and Place in which any entire Portion of Scripture was read, but what was either designed for a Text to a Lecture or a Sermon? What is this to the Matter of Fact that he asserted? For besides that a Text to a Lecture is a new Phrase, Is a whole Chapter, or half a long one, only a Verse or two? Or is a whole Chapter never read, because 'tis always read with a Design to expound it? Nay, is this so deplorable a Fault as he has suppos'd it, that we never read an entire Portion of Scripture without intending to illustrate the Sense of it, by comparing parallel Scriptures with it? (For that's all his Lordship can mean, by making it a Text to a Lecture) Is it not rather our great Commendation, that the Scripture is always interpreted as well as read, and rather Matter of Reproach to others that 'tis barely read, without giving the People such Help to understand it? And shall our extraordinary Diligence be made our deplorable Crime, and their Sloth so great a Virtue? And upon the whole, would it not have been more ingenuous in him*

to own that his Informers had grossly impos'd upon him; than to persist in so plain a Mistake, and then colour it over with an Apology, the Weakness and Unreasonableness whereof had been so largely and justly exposed in that Part of the *Remarks*, to which he has not yet thought fit to give any Answer?

But tho' the Bishop be in the wrong, as to the Substance of the Accusation, he seems very confident of what he has said to vindicate that Circumstance of it, viz. *That in all the Meetings of the North, in a whole Year, perhaps there is not so much Scripture read, as in one Day in the Establish'd Church.* This he pretends to prove so fully, that by his Computation, there appears to be four times more Scripture read in the Establish'd Church, than in all the Meetings of the North. "To this Purpose he pretends to take my own Computation of half a Chapter read in each Meeting for three Quarters of a Year; and so in the nine Meetings in his Diocese he computes 175 Chapters and a half to be read in a Year.

On the other Hand, "He computes † 11 Psalms and 5 Chapters, and so in all 16 Chapters, read in the 42 Parishes in his Diocese, and consequently in all 672 every Lord'-Day.

This Computation at first View looks like Demonstration, but is, indeed, liable to manifold and just Exceptions.

1. The Bishop here puts that Sense on his Words that was not the plain and obvious Meaning of them.

Their obvious Sense is, That there is as much Scripture read in every *Parish-Church* in one Lord's Day, as in all the Meetings in the North in a Year. And there was good Reason to suppose he intended them in this Sense, both because 'tis but the same Chapters are read in every *Parish Church* thro' the Kingdom; and because without this Sense his Lordship's Words left us wholly in the dark how to judge of the Truth of them, when he never told us, whether by the Establish'd Church he meant all the *Parish Churches* in the Kingdom, or only those in the North of Ireland; nor gave us any Account what Proportion the Number of the one, or the other bore to the Number of the Meetings, without which Particulars none could judge whether his Assertion were true or false; or if true, whether any Matter of Reproach, or no? For perhaps in the whole Kingdom the Number of Meetings is not much more to that of *Parish-Churches*, than that of one to fifty two. But,

2. If we allow his Lordship the Sense that he now puts on his Assertion, yet his Computation will appear much too liberal on his own side, and much more too scanty on the Dissenters.

His Computation is too liberal on his own Side. For,

1. He takes a Day, viz. the first of April in his Computation, on which there were several Psalms extraordinary us'd. For take the Psalms one with another, about five is the Proportion of what is ordinarily us'd every Lord's Day, and 'twas only casual that eleven were then us'd, the eight first Psalms, as well as the three other, being short, and not above the Proportion of four ordinary Chapters of twenty five Verses long.

2. He brings in eleven Psalms as Chapters read for Instruction, (about which alone the present Dispute lies) whereas he himself supposes them to be us'd as Forms of Thanksgiving; and so does the *Common-Prayer-Book*, in which these are not propos'd to be read as Lessons, but sung or said between the Minister and People. So that by a just Computation there remains only the five Chapters a Day.

And his Computation is as much too scanty on the Dissenters side: For though I have drawn such a Computation as he mentions, yet I have drawn it only as a Computation of what is read in an entire Portion;

* *Admonition*, pag. 144.

† *Ibid.* 123, 142, 143.

and indeed have drawn it much below the Truth; for there is more usually a whole Chapter read, and in the Meetings of his Diocese none but one make any Exception of the Winter Quarter. But I was so far from designing this, as a Computation of all that is read, that I have, in the very Words following those he quotes, told him, * 'That I look on his Charge to be so unjust, that if we take the Scriptures to be read whenever they are *verbatim* recited to the People, and so compute all the parallel Passages of Scripture that occur in their Expositions and Sermons, (in which both the *Nonconformist* Ministers in general, and particularly those in the *North*, use not to be sparing in their *Concordances*.) I see little reason to doubt but there is as much of Scripture read, or as much of the inspir'd Word of God propos'd for the Instruction of the People in each Meeting, as in each Parish-Church. And this way of reading the Scripture I have shewn to be most agreeable to the Pattern and Practice of the Apostles, and of the Christian Church in their Time.

Why then would the Bishop take no Notice of this, which would have brought this Debate to a more fair and easy Trial. For what is read this way among us, will amount to vastly more than what is read in an entire Portion. For take one Lord's Day with another, we may by a reasonable Computation allow, between the Portion read, and the parallel Texts in the Exposition, a Chapter and a half. And if we compute two Chapters more to each Sermon, there will be every Lord's Day five Chapters and a half read; and I do not here mention what Passages of Scripture occur in catechizing, though those will amount to a very considerable Portion, if put together. And for the *Psalms*, he has no more reason to bring them into the Computation, than I have to bring in all the scriptural Expressions that occur in our *Praises* and *Prayers*, which I have also shewn him, are more agreeable to the *Directions* of the *New Testament*.

But to examine the Bishop's present Computation; if we allow him his eleven *Psalms* that are us'd as Forms of Thanksgiving, I hope he will allow us all that's *strictly* read for *Instruction*. And that he may not scruple my Computation, I'll only allow one Chapter between the Portion read and the Exposition of it: I'll only compute two Chapters more for the two Sermons preach'd every Lord's Day; and upon this Computation (which is really much less than is read) it will appear, That in nine Meetings, allowing a Chapter for the Lecture, there is read in the three Quarters of the Year, three hundred fifty one; and allowing two Chapters each Lord's Day in the Year for their Sermons, there is read nine hundred thirty six Chapters in a Year; both these joyn'd make up one thousand two hundred eighty seven. Whereas in forty two Parish Churches, the Bishop computes (with the eleven *Psalms* and all) only six hundred seventy two Chapters; and if we should add forty two Chapters more for their Sermon (for few preach more than once a Day) this will make seven hundred fourteen, which is a little more than half of what is read in those nine Meetings by the former Computation. But if this Computation were drawn to the utmost of Truth on the Dissenters side, (for since eight Meetings in his Diocese Lecture throughout the whole Year, there are one hundred four Chapters to be added to the Account; and as the Bishop reckons the *Psalms*, we should add all the scriptural Passages that occur in our Thanksgivings) the Bishop's Account would still appear the more wide from Truth. However, upon the lowest Computation he is really mistaken in this Matter of Fact, as he is apparently so in the foregoing, and has wrong'd them in the *Circumstance* as well as *Substance* of his Charge.

The third Matter of Fact which the Bishop takes to vindicate, is his Assertion, † *That frequent the Meetings of the Dissenters all the Year you have no Security, or hardly Possibility of having their publick Teachings all the great Mysteries of the*

This I have indeed censur'd as a gross and false Accusation, and therefore was the more oblig'd to prove it so. To that purpose I not only shew'd that the peculiar Mysteries of the Christian Religion were the ordinary Subject of their Sermons; but that once a Year at least, they confest through all the necessary Articles of the Christian Religion in their publick Catechizing, in which all the Dissenting Ministers in the *North* were so oblig'd, as to examine every particular Person of Knowledge there could be any occasion to. And sure one would think if this be true, there be no *Modesty* in such a heinous Accusation, then hear what the Bishop has offer'd to himself.

1. 'He proposes a Summary of the Principles of Christian Religion, drawn rather from the *Katechism* than from the Apostles Creed, of which several Articles are omitted, because his Lordship could find no Holy-days for them.

2. 'He tells us their Ministers have a certain time appointed every Year for reaching each of the great Mysteries.

3. 'That there lies no Obligation on the Dissenting Ministers to go through these Mysteries in any particular Time, nor in their whole Lives.

4. 'That he could not find, upon Examination, that their Ministers had done it.

5. 'He pretends that I endeavour to excuse this by putting him to produce scriptural Commands relating to it **.

Now I would desire him to review this, and tell me whether it signify any thing to take off the plain Evidence I have produc'd, of the Injustice of his Assertion, viz. *That their People are in publick Teaching yearly catechiz'd, in which Exercise all the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and particularly those mention'd in the Lordship, are explained to them: So that 'tis impossible they should attend their Meetings one Year, but they'd have the Opportunity of learning them.* Is it not strange, that the Bishop should overlook so clear a Demonstration of the Truth of his Charge under this Head, to which it properly does belong? For if this be true, he needs nothing more to prove what he has said to be so gross a Calumny as I have represented it. His Lordship has indeed thought fit to take Notice of it in another Place, viz. p. 149. where he dares downright deny it, but would gladly insinuate a strong Suspicion against the Truth of it. His Words are, *I leave this Matter of Fact with you, and know you must conclude; and hope you will be so just to go so far as to determine of what Credit this Author ought to be in his Relations. I will not derogate from your Ministers in catechizing their People; but notwithstanding all Pains, there are some thousands of Men and Women in his Diocese that profess themselves of your Communion that were never catechiz'd by them, &c.* Now either he means there are so many Persons that were never catechiz'd in those Places where Ministers are settled, or where there are none. If he mean the latter, 'tis not this to the Purpose if it were true, as I do not think the Dissenting Ministers in his Diocese think it probable; if he mean the former, they do declare, they know of none that were never catechiz'd when they are Ministers settled; but all are ordinarily examin'd once in the Year, if not oftner. So that if any such remain ignorant, 'tis not for want of Pains to instruct them. And since he leaves the Matter of Fact with them, to be determined

* Remarks, pag. 93.

† Disc. pag. 82.

|| Rem. pag. 85, 86.

** See Adm. pag. 145, 146, 147.

their serious Consideration, he may easily see how contrary their Judgment of it is to his; and if he would yield to their Testimony concerning their own Practice, I hope he'll be convinc'd there is some Credit due to my Relations, but none to his rash and mistaken Accusations.

But besides that, the necessary Principles of Religion are yearly explain'd in the *Catechism*; I have told him, concerning the *Dissenters* in general, that though they have no other *Rule* to direct them herein, than that of the Holy Scriptures, yet they do in their Sermons most frequently insist on the particular Mysteries of the Christian Religion; and can appeal to their People as Witnesses thereof. And that this is true concerning the Dissenting Ministers in his Diocese, he may find Mr. *Craghead's* Account in these Words, relating to the forementioned Charge. * 'I declare upon certain Knowledge, that what he has asserted is a most unjust Imputation, for which he has reason to ask Forgiveness of God; and I do appeal to many thousands now living, who are ordinarily Witnesses to the contrary; and many of the Author's Persuasion know the contrary. With what Peace of Conscience can any Man thus impose on Strangers, and impress future Generations with that which is so far from Truth; it being publicly known that we ordinarily and orderly go through all the Heads of our Christian Faith in our publick Sermons. And what if this be not particularly precept'd by the Directory? will it follow that 'tis not done? Or, is not the Scripture a sufficient Directory for that purpose? And whereas the Bishop insinuates this suspicious Argument of our Neglect, 'That he has seen many Sermons printed by our Party, and yet does not remember above two or three on these most necessary Subjects, (*viz.* the great Mysteries of our Religion.) Is it not hence evident that he speaks at random of Matters that he has little or no Knowledge of? For I doubt not, that instead of two or three, there are above two or three hundred Sermons publish'd by Nonconformist Ministers, on the principal Mysteries of the Christian Religion, (including those that he has mention'd.) What does he think of the first Collection of Sermons in the *Morning Exercise*, on the principal Heads of Christian Doctrine? Nay, some Divines have printed a large Body of Sermons on the particular Heads of the *Assemblies Catechism*; one hundred seventy six of Mr. *Watson's* are now extant. How many of those Mysteries are fully treated of in the large Volumes of Dr. *Manton's* and Mr. *Charnock's* Sermons? Not to mention Mr. *Baxter's*, Mr. *Anthony Burgess's*, Dr. *Bates's*, and many more. So that if the Bishop have met with no more than two or three, 'tis only because he was never conversant in their Writings. But why then should he throw about such severe Reproaches in the dark, and censure with such Assurance what he is so entire a Stranger to, and what any that ever was in the least acquainted with their Writers, can shew him his Ignorance and Indiscretion in? And if the Conformists have printed more, 'tis no wonder, when the Press has been more open to them, and they have had greater Advantages for appearing in publick.

And is it not strange the Bishop should pretend that I alledge what he quotes (*p.* 146, 147.) as an Excuse in this Matter, when I expressly disclaim the alledging of it for that End; because we need no Excuse, and only produce it as an Argument *ad hominem*, which he was concerned to answer on the Principles he had laid down? So that upon the whole, the Bishop is oblig'd, in all Reason, to do us Right in this Point, by owning so unhappy a Mistake; and wiping off an Aspersions, which as 'tis manifestly untrue, so 'tis highly injurious to the Reputation of his Brethren; since if it were believ'd, no Man that has any concern

for his own Soul, would trust it to their Pastoral Conduct, who are so grossly negligent of so necessary a Duty.

The next Matter of Fact is, the Bishop had affirm'd, † *That not one in ten of the Dissenters Children get their Catechism by heart, nor one in five hundred retain it.*

On the contrary I suggested, † *That I believ'd, upon a more accurate Trial, he would find that as many of the Dissenters Children have got it by heart, as of others that have done so by the Church Catechism.*

To clear himself, the Bishop here alledges, ** 'That he has, besides grown People, confirm'd near a thousand Children, all above 13 Years old, who could say the *Church Catechism*. And on the other hand, he tells us of many Trials he made in whole Schools at a time, &c. among the Dissenters, and found that the Generality could not go above a Leaf or two in it; and he doubts whether any at all after twenty retain it.

Now in Answer hereto, the Dissenting Ministers in his Diocese declare, *That there are several thousands of their People, both old and young, that can repeat the whole Catechism. And how many there are in other Parishes may be in part computed from that of Temple-more, in which there are six hundred, or more, can repeat it.* So that if his Lordship had so ill Success in his Trial, 'tis to be imputed either to the Sullenness or the Baseness of those he examined. For certainly their own Ministers should know this Matter better than he; and since he appeals to them, they declare, *That they are assur'd he is mistaken in it.*

I come then to the fifth and principal Matter of Fact disputed, *viz.* Concerning the Frequency of Celebrating the Lord's Supper.

As to this, the Bishop had appeal'd to the Dissenters in general, without any Distinction, *Whether it were not a great thing among many of them, if once in a Year or two, a Communion be celebrated in one of their Meetings; that among some 'tis often omitted for several Years together, and in some Places for ten or more: And on this Account severely upbraids them with rare or no Communion as their peculiar Practice.* Disc. p. 161, 162.

In Opposition to this Charge, I had told him, *That for those Meetings in England and the South of Ireland, where Pastors are settled, the most of them constantly celebrate the Lord's Supper once a Month, others once in six Weeks, or two Months; and a few every Lord's Day, &c.* From whence I infer'd the Injustice of this Accusation, since the Generality of the Dissenting Ministers celebrate this Ordinance much more frequently than the Generality of the Parish Ministers; and their Communion are ordinarily more numerous, as well as more frequent, than those in the Parish Churches, allowing for the Proportion which the Number of the Dissenters bears to that of the conforming Laity.

And now let us consider what the Bishop replies to this.

First he says, *He is not much concern'd in it, having address'd himself to those of his own Diocese.* †† *Ans.* Can his Lordship, with any Reason, pretend that he has asserted this only concerning the Dissenters of his own Diocese, when he does not only in the very Entrance of his Book, propose to examine the several Parts of Worship, as they are practis'd by those that differ from the Establish'd Church, or (as in the same Page) by Protestant Dissenters. See Disc. p. 8. But gives this very Chapter the Title of, *The Practice of Dissenters about Frequency of Communicating.* But of this I have said enough already, to shew him the Unreasonableness of this Excuse.

Secondly, He insinuates these Arguments against the Probability of it: 'If this be true, (saith he) their Practice is much alter'd from what it was formerly: For when the Churches were in their Hands, it was quite otherwise. St. *Warburgh's* was a consider-

* Pag. 75, 76.
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† Disc. p. 83.

‡ Rem. p. 52.

** Adm. p. 47, 48.

†† Adm. p. 155.

able Parish in the Heart of *Dublin*, but had not the Lord's Supper administred in it for twelve Years; and I have heard the like of some other Churches in *Dublin* at that Time. I find the same observed concerning the whole University of *Oxford*, from the Year 1648, to 1660. *Antiq; Oxon.* And he adds, that he was told, 'That the *Dissenters* in *Waterford* did not Communicate above once a Year before the Troubles, if so often. *Admon.* p. 155.

Ans. For what was practis'd either in *Dublin* or *Oxford* in *Oliver's* Time, I neither know, nor am concerned with. But for this Assertion of mine, concerning the present Practice of those Meetings of *Dissenters* in *England*, and the *South of Ireland*, in which Pastors are settled, I need no *Vouchers* at all. 'Tis a Matter of Fact as easily known as our Publick Assemblies are, and what we can produce as many *Vouchers* for as we have ordinary *Hearers*, there being always publick Notice given of our *Communion*s. And if the Bishop dispute this Matter of Fact, he may next dispute, whether our Senses may be trusted in what we daily see and hear. * For what he alledges concerning the Practice of *Dissenters* in *Waterford*, of which he saith he had Opportunity to enquire, it will appear by the Account given me by *Mr. Sinclair*, who was at that time their Minister, that either his Enquiry was very slight, or his Informers very ignorant of the Matter; and that he has been as unhappily impos'd on by them, as I shall now shew him he has been by those on whose Credit he has related what is practis'd in his whole Diocese.

'Tis evident then, he has wrong'd the main Body of the *Dissenters* in this Charge of their rare or no *Communion*.

But there are some Things relating to the Practice of the *Dissenters* in the *North of Ireland*, which I have asserted, and which the Bishop does very positively conclude me mistaken in.

I had told him from their Information, 'Tis so far from being true, that 'tis rare if once in a Year or two a *Communion* be celebrated in their Meetings; that 'tis universally usual in every Meeting, where an ordain'd Minister is settled, to have the Lord's Supper administred constantly once a Year, and twice in the larger Towns. That when the Sacrament is administred in one Meeting, 'tis usual for most of the Members of neighbouring Parishes to frequent it. That the most serious People among them communicate four or five times a Year; and have the Opportunity of doing so ten, twelve, or fifteen Times, if they will take the Advantage of Receiving it in neighbouring Congregations, &c. And what I have here affirmed, is the very Account sent me from the Reverend *Mr. Adair* of *Antrim*, with the Approbation of that Meeting: And I shall here subjoin this following Observation he makes in his own Words: 'You know also, that where the Sacrament is administred, two Parts of the Receivers are usually Strangers; by which it is evident, that one Administring according to the Custom usual among Christians here, where they communicate with each other in their several Congregations respectively, is equivalent to the Administring of it three or four times a Year to each particular Congregation, where this way is not in use.

Now as to this, the Bishop tells us, 'He has as good Opportunity of informing himself in these Matters, as any can have, and has been as diligent in his Enquiries, in his Progresses through his several Parishes, and on all Occasions as he could; and he has the following Account returned him from many Hands, and is satisfied there can be no great Mistake in it.

'In these last seven Years the Lord's Supper has been celebrated among you, in *Derry*, twice, in

Clandermot once, in *Ballindret* once, at *Ballikelly* once, at *Burt* twice, at *Ardstra* once, at *Ahadowy* once, in all nine times, (*Admon.* p. 151, 152.) And p. 153. he adds a significant Reason why he could not easily mistake in these Matters, viz. 'Because their Sacraments are administred with such a Concourse of Spectators and Hearers, that they can hardly escape Observation. (Though by the way, why the Bishop should suppose this an Abuse brought in by Popery, I do not understand; for I take it to be a very proper Means of exciting in the Spectators pious Desires of becoming Communicants: And for the Practice of the Primitive Church, in dismissing all that were not Communicants, when they entered on the Celebration of this Ordinance; I know of no other Occasion for it, than their Care to conceal these Mysteries of their Religion from Pagans; a Reason that we are not concerned in.)

But now, if after all this diligent Enquiry, the Bishop's Informers have grossly impos'd on him in almost every Particular of this Account: Nay, if the Account, where it is true, signify nothing to the Purpose for which 'tis alledg'd, and appear highly disingenuous, then I hope he will think himself under some Obligation to distrust those Informers for the future, and will be more cautious of asserting any Thing on their Credit, to the Reproach of his Brethren.

And here I would premise, That there is an Instance of Disingenuity in the Bishop's Method of comparing the Practice of the *Dissenters* with that of the *Establish'd Church*, too obvious and palpable to be over-look'd. In his Accounts how oft the Sacrament has been administred in the *Establish'd Church*, he goes no farther back than the Time of his own Advancement to the See of *Derry*, which was soon after the Troubles; but in his Accounts how oft it has been administred by the *Dissenters*, he takes in seven Years, though he knows well enough that for Two of the Seven at least, both the Ministers and People were scattered, and had no Opportunity for celebrating that Institution; and yet he is so imprudent as to make this a great Aggravation of their Neglect, That some of those seven Years being Times of Afflictions, required a more frequent Celebration of this comfortable Sacrament than ordinary; (see his *Errata* that refers to Page 27. Line 2.) as if he were ignorant that some of their Ministers were fled to *Scotland*, others shut up in the Walls of *Derry*, and their People so dispers'd, that they could not for any considerable Time after the raising that Siege make up any distinct Congregations again. And if the Bishop alledge, that at least the *Dissenters* in *Derry* during the Siege should have had it administred, I would desire him, if he blame them on this Account, yet to be so impartial as to give the *Conformists* there a Share in his Reproof; for those I have desired to enquire upon the Place, could not learn that they administred it any more than the other: So that those two Years of publick Troubles and Confusion, ought, in all Reason, to be shut out of his Account. And how unfortunate he has been in his particular and exact Account he now pretends to give, will appear by the following one that the *Dissenting Ministers* of his Diocese have after a very particular Enquiry, given of the Year 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94.

In the Year 87, 88, the Sacrament was administred in *Derry* twice, in *Donaghadee* twice, in *Drumrah* twice, in *Ardstra* twice, in *Urney* twice, in *Donaghmore* twice, in *Lifford* once, in *Glendernmot* once; in all fourteen times.

In the four last Years since the Troubles, the Sacrament was administred,

In *Derry* four times, in *Burt* thrice, in *Ahadowy* twice, in *Ardstra* twice, in *Ballindret* or *Lifford* once, in *Mahara* once, in *Ballikelly* once, in *Donaghmore* once, in *Strabane* once; in all sixteen times. So that for the last six Years, in which there can be any

* See his Letter in the End.

pretence for requiring the Administration of the Sacrament from them, it has instead of nine times been administered thirty. Nay, though we reckon the two Years of the Troubles in which they had no Opportunity, yet the Year 88 falling within the Compass of the seven mentioned by the Bishop, they had it twenty two or twenty three Times.

But I have a more just and severe Challenge against the Sincerity and Candour of this Account, which the Bishop's Informers have given him, viz. That they were not so honest as to acquaint him, that besides the two Years of Troubles, in a great part of the other Years, several of those Congregations had no Ministers at all, whom yet he makes accountable for the Sacrament during seven Years together; whereas that Assertion of mine which the Bishop here undertakes to disprove, concerns only *such Congregations where Ministers are settled*. (For it were ridiculous to expect Sacraments where there are no Ministers to celebrate them.) Now besides the two Years of seven that are to be taken off from each Congregation, (for even Derry it self had no Ministers from the Year 88, till after the Troubles) the following Congregations had no Ministers for the Years hereafter mentioned.

Glendernot, or Clondernot, had none at all since the Troubles, so that there has been a Minister there only one Year of the seven: *Ardara* had a Minister only two Years since the Troubles, and in them two Sacraments; but had no Minister at all till after the Troubles. For *Ballindret* two Communion were appointed, but both prevented by their Ministers being visited with Sickness; and 'tis a Year since he died, so that only one Sacrament could be celebrated since the Troubles. For *Ballikelly*, their Minister, besides long Sickness after the Siege of Derry, has been much in Scotland and elsewhere. For *Strabane*, the Minister has not yet been two Years there; and the true Reason why the Sacrament was but seldom administered there before, was (besides the bodily Infirmities of their Minister) chiefly the Violence of Persecution, which forced him out of that Parish. And yet such blame the Neglect, whose unchristian Severity was the Cause of it. For the other Places which the Bishop has overlook'd in his Account, and I have added to mine; I must also add, That *Mahara* had but one Sacrament since the Troubles, because they have had a Minister but one Year; and the same must be said of *Donoghmore*. For *Donaghedee, Drumra, and Urny*, which had constant yearly Communion before the Troubles, they have none of them had any Minister since. Now by this Account it appears, that according to what was practised where Ministers have been settled, there would have been about seventy Communion celebrated in the last seven Years in the ten Meetings now mentioned, if either the want of Ministers in Places, or their Sickness, or the two Years of Confusion and Troubles, or the like extraordinary Accidents had not prevented. So that for the Bishop not only to mistake nine Times for about twenty three or thirty, but to charge these rare Communion on their Negligence in administering this Ordinance, when they were wholly owing to these extraordinary Occasions forementioned, is so highly dissingenuous and unjust, that he ought not to suffer those that have so unhappily abus'd him in these Matters, to pass without a severe Reproof. For since the Dissenting Ministers in the North, on the Account of the extraordinary Pains they take to prepare their People for the Sacrament, celebrate it so seldom in each Congregation as once a Year, there was the greater Reason they should not be wrong'd in the Accounts given of their Practice. So that in this Matter of Fact, I hope the Bishop will own and retract his Mistake.

For what I asserted concerning the Sacraments being twice a Year administered in the larger Towns in the North, was intended, and is true of *Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Antrim*.

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For what I have asserted concerning their Members Communicating four or five times a Year, is true of the most Devout and Serious of them; and so is it, That they may have the Opportunity of Communicating ten, or twelve, or fifteen times a Year, within some Miles of their respective Habitations.

This indeed the Bishop concludes to be a great Mistake. 'Because on this Supposition he thinks it will clearly follow, that not much above one hundred distinct Persons have communicated in the Diocess these last seven Years. For 4 times 7 makes 28; and 3600 (which his Lordship computes to be the full Number of their Communicants in seven Years) divided by 28, gives about 128; but this can by no Means be true: Therefore (saith the Bishop) he is certainly misinformed in this Particular. *Admon. p. 153.*

Ans. The whole of this Computation depends on his two Suppositions, That the Sacrament has been administered but nine times in seven Years, and that one with another; only four hundred have received at one time; and so three thousand six hundred in all. How great a Mistake the former Supposition is, I have already shewn; and how much greater the latter is, will appear from this one Passage, that in the Parish of *Templemore* alone, (alias *Derry*) including the two Meetings of *Derry* and *Burt*, there have communicated since the Troubles above five thousand, which is above one thousand four hundred more than he supposes to have communicated in all the Diocess in seven Years. 'Nay, whereas he supposes, that near as many have received in the Cathedral in three Years past; as have communicated with the Dissenters in his whole Diocess in twice that time. It appears that near two thousand more of the Dissenters have received in the same Parish, in about the same Time, than have received at the Cathedral, notwithstanding the Sacrament being administered there every Month (though by the way, the Dissenters of *Derry* think he has stretch'd the Number of his monthly Communicants beyond all just Bounds, of which they can give very shrew'd Evidence.) Since then his Computation of the Number of Communicants among the Dissenters is so vastly wide from Truth, his Inference from it falls of Course.

For what I asserted concerning their having the Opportunity of Communicating ten, or twelve, or fifteen times a Year, within some Miles of their respective Habitations, the Bishop concludes it to be a Mistake; 'Because there being but nine Meetings in his Diocess, though each Member should communicate at each Meeting, he could but communicate nine times a Year, and must sometimes travel forty Miles for a Sacrament. *Admon. p. 154, 155.*

Ans. I might here justly enquire, Why the Bishop should think the Dissenters of his Diocess so confin'd to it, that those that live near Meetings in another Diocess, may not take the Opportunity of Communicating there. Does he think their Communion limited within the Bounds of his Jurisdiction? But I must here acquaint him, that this Assertion of mine respects the Generality of Meetings in the North; and therefore the Truth of it is to be estimated from those Parts where the main Body of the Dissenters are to be found. Now he cannot be ignorant that they are most numerous in the Counties of *Antrim* and *Down*. And therefore since he is pleas'd to arraign the Truth of the Assertion, I shall give him the following Demonstration of it, in reference to the Congregations that belong to the Meeting of *Antrim*, sent me by the Reverend Mr. *W. Adair*, Minister, of the Town of *Antrim*.

'I take *Carn-castle*, which is the most remote Congregation, save one Northward, in our Meeting, and within twelve Miles they may Communicate at *Glanarn, Blade, Ballinamoch, Coymer, Ballyraston, Ballyclare, Carmony, Dunagor, Lorn, I. Macgee, Broad-Island, Carrickfergus* twice, *Temple-Patrick*, and *Carn-castle* it self: In all fifteen Times.

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I take *Belfast*, which is the farthest of our Meeting *Southward*, and I suppose within twelve Miles they may yearly Communicate above twenty Times; viz. at *Belfast* twice, at *Carickfergus* twice, *Antrim* twice, *Holywood*, *Knock*, *Kirk-donald*, *Newton*, *Cumber*, *Killinchy*, *Donachadee*, *Tonochneer*, *Danmurry*, *Lisbon*, *Annahilt*, *Bangor*, *Carmony*, *Temple-Patrick*, *Ballyclare*, *Ballyraiston*, *Dunnagor*, *Upper Killade*, *Lower Killade*, *Broad Island*, (which is within eleven Miles) in all 26 Times.

You may easily conceive that many Places, or almost all in our Meeting which are towards the Centre, can have the Sacrament as often at least, and generally oftner, than at *Carn-Castle*.

So that this Matter of Fact is true beyond all Exception, as I have asserted it, concerning the Generality of their Meetings. And I am no way oblig'd to prove it, concerning every particular one in the remotest Parts of the Province of *Ulster*.

Again, whereas the Bishop had affirm'd in his Discourse*, 'That he could not compute that One in Ten that go to their Meetings, ever receive through the whole Course of their Lives; and blames me for asserting the contrary, That there is not One in Ten but do communicate, except such as are withheld for want of competent Knowledge, or on the Account of Scandal, (or I might here add, thro' their own Scruples about their Preparation for it) as if this were a great Reflection upon them; as if Nineteen in Twenty were ignorant or scandalous. This will appear to be a very mistaken Account of this Matter, if we compare the Number of *Hearers* in the two Meetings of *Derry* and *Burt*, with the Number of *Communicants*. For their ordinary *Hearers* are about 2400. (Of which some Part are suppos'd to be left at Home every Lord's-Day.) And yet in some of the Communions there since the Troubles, there have communicated 984 Persons in one of those Meetings. So that we may compute about 1600 *Communicants* in both. Now tho' we allow a considerable Deduction out of this Number of *Communicants*, for the Strangers that may be suppos'd to have receiv'd, yet the Number of *Communicants* belonging to those two Congregations, compar'd with that Part of their *Hearers* that are of Age to receive, will sufficiently demonstrate that the Bishop's Computation, That not One in Ten receive, must be very wide from Truth.

For the Generality of the Dissenting Ministers administering this Sacrament far oftner than the Generality of the Conforming Clergy, I did not, as the Bishop here groundlessly supposes†, assert it concerning the Dissenting Ministers in the North of *Ireland*, but of those in *England*, and the South of *Ireland*, (which make up the Generality of them) concerning whom 'tis too apparently true to admit of being disputed.

And for their pressing their People as much or more to it, if we may judge thereof by the Success of their Exhortations, I think it past doubt, that take an equal Number of Meetings and Parish-Churches, and according to the Proportion of Hearers in the one and the other, the *Communicants* are far more numerous in the Meetings than the Parish-Churches, even tho' the former are far more strict in their Admissions; and in the latter, few are ever refus'd that desire to come: Of which, if the Bishop please, I shall produce him manifold Instances. And for what his Lordship affirms of their Sermons tending rather to deter poor weak Creatures from Receiving, than encourage them, by magnifying the Difficulty and Danger of the Undertaking; I know no Ground he has for this Assertion, unless it be, that they endeavour to deter all that are grossly ignorant or scandalous from profaning that Holy Institution; and dare not encourage any to approach to it, but such as, in some Measure, understand the Nature of it, and do not, by a scandalous Life, contradict

those solemn Vows of Obedience which they there come to renew upon the Memorials of a crucify'd Saviour.

As for this last Matter of Fact, in reference to this Head, about a reputed Elder, (or as in his Errata he corrects it) Professor of thirty or forty Years of Age that never receiv'd, but disputes against it, Admonit. pag. 158. If the Bishop had pleas'd to name him, the Truth of what he asserts might have been examin'd: But till we know who he is, we must let this Matter lie undecided, unless we dispute in the dark.

So that in the whole of this Debate which relates to the Sacrament, the Mistake lies on the Bishop's side, even in reference to the North of *Ireland*; tho' he was oblig'd to make his Charge in his Discourse good concerning the Dissenters in general, without any such Limitation.

For the Bishop's being offended at my saying, That too many profligate Sinners are admitted to the Communion in the Parish-Churches; and his charging me || on that Account with being uncharitable and unjust, and challenging me to instance in some of his Dioceses. I shall only reply, That I never yet met with any Person, before his Lordship, that doubted this Matter of Fact, and would not rather lament, than dispute it. For 'tis no more than has been frequently own'd by the best of their own Writers, and imputed to the present Corruption or Weakness of their Discipline. And tho' for naming particular Instances, I must beg the Bishop's Pardon, yet I will alledge what is equivalent to it. Does his Lordship think there are no profligate Sinners in Military and Civil Employments in *England*? And yet the Sacrament-Test obliges them all to receive the Sacrament, and he knows they are not scrupled when they come. Nay, were not the common Soldiers since the Restoration in *Dublin* forc'd to receive, and driven to it by their Officers with Oaths and Curses, when nothing but the Consciousness of their own Wickedness deter'd them? But as to this Matter, I shall freely appeal to the common Judgment of all sober Persons of his own Party, and fear not their Censure on this Score; it being rather to be wish'd, for the Honour of the Reformed Religion, that the Evidence of this Truth were less notorious. Nay, to the Judgment of the same Persons I would refer it, what Ground there is for that Observation which the Bishop tells us some have made, That Enmity to the Establish'd Religion, and Immoralities, are gotten on one side in too many Instances, if it be meant of the Dissenters. For besides that, the Dissenters have no Enmity at all to the Establish'd Religion, having subscrib'd in *England* all the Doctrinal Articles of it: That the Members of their Communion, compar'd with those of the Establish'd Church, are more generally guilty of Immoralities, is an Observation that, I suppose, will hardly pass current with any but such as have a Faith to believe whatever their Interest or their Affection to a Party dictates to them.

And since, in reference to these Matters of Fact, his Lordship requires me to produce my Vouchers, and charges me as writing upon none, or very partial Information, I shall so far comply with his Demand, as to produce the following Testimonial of the Truth of what I have said, in reference to the Practice of the Dissenters in his Diocese, about whom our present Debate lies, from these three under-named Ministers in his Diocese, who have diligently examin'd these Matters of Fact, and whose Informations communicated to me, relating to them, were, together with these Papers, review'd and approv'd by the whole Presbytery.

We the Under-Subscribers having perus'd these Papers of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Boyse, drawn up in Answer to that Part of the Bishop of *Derry*'s Admonition which concerns the Practice of the Protestant Dissenters in this Diocese of *Derry*, do declare, Those Informations which we have

* Admonition, pag. 154.

† Ibid. pag. 151.

|| Ibid. pag. 156.

given him relating to it, and to which he here refers, to be true; and hereby attest them as such to the World, in order to our just Vindication from the Misrepresentation made of those Matters of Fact by the Bishop of Derry.

Robert Craghead, Minister of Derry.
Andrew Ferguson, Minister of Burt.
Will. Homes, Minister of Strabane.

And for his Lordship's farther Satisfaction, Whereas one of the most remarkable Differences between his Account and theirs, relates to the Frequency of celebrating the Lord's Supper (his Account supposing them guilty of very scandalous Negligence) the Rev. Mr. Craghead has now in his Hands, and is ready to produce whenever his Lordship desires it, particular Testimonials of this Account now given under the Hands of the Elders, and other Communicants of each Meeting. Nay, since the Difference is most remarkable, in reference to Derry it self, which he affirms has had the Sacrament but twice these seven Years, whereas they assert it has been administered five Times, (tho' for two of the seven Years they had no Minister of their own;) and since the Bishop's Friends pretend to undeniable Evidence for the Truth of this Matter of Fact, I shall (to shame, if possible, his Informers out of their Confidence) trouble the Reader with the following Certificate, as a Specimen of what shall be produc'd, if requir'd, from the other Congregations.

WE the under-named Subscribers having heard and read of several Things charged on the People of the Presbyterian Perswasion of this City and Suburbs, now under the Pastoral Charge and Care of the Rev. Mr. Robert Craghead, and formerly of the Reverend Mr. Robert Rule, for the Honouring the great God, who is a God of Truth; and in Opposition to all those that have endeavour'd to possess the Minds of such as are Strangers to us, by speaking or writing contrary to Truth; We do hereby certify and give under our Hands, and are ready to make it farther appear, if need be, upon Oath, that from the Time of our being under the Charge and Care of Mr. Robert Rule, as our Pastor, which commenc'd about the Year 1672. till the Time of his being necessarily call'd to go for Scotland, which was Anno Dom. 1688. we had the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper duly administered by him once a Year in his Congregation; excepting those wherein we were violently hindered by the Severity of Persecution. And more particularly, that the Reverend Mr. Robert Rule administered that solemn Ordinance of the Lord's Supper to us in this Place, in May, 1687. and in April, 1688. Soon after which we were desolate of any fixed Minister, till it pleas'd the Lord, our now Reverend Pastor, Mr. Craghead, was fix'd among us in the Year 1690. and he has, since then, ministr'd this Sacrament in this Congregation, the 12th Day of July, 1691. On the 24th of July, 1692. On the 14th Day of May, 1693. And on the 22d Day of July, 1694. The Cause of our Knowledge hereof is, that we were Members of this Congregation, and did then partake of that Ordinance. And we desire this may be compar'd with what is asserted in a Book, Entitled, An Admonition to the Dissenting Inhabitants of the Diocese of Derry, &c. pag. 153. In Testimony of the Truth whereof we have hereunto set our Hands, at London-derry, the 25th of September, 1694.

Henry Long, Mayor.
Alexander Lekey, Mayor Elect.

James Wilfon.	James Lenox.	Alex. Gourdon.
Hugh Davey.	Horas Kennedy.	John Cowan.
Hugh Eadie.	Robert Harvey.	Will. Mackie.
Edward Brooks.	Andrew Garven.	John Harvey.

And sure if the Bishop's Enquiries be so strangely unsuccessful in the very Place where he resides, we may

justly infer how little Regard is due to those he made in other Places. And upon the whole, the unbiass'd Reader may judge, what Ground his Lordship had to say, in reference to all these Matters of Fact, That concerning the Truth of what he had said, he need do no more than appeal to the Consciences of Dissenters. And that he must tell them, that what he wrote was from Sight, Experience, or certain Information; whereas, he saith*, I had my Accounts of Things only at second Hand, and produce no Vouchers. If he will stand to their Judgment to whose Consciences he has appeal'd, he may easily foresee his Doom; for their Sight and Experience are quite contrary to his. And since he obliges me to produce Vouchers for what I have said, I hope he'll either yield this Point, or produce as credible ones as these.

But before I dismiss this Head, it will be requisite to take some Notice of those remarkable Words wherewith the Bishop closes it, To conclude, (saith he) it were as easy to shew, That Mr. B. is mistaken in every Matter of Fact, wherein he has charg'd me with Falshood, as in these; but the designed Shortness of this Admonition will not give me leave to pursue them.

Answ. I hope the Bishop will, at length, be convinc'd, that instead of vindicating his former Mistakes, he has only run into new ones, which are somewhat the less excusable, because he had so much Time and Leisure, as well as Advice to correct them. And since most of them are very injurious to the good Name of his Brethren, common Justice should have oblig'd him, instead of re-printing, to have retracted them. But as he has had so little Success in his Endeavours to clear himself in the foregoing Particulars, so I something wonder that he should, with all this Assurance, pretend that I have in all the other Instances groundlessly charg'd him with Falshood or Mistakes. What! Will his Lordship still go about to persuade us, That we have no other Way of praising God, but by singing a Verse or two of a Psalm? Or that the first Principle he ascribes to us about Prayer, is asserted in the Directory, when he himself tacitly corrects the Mistake in this second Edition of his Discourse? Or that he has truly represented the Judgment and Sense of the General Assembly in Scotland, in their Directions concerning Family Worship? pag. 44, 45. Will he still persuade us, That a considerable Body of Dissenters teach all Forms of Prayer to be unlawful, and affirm it sinful to joyn where any are us'd? p. 57. Or, That on the Account of this Principle, the pious Custom of training up young People to a constant Course of Devotion in their Morning and Evening secret Prayer, is too universally laid aside among the Dissenters; concerning the Truth whereof, he confidently appeals to all of them? p. 64. Will he still affirm, That the Directory excludes all Bodily Worship? p. 128. Or, That the Dissenters in general do not stand up at their Thanksgivings, and generally sit at their publick Prayers? pag. 129. And that they have not one visible Act of Adoration in their Assemblies, except the Mens uncovering their Heads in Prayer? pag. 130. Nay, will he still persist in it, That the Dissenters are taught that external Postures of Bodily Worship may, in no Case, be practis'd? pag. 137. That the Directory does not allow the People to signify their Consent, by saying Amen to their publick Thanksgivings? pag. 138. That as to Gestures, such as Kneeling, Standing, Bowing the Head; the Dissenters condemn them all as Reliques of Idolatry and Superstition? That by turning all Bodily Worship out of their Assemblies, they are meer Spectators, not Joynt-Worshippers? pag. 138, 139. Or, That neglecting to kneel at the Sacrament has hardened them against all Reverence in other Parts of Worship? pag. 144. And to add no more, Will he still justify all as true concerning the Dissenters in general, which he has affirmed of them, without any Distinction, in reference to the Lord's Supper? pag. 161, 162. Will the Bishop still think to persuade us, that in all these Matters of Fact he has justly accus'd us, and we have no reason to complain of being mis-represented and abus'd? Does he think his bare

* Admonition, pag. 141.

† Discourse, pag. 24.

Word sufficient to bear down the Reputation of so considerable a Body of Protestants? Or would he have us silently bear the Odium of so many grievous Reflections cast upon us, which we are sure of the *Injustice* of, as we are that we know our own *Opinions* or *Practices*. His Lordship must therefore give us leave to be free with him on this Occasion, and to demand once more, That he either *make good* his Charge against us in these Particulars, or honestly confess his being *mistaken* or *misinform'd* about them. Which if he would once do, he will find us very ready, not only to forgive the Wrong done us, but to entertain more favourable Thoughts of his Veracity and Charity, than 'tis almost possible for us to do, while these *Mistakes* in his Book, and in his *Admonition*, stand *unretracted*.

There are but two Things more which I think myself oblig'd to take Notice of, before I come to consider the Exceptions he produces against some particular Passages in the *Remarks*.

The First is, that the Bishop tells me *, "I have nothing to do with him, and the *Dissenters* of his *Diocess*; and blames me for interposing myself without any Call or Reason, as well as writing upon little or no Information.

To which I shall only offer a few Things in my own Defence.

1. I have already had Occasion to shew, That the Bishop's *Discourse* was, in all just Construction, level'd against the *Dissenters* in general. Nay, he usually falls upon the *Directory*, which is a Book the Generality of *Dissenters* have a great and just Value for, (the Compilers of it having us'd great Modesty and Tendernefs in its Composition, without following the imposing Temper of those that requir'd so peremptory a Declaration of Assent and Consent to all Things contain'd in and prescrib'd by the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Form of ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons). So that since his *Discourse* is directed against what himself supposes to be the common Opinions and Practices of *Dissenters*, every Man among them had a just Right to defend the Common Cause, and the Bishop has no just Ground to complain of any one's interposing in it. Nay,

2. I had a very just Call to it; and that from the Dissenting Ministers of his own Diocess, who urg'd this Reason for it: That as the Bishop's *Discourse* might possess those that were Strangers to the *Dissenters*, with ill Apprehensions of them, if his Mistakes were not discover'd; so few would read an Answer to it, if it came not out while the Matter was fresh in their Minds; and they had less of Leisure for such an Undertaking at that Time. And as I did not interpose without their Desire, so neither did I write without particular Informations from them, to which I have exactly adher'd, and from which I have yet seen no Reason to recede.

3. I had yet a more particular Concern in the Bishop's Book; for tho' he would not vouchsafe an Answer to some former Papers of mine, (shewing the Unreasonableness of his excluding us from the Catholick Church) yet he took the Liberty to mis-represent the Principles laid down in them, and charg'd them as *inconsistent with the Unity and Peace of the Church*. So that I lay under a particular Obligation to vindicate myself, as well as under a common one to justify the common Opinions and Practices of *Dissenters*, which the Bishop had either misrepresented or argued against upon weak and insufficient Grounds.

The Second the Bishop complains of, † is, That I give him hard Words, and speak hard Things of him.

Ans. I may, I think, in this Matter, appeal to any equal Judges of Things, Whether the *Dissenters* have not juster Reason to complain of him, for saying so many hard and reproachful Things of them without any just Ground, than he to complain of me, only for telling him how greatly he has wrong'd us, and how little Re-

gard he has had to Truth in such a Multitude of Particulars wherein he has unreasonably accused us? And indeed, some of those Accusations tended so apparently to defame and render us odious, that it would have look'd like a tacit Confession of Guilt, to have express'd no Dislike at such disingenuous Treatment. Nor do I understand that the Bishop had any great Reason to expect the same Deference to be paid to him, that would have been due to any other of his Character, that had given any Evidence of his Moderation and Charity. 'Tis true indeed, both his *Discourse* and *Admonition* (bating the many severe, but groundless Aspersions in them) have an Air of Mildness and Temper in the Style of them; and we often meet with friendly Appellations in them. But I take Mens declared Opinions, and especially their Actions, to be a surer Indication of their Temper than the common Civilities that occur in their way of Writing. *Joab* had very obliging Language towards *Amasa* in his Mouth, *Art thou in Health my Brother?* but he carry'd a sharp Tool in his Hand, and he had no friendly Design. We can lay little Stress on any seeming Expressions of a Man's Charity, who will not recall that virtual Sentence of *Damnation* he has publicly pass'd upon us, by *denying us to be a Part of the Catholick Church*. We like not the gentle Language of Writs, *de Excom. Cap.* And we can perceive no extraordinary Mildness and Friendship in such Covenants inserted in *Leases*, as the following ones: " [And the said A. B. his Executors, &c. does by these Presents, covenant to, and with the said William Lord Bishop of Derry, his Successors, &c. for the Time being, that neither he the said A. B. his Executors, &c. nor any of them, &c. shall or will set, let, or demise the Premises, or any Part thereof, to any Mass or Popish Priest, &c. or to any Minister or Teacher dissenting from the Church of Ireland. Neither shall, wittingly or willingly, suffer them to dwell or reside on any Part, Parcel, or Member thereof, but him or them shall endeavour to expel and keep from the same, so far as by the Laws of this Realm they shall be enabled.] So that if the Bishop have been reprov'd somewhat sharply for his *unfair Dealing* in this new Dispute, he has but furnish'd us with too just an Apology for it. And yet I know of no Words given him so hard (how deserved soever), as those he has given the whole Body of *Dissenters*, which have been wholly undeserved. And I am sure he will not find in the *Remarks* any such uncharitable Sentiments express'd concerning the *Establish'd Church*, as occur frequently in his *Discourse* concerning the *Dissenters*. And for what touches himself only, he seems to have little Reason of Complaint, unless he can clear himself a little better in Matters of Fact, than he has done in this *Admonition*.

I come now to consider the Bishop's few Exceptions against the *Argumentative Part* of the *Remarks*.

In his Entrance on which he alledges ‡, That 'tis the Design of the *Remarks* to hinder the *Dissenters* from joining with the *Establish'd Church* in their ordinary Lord's-Day-Worship. Now I know no Reason why his Lordship should pretend that to be my Design, which I nowhere propos'd as such: For all I profess'd to attempt was, *The Vindication of our own Worship from the weak Charge of human Inventions; and the Retorting his Arguments, where they were stronger against the Worship of the Establish'd Church than against ours*. But if the Bishop here speak of occasional Communion with the *Establish'd Church*, in her ordinary Lord's-Day-Worship, 'tis strange that he should suppose it my Design to hinder the *Dissenters* from it, when I expressly declare my own Opinion for the Lawfulness of it, *Remarks*, pag. 108. and urg'd him to express the same Charity towards us, which I perceive he cannot be so easily perswaded to.

He further premises **, "That it was incumbent on

* *Admonition*, pag. 158.

† *Ibid.* pag. 141, 142, 145, &c.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 159.

** *Ibid.* pag. 159, 160.

"one that answer'd his Book, to justify our Way of Worship, by shewing that the Manner of performing it, in the several Parts of it, as distinguish'd from theirs, is warranted by Scripture-Precept or President, or by direct Consequence from thence, &c. But (he saith) instead of undertaking this Task, Mr. B. argues against, and condemns the Rule; whereas, as strict as it appears, he has justify'd all the particular Ways of Worship in the *Establish'd Church* by it; and if I could have done the same for ours, I need not have declin'd it.

Ans. If his Lordship had answer'd the *Remarks*, he would have had, perhaps, some Pretence to have said this. But he has none now, when he himself is forc'd (as I shall shew) to alter his own Rule, when I had so largely prov'd, that our Worship, in most particular Parts of it, was more agreeable to Scripture-Precept or Example than theirs; and also shewn him, that his Rule, as laid down by himself, would condemn all Churches in the World, in which there were some circumstantial Modes, and those very lawful, that neither express *Scriptural Precept* nor *Pattern* could be produc'd for, nor indeed could reasonably be expected. And therefore, since the Bishop lays so great Strefs on this Matter, I shall carefully examine the three Heads he suggests in reference to it.

1. He saith, *I give another Rule for the Ordering God's Service.*

2. He saith, *I endeavour to persuade the Dissenters, that the greatest Exception they have against joyning with the Establish'd Church, is not Matter of Worship.*

3. He saith, *I alledge that he has omitted to handle that Part of Worship, against which the Dissenters have the greatest Exception, and that because he could not defend it.*

1. He saith, *I give another Rule for the Ordering God's Service.* And to that Purpose he thus pretends to cite my own Expressions. "As to his new Rule of Worship, you will find it in p. 7. in these Words; Modes and Circumstances of divine Worship,---tho' necessary in general by divine Precept, yet are left in particular to be determin'd by human Prudence. For tho' God has commanded publick Prayer, &c. yet what Time or Place we shall assemble in, in what Order these Parts of Worship shall be perform'd, &c. are left to human Determination, only therein the general Rules of Scripture must be regarded. From whence his Lordship concludes, That 'tis my Rule or Principle, That all Modes of Worship whatever, are left to human Prudence, and particularly the Determination of Time, Place, Order, Circumstances, Postures, and Utensils, in all Cases. Against which he argues, That God has not only given us general Rules to praise him, pray to him, hear his Word, &c. but he has likewise given us many particular Rules and Examples concerning each of these, to which, if we diligently attend, and mind the Consequences of them, and apply them to the like Cases, we may have sufficient Directions from Scripture to order our Worship, without having Recourse to human Prudence.

Ans. If the Bishop please to review the *Remarks*, he will find that he has plainly mistaken and misrepresented what they assert, in reference to this Matter, that he might have some Pretence to find Fault with it. For in the Place he cites, I am laying down no Rule at all, but only mentioning an improper Sense of *human Inventions*, as the Reader would have evidently perceiv'd if the Bishop had not, by mis-citing my Words, maim'd them, and perverted the plain Sense of them: For they run thus in the *Remarks*, pag. 7. "It remains only that I subjoin, in order to the Clearing the State of this Controversy, that there is a very improper Sense, in which this Phrase of *human Inventions* in the Worship of God may possibly be us'd, viz. To signify such Modes and Circumstances of divine Worship, as tho' necessary in general by divine Precept, yet are left in particular to be determin'd by human

Prudence, &c." Of which kind of circumstantial Modes I there produce several Instances relating to Time, Place, Orders, Utensils, &c. and would gladly know whether his Lordship can produce any particular Determination of them in Scripture for every particular Church; viz. What Time of the Lord's-Day their publick Worship shall begin, what Place they shall assemble in, what Translation of the Bible they shall use; whether they shall begin with Prayer or Praise, or what Vessels they shall use in the Celebration of the Sacraments. But I do by no means suppose, "That God has given no particular Directions at all, in reference to the Modes of Worship, but the quite contrary; for 'tis one Instance I produce of human Inventions, pag. 84. "That whereas every Part of Worship enjoyn'd by God, as Prayer, Praise, &c. is capable of being perform'd in various circumstantial Modes, if the Law of God expressly enjoyn us any particular Mode, than to devise another of our own, exclusive of that which he has chosen and determin'd, is to bring in a sinful *human Invention* into his Worship. As I instance there in Prayers in an unknown Tongue, Communicating without the Cup, Solitary Communion, &c." Such Modes then as God has determin'd by the particular Directions of his Word, I plainly exclude from the Determination of human Prudence. Nay, so far am I from supposing that human Prudence may arbitrarily appoint any Modes of Worship that Men think fit, that I rank among sinful Inventions, pag. 70. "All such Rites and Ceremonies of Mens own devising, as are no way warranted by any general Rules of Scripture, and yet made stated Appendages of any Part of divine Worship, and Terms of Communion in it". All therefore that I assert is, That all those circumstantial Modes of Worship that are in general necessary by divine Precept, (because God's own Commands about his Worship cannot be executed without the Determination of them) and yet are not in particular determin'd in Scripture, must be determin'd by human Prudence; and that to call such circumstantial Modes, when determin'd agreeable to the general Rules of Scripture, *human Inventions*, is a very improper Sense of the Word, and to make them *sinful*, is a Principle fit only for the wildest Sectaries, since it would condemn a great many prudential Orders practis'd both by them and us, and indeed, by all Churches in the World. And if the Bishop pretend to disprove this Assertion, he must produce us particular Precept or Pattern from Scripture, for his beginning publick Worship at Nine or Ten in the Forenoon, rather than Twelve; for his meeting at the Cathedral, rather than in another Place; for his using the old Translation of the Psalms, and the new one of the rest of the Bible; for his using at the Sacrament *Loaves rather than Cakes*, and using one sort of Wine rather than another, and employing Pewter or Silver Vessels, rather than Wooden or Golden ones. So that what I assert, is not only very innocent, and free from any such dangerous Consequences as the Bishop suggests, but indeed too obvious and plain for any Man of Sense to doubt of it; and his Lordship could never have begun any new Dispute about it, if he had not rais'd a Mist, by misunderstanding the Sense of as clear Expressions as could well be us'd on this Subject. Since then he has so plainly mistaken in ascribing such a Rule to me as I no where laid down, but have so fully disclaim'd all the Consequences he draws from it, either to his own Advantage, or our Prejudice, fall of course, and I am no way concern'd in them as Consequences drawn from any Opinion of mine: For 'tis plain, the Rules laid down in the *Remarks* do not justify all the Modes of Worship practis'd in the *Establish'd Church*, neither that way of singing the *Prose Psalms* that excludes the Generality of the People, nor the Cathedral Musick, nor the confining all publick Prayers to stinted Forms, nor reading the Apocrypha, nor bowing towards the *East* or *Altar*, or at the Name of Jesus, nor reading one Part of the Prayers where many of

of the People cannot hear them, nor the Use of the Cross, or our sort of Sponsors in Baptism, nor so much as kneeling in the Act of Receiving. These and many more particular Modes are not defensible by any Rule I have laid down, tho' I have shewn him that our own Practices are. Nay, no Rule I have laid down will defend all sort of Holy-days, nor any Determinations relating to Habits, Place, or Utensils, that are contrary to Edification, or to Order and Decency.

But whereas the Bishop pretends, That in those particular Rules and Directions he had produc'd from Scripture, relating to the several Parts of Worship, " * The Letter of Scripture is clearly on his side ; " and I have not oppos'd Scripture to Scripture, " but have declin'd the literal Sense in many Cases " without Reason ; and have preferr'd the Determinations of human Prudence in others, as being " more for Edification than the Scripture Examples, " and particularly in the singing of Psalms. I must needs, on this Occasion, acquaint him, that I think the quite contrary to what he asserts will appear to any that impartially compare the *Remarks* and his *Discourse* together ; at least, I hope his Lordship does not expect we should take this peremptory Assertion for a Proof of it. But since he supposes this Observation to be manifest, in reference to that particular Mode of praising God by *singing of Psalms*, I should add, That I think it not so ingenuous in the Bishop to assert this with such Assurance, when I have in the *Remarks* taken such particular Pains to shew, That our Way of singing Psalms is most conformable to the only Precept in Scripture, that relates to the Use of them in our Praises, *Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16.* to which he has yet vouchsafed no Answer. He has been told, " That the Precept enjoins Vocal Singing, which bare saying them no way answers, p. 13, 14. That since the Psalms of David were wrote in such sort of Metre and Verse as was then us'd, and since the Knowledge of their Musical Tunes and Instruments is quite lost, to suppose us oblig'd to an exact Imitation of them, were to suppose us oblig'd to Impossibilities. That therefore the Command which obliges Christian Churches to *sing Psalms*, necessarily obliges us to turn them into such sort of Metre and Verse, as will best accommodate them to be sung by the People. Whereas, to put them into no other Metre than the pointed Psalter in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, is to exclude the Generality of the People from any Capacity of complying with God's own Command for *singing* them. And as the Tunes of those pointed Psalms are quite different from Hebrew ones, so they are as much a human Invention as the Tunes of the common Metre-versions ; and therefore do set up that pointed Psalter in the *Service-Book*, whose Tunes the Body of the People cannot follow, to the Exclusion of those Metre-versions, according to which they can joyn in singing Psalms, (as the Bishop seems to design) is in his Language to set up an human Invention, to the Violation of a Divine Command, by rendring the Peoples Observance of it impracticable, Page 189, 190. And should not his Lordship, in all Equity and Reason, have attempted a clear Refutation of this Argument before he had ventur'd to say, *That in this Particular of singing Psalms, the Scripture is on his side, and that I prefer the Determinations of Human Prudence before Scripture Examples ;* when I have so plainly shewn him, That the Example or Pattern of Jewish Singing is unimitable by us, because unknown to us ; but that the Precepts of Scripture plainly obliges us to this way of singing, because 'tis most generally practicable among us. To what purpose is it to reason in these Matters, if the Bishop think his bare Affirmation sufficient to weigh down all Arguments ? And why does he call this, *Admon. p. 164. Our manner of singing Psalms, when 'tis theirs as well as*

ours ; and though he has ventur'd to exclude it from being any substantial Part of their Worship, and made it a meer Diversion ; yet he has done it without any Authority or Commission from the Establish'd Church, by whom it seems allowed as a stated Part of Worship.

And as the Bishop has ascrib'd to me a Rule about Worship that I never laid down, so he stiffly pretends to adhere to his own, when yet what I had alledg'd against it, as unhappily worded by himself, has so far convinc'd him, that he found himself necessitated to enlarge it. He had before said, † *That all ways of Worship are displeasing to God that are not expressly contained in the Holy Scriptures, or warranted by Examples of holy Men mentioned therein.* He had us'd the Phrase, *Ways of Worship*, frequently to signify circumstantial Modes of it. I had told him, That if his Words be taken in this strict Sense, they contain such an Assertion, that if a Man believ'd it, he would find it hard to join in any Assembly in the Christian World ; and must renounce Communion with the Parish Churches. For many circumstantial Modes of Worship are practis'd there, which are neither expressly contain'd in the Scriptures, nor warranted by any Examples of holy Men that have us'd those particular circumstantial Modes, ex gr. The singing Psalms, as appointed in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, or in the Metre compos'd by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, the Use of a stinted Liturgy in general ; and particularly our *English* one, reading the *Apocrypha*, bowing at the Name of Jesus, kneeling at the Sacrament, &c. But his Lordship, instead of taking any notice of this Objection against his Rule, very silently now extends it, only to make those Things unlawful that are not contain'd in Scripture, or warranted by Example of Holy Men in it, or may not be deduc'd by clear Consequence, or parity of Reason from them. || Now 'tis evident, that many Things may be drawn by clear Consequence and parity of Reason from the Precepts of Scripture, that are not expressly contain'd in them. And the same may be said of Scripture Examples : So that the Bishop has now really charg'd his Rule by this new comprehensive Addition to it ; and as 'tis now laid down, 'tis much the same with what I have asserted, though I think not so clear. And now he will find, there's nothing in our Worship but what is easily justifiable by his own Rule in this just Latitude : For our manner of singing it self, (which is the Instance he so often insists on) may be drawn by just Consequence and by parity of Reason, both from the Precepts and Examples of singing in the Holy Scriptures. For if we must sing Psalms, and that in a Way most conducive to general Edification, we must use such Metre and Tunes as the People can joyn in : And if the Jews us'd such sort of Metre and Tunes as were most known and common among them, we may by parity of Reason choose those that are most familiar to us. And now I hope the Bishop will, upon the Review, see how little Reason he had to except against this part of the *Remarks*, when they have really oblig'd him to reform and correct his own Rule, and bring it up to that I had laid down ; though to conceal the Matter, he has thought fit to misunderstand and pervert mine, or rather to coyn a new one for me.

2. The Bishop alledges, *That I endeavour to persuade the Dissenters of his Diocese, that the greatest Exception against joyning with the Establish'd Church, is not the Matter of their publick ordinary Worship.* On which he makes several Observations.

Before I consider them, I must premise that 'tis true, I have told his Lordship, that the Contest between the Establish'd Church and Dissenters does not lie chiefly about their ordinary Lord's Day Worship, but what occurs in other Offices, and chiefly about the Corruptions and Abuses of Discipline ; and 'tis no more than has been frequently suggested by the most judicious Noncon-

* Admonition, p. 43, 44.

† Discourse, p. 3.

|| Admonition, p. 165.

formist Divines that have wrote on the Subject of our Differences. But why does he pretend that I dissuade any Dissenters from joyning with the Establish'd Church (if he mean it concerning all occasional Communion with them) when I have so expressly declar'd my Judgment for it, and in vain urg'd him to the like Declaration of his Charity towards us; and never pretend to alledge our Differences in reference to Worship or Discipline, as any Argument against such occasional Communion in their ordinary Lord's Day Service. There is no Reason then to pervert what I have offer'd to such an uncharitable Purpose; so that his following Observations are founded on a mistaken Supposition. And therefore I shall content my self with these short Remarks on them.

1. I did then, and do still think it requisite to acquaint the Reader, that the Bishop had not in this Discourse so much as touch'd the principal Matters in Difference between the Establish'd Church and the Dissenters, and particularly those to which this Charge of human Inventions does most properly belong. And whereas he now tells us, that if he writ about Discipline, we should be less pleas'd with his Performance; because he must look on the general Frame of our whole Constitution as a meer human Creature, &c.* I must so far agree with him, that if he treat that Subject in the same manner that he has done this about Worship, we shall certainly be less pleas'd with it, because all those Faults that occur in the manner of handling this Subject, will be the more aggravated if he repeat them on another.

2. Whereas the Bishop pretends, I desire to shift Ground; and thence presumes, I apprehend some Disadvantage in it. I do not find he has any Reason for such a Triumph for my having avoided the Consideration of any thing in his Book that carried the Face of an Argument: Nor have I any need to multiply Matters of Controversie from any Answer that his Lordship has yet given to the Remarks. And whereas he saith, † "That I attempt not to justify their sitting at Prayers, nor their omitting to add their Amen to their Prayers, nor the Manner and Frequency of their Communion, nor their way of singing Psalms; I shall only add, That for sitting at publick Prayer, I was no more oblig'd to defend any particular Persons in that Posture that indulge it out of Sloth, than he to defend the Toying or Laughing that's too often us'd in their Churches: But his Lordship was oblig'd, either to defend his charging this upon our Opinion, as if we taught, That no Postures of Reverence may be lawfully us'd; and condemn'd such as Standing and Kneeling as Relicks of Idolatry; or else to retract so heinous Calumnies as these must be, if they are untrue and groundless. For adding Amen, I shall, if that will please the Bishop, concur with him that 'tis more agreeable to Scripture Pattern, that the People pronounce it more audibly; but I hope this Omission signifies nothing to his Charge of human Inventions. For the Matter of celebrating the Lord's Supper, if it refer to the Posture, I hope the Bishop is convinc'd that ours is more agreeable to Scripture Pattern. For the Frequency of it, I hope he'll allow the Generality of the Dissenters have much the Advantage above the Generality of the Parish Churches, by communicating much oftner. And for what concerns the Practice of the Dissenters in his Diocese, it has been already consider'd in the Account of Matters of Fact; and I have there shown, that their way of administering it once a Year, is equivalent to its being administered thrice in the Parish Churches, as to the Frequency of their Members communicating. And for singing Psalms, I have already said enough to shew him that our Practice needs no Reformation; but rather his unreasonable Prejudices against this part of Divine Worship, common both to them and us.

3. The Bishop need take no Pains to prove, That my Demands about the Reformation of the Discipline of the Establish'd Church, are not Arguments against all occasional Communion with them. For they were never propos'd for that End; but then I must tell him, that where there are in a Kingdom two Parties or Bodies of Protestants, in one of whom both the Worship and Discipline of Christ is more fully restor'd to its primitive Simplicity and Purity; in the other there are some Defects and Corruptions left in their Worship and Discipline almost entirely neglected, or perverted and abus'd. I think every considerate Christian should prefer the stated Communion of that Party, in which necessary Reformation has made a happier Progress; and those better Reformed Churches have no Reason to subject themselves to those Corruptions they have rejected. And moderate and wise Men will separate from the Churches of neither Party, as if they were no true Churches, and no part of the Church Catholick; but will rather, to shew their regard to Truth, more steadily communicate with those on whose side it lies in the Matters in Difference; and yet to express their Charity, maintain occasional Communion with the other, so far as they can do it without practising what themselves think unlawful.

4. Whereas the Bishop is so much displeased with those Requests that I have offer'd to the Conforming Clergy, relating to those Practices wherein we chiefly desire some Reformation of their present Discipline; and thinks me very unreasonable in proposing them, and cannot see to what good Purpose they can serve; I shall, to give him all the Satisfaction I can, acquaint him with the true Reasons of my offering them.

1. I take the Abuses, of which some Reformation is there requested, to be the chief Obstacles to that happy Union among us, which has been so long the earnest Desire of all good Men; and I hope I can most sincerely say my own. So that I think none who have that End in their Eye, can be reasonably blamed for humbly proposing, to publick Consideration, so proper and effectual Means to attain it; from which I thought his Lordship's Discourse had some Tendency to divert the Minds of Men, by amusing them with a new Dispute of Human Inventions. And therefore I thought this a very suitable Occasion to lay open the main Grounds of our unhappy Differences, that if any charitable Persons should think of any Attempts to compose them; they might by a true view of the Disease, judge of the Remedy proper to heal it. And truly, till these Corruptions be reform'd, I see as yet little Reason to hope for any Concord in our Practice, though I would hope to see much greater in our mutual Affections.

2. I take these to be Abuses, which the Generality of the most judicious and learned, as well as sober and charitable of the Conforming Clergy and Laity are sensible of, and would readily concur in their Desires and Endeavours to reform, if they had a fair Opportunity for it; so that I did not believe these Requests would be any matter of just Offence to them, nor do I yet find that they are. And for the Offence of any that would perpetuate our Divisions, by keeping up those Corruptions that are the chief Engine of them; because they are serviceable to their Secular Interest, I think not my self much oblig'd to regard it. The Glory of God, and Concord of Christians, are so much more valuable an Interest, that we may justly pursue it, though it should clash with the Humours, the Ambition or Avarice of Men, to which too many, even of the Clergy, have too long sacrific'd the more precious Concernments both of the Churches Purity and Peace.

* Admonition, p. 165, 166.

† Admonition, p. 46.

There are two Things indeed which the Bishop accuses those Requests of, which I am concern'd to consider.

1. *That some of them are founded on most unjust Representations of their Practices and Principles, which if truly represented, needs no Reformation, as may appear (saith he) from his adding to, and taking from our 3d and 4th Canons, p. 179. And may further appear in the 2d, 3d, 4th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Requests.** Now I have review'd all these, and can see no such unjust Representations in them. So that I think his Lordship had been more just, if he had either never advanc'd this Charge against me, or had taken the Pains to prove it. Particularly, I cannot imagine wherein I have added to these two Canons in what I have cited of them; or why I must be said to take from them, because I only cite that Part of them which my Discourse there led me to take Notice of.

2. He is pleas'd to insinuate, *That I give ill Language in those Requests; and to that purpose saith, That I expose the Kingdom and Protestant Inhabitants of it, as again overspread with Swearing, Profanation of the Lord's Day, Uncleaness, Pride, Luxury, &c. An Imputation (saith he) which I can by no Means allow to be general; there being, I am perswaded, by the Goodness of God, a manifest Abatement of these in this Diocess.*

Ans. I should be glad to hear of such an Abatement of these Sins in his Diocess; and doubt not, if true, that the Dissenting Ministers have been no way negligent to contribute towards it. But if the Bishop deny the Truth of this Complaint, concerning the Generality of the Protestants of this Kingdom, as 'tis there deliver'd, he sees with other Eyes than any sober Person I have yet convers'd with. For Swearing and Profanation of the Lord's Day, no good Man can converse in any part of the Kingdom, without being a sorrowful Ear and Eye-witness of it: Nor does there appear any considerable Abatement of those other Crimes from what was before; besides what the Diminution of Mens Estates have necessitated them to. So that I cannot imagine what *ill Language* it should be to mention and lament the Revival of these Vices, and request all Ministers to concur in their Endeavours, to preserve or reclaim those under their Care from them. And I fear that the Generality of Protestants among us need the loudest Call we can give them to Repentance, instead of such an undeserved Commendation as tends to perswade them, there is not so great and general a Necessity of it. The common Guilt is too great and too deeply aggravated, to be either conceal'd or extenuated, and deserves a fuller Description, and a severer Reproof than I had then occasion for.

III. The third Allegation which the Bishop saith, I use to take off the Force of his Book, is, *That he hath omitted to handle that Part of the Worship of the Establish'd Church, against which the Dissenters have the greatest Exception, and particularly what refers to Baptism.†*

Ans. I felt no such Force in his Book as needed this new Dispute to take it off. But 'tis true enough, That the Debate about *human Inventions* does more particularly concern Baptism, than the other Parts of Worship his Lordship had insisted on.

And therefore, since the Bishop has offer'd us something new on this Subject, I shall the more willingly address my self to the Examination of it; because the precedent Part of the Admonition has left the Argument between us almost wholly untouch'd, and contains little but such slight Cavils about it, as were in effect obviated in the Remarks themselves. And here,

I. The Bishop gives us the Reason why he omitted this Part of Worship, viz.

1. "Because it was occasional, not ordinary.‖

1. Ans. But he knew, that in a Discourse about the *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, it was pro-

per to consider that Part of Worship about which that Dispute chiefly lay.

2. "Because he found the Defects and Additions of our Directory so great in this Office, that they deserv'd a Discourse by themselves. ** And accordingly he mentions these following Defects in the Directory.

1. "There is no express Covenant order'd in the Directory, to be made in the Name of the Child baptiz'd, either by the Parent or any else, though there be no other way of engaging a Child that cannot covenant for it self.

2. "There is no Profession of the Christian Faith required in the Directory from any Parent or Offerer of any Child.

3. "There is no solemn Recognition of the Vow of Baptism required from Persons baptiz'd in their Infancy, when they come to understand their Duty. As it is in Confirmation with us.

4. "The express Words of the Covenant are not prescribed out of the Word of God; but is left to the Discretion of every Minister, to impose what he will on the Baptiz'd, &c.

Ans. I know no great harm to the Cause of Dissenters, if we should own there are some Omissions in the Directory; especially when the Compilers, to avoid the rigorous and imposing Humour that had too long reign'd in others, seem to have left many Things to the Discretion of particular Pastors, which they would not positively enjoyn. And for these Defects which the Bishop has cited out of Mr. Baxter's *Treatise of Infant Baptism*, they are not so material as his Lordship seems to imagine, and are easily supplied by every Minister that thinks more express Professions requisite than are there positively enjoyn'd.

As to the first, *The making of an express Covenant in the Name of the Child*; if the Bishop mean by it, that the Parent should explicitly profess his dedicating his Child to God, and bringing it thereby under a solemn Obligation to the Duties of his Covenant; this is really included in that Profession he is required by the Directory to make of his *Desire to have it baptiz'd*: and accordingly 'tis usual for the Ministers to propose the Question more fully to this Purpose: *Do you profess your Desire of having this Child dedicated by Baptism to the Faith, Worship, and Service of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?* But if he mean that the Parent or Offerer of the Child should make such a Profession in the Child's Name, as our Sponsors are ordered to do in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, 'tis so far from being a Defect in our Directory, that it enjoyns no such thing, that 'tis no small Blemish of the Office of Baptism in the *Service-Book*, that it requires such a Profession from them, as *personating* the Child they present. And that his Lordship may be assured Mr. Baxter intended no such express Covenanting in the Name of the Child as this is; I shall produce his own Words (and the rather, because I take them to carry great Weight and Force in them) in his *Nonconformity stated*, &c. he brings in the Lawyer asking, "What is your fourth Objection against our Way of Baptism? To which the Minister thus answers: That in personating the Child, they say, that they (and so he by them) doth at present believe, renounce and desire, &c. falsely intimating that Infants are at present bound to do this by another. And yet the same Men plead that God doth not accept him for the Faith of his Parents, when as God requireth no Faith or Repentance of Infants, but only that they be the Seed of penitent Believers devoted to Christ. And in the Catechism 'tis said, that Repentance and Faith are required of Persons to be baptiz'd; and that Infants who cannot perform these, are baptiz'd, because they promis'd them by their Sureties, which Promise, when they come to Age, themselves are bound to perform. Where

* Admon. pag. 171.

† Admon. pag. 54.

‖ Admon. pag. 172, 173.

** Admon. p. 173, 174.

" note,

"note, that the former *Common-Prayer-Book* had
 " [They perform them by their *Sureties*.] They perceiv'd,
 " that having said Faith and Repentance are requisite,
 " Infants they saw must have at present what is re-
 " quisite at present. And they knew that they had
 " them not themselves, and so were fain to hold that
 " the *Sureties* Faith and Repentance was theirs, and
 " a Performance of that requir'd Condition. But the
 " Makers of the new Book saw that this would not
 " hold, and so they say, [Tho' Faith and Repentance be
 " requir'd of Persons to be baptiz'd, yet Infants are
 " baptiz'd because they promise them by their *Sure-*
 " ties to be hereafter perform'd,] amending the
 " former Error by a greater or a double one: 1. Grant-
 " ing Faith and Repentance are pre-requisite; and
 " yet confessing that Infants have neither of their own
 " or *Sureties* for them, and yet are to be baptiz'd.
 " 2. Or making a Promise of future Faith and Re-
 " pentance, to be present Faith and Repentance.
 " 3. Or though Faith and Repentance be requisite
 " in those that are to be baptiz'd, yet God will at
 " present justify and save all that have it not in In-
 " fancy, because they promise it hereafter. All plain
 " Contradictions; as if they said, 'Tis requisite in
 " Persons to be baptiz'd, and 'tis not requisite.
 " L. How would you have them have answer'd these?
 " M. Professed Faith and Repentance are requisite in
 " adult Persons to be baptiz'd; and in Infants, that
 " they be the Seed of the Faithful, devoted by them
 " to God in Christ, according to his offer'd Covenant
 " of Grace.

Thus far that accurate Divine, from whom his
 Lordship may learn, That the Modesty of the Com-
 pilers of the *Directory*, which made their Orders about
 this Matter seem defective, by leaving some Particu-
 lars to the Prudence and Liberty of particular Mini-
 sters, is far more excusable than the Assurance of those
 who impose, in such solemn Professions, Things so con-
 fus'd and inconsistent. If there be any Defect in their
 Orders, 'tis easily supplied; but the Mistakes of the
Service-Book are remedilessly impos'd on all that admi-
 nister this Ordinance according to it.

For the second Defect, viz. " That there is in the
 " *Directory* no Profession of the Christian Faith re-
 " quir'd from the Parent or Offerer of any Child:
 I think there is such a virtual Profession requir'd by
 the *Directory*, when it enjoins the Minister to require
 from the Parent a solemn Promise to bring up his
 Child in the Knowledge of the Grounds of the Christian
 Religion, and in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord.
 For this implies his owning himself the Christian Re-
 ligion; besides that his being a known Professor of it, is
 pre-suppos'd to his Childrens Admission to that Ordi-
 nance. Nor does the *Directory* hinder the Minister
 from requiring a more express Profession from the
 Parent, of the Christian Faith, where it is doubtful
 whether he own it or no. And I am sure the Form
 of Baptism drawn up by the Nonconformist Divines,
 at the *Savoy-Conference*, in their Proposals for Accom-
 modation, does expressly require it; and I have ob-
 serv'd it ordinarily requir'd, at least in general
 Terms.

For the third and fourth Defects of the *Directory*,
 " That there is no solemn Recognition of the Vow
 " of Baptism requir'd of Persons baptiz'd in Infancy,
 " when they come to understand their Duty, as there
 " is in the Confirmation practis'd in the Establish'd
 " Church; and that the express Words of the Cove-
 " nant are not prescribed out of the Word of God.
 Though I take this to be an Omission, and therefore
 have both my self practis'd, and known many others
 practise that Confirmation recommended in the *Reformed*
Liturgy, drawn up by the Nonconformist Divines, at
 the *Savoy-Conference*, (" according to which no Person
 " baptiz'd is admitted to the Lord's Supper till at

" Years of Discretion; not only understand the Bap-
 " tismal Covenant, but with his own Mouth, and
 " with his own Consent, openly, before the Church,
 " ratify and confirm it; and promise his faithful Ob-
 " servance of it to the End. In which *Liturgy* there
 is also an excellent Form of the Baptismal Covenant,
 drawn up as agreeable to the Scripture as any I have
 yet seen, yet I think this Omission of the *Directory*,
 far more excusable than what the *Common-Prayer-Book*
 imposes in reference to Confirmation, of which they
 have both made something too like a Sacrament, and
 also turn'd a very useful Practice, and agreeable to
 the general Rules of Scripture, into a *Childish Formality*,
 as I had occasion to shew in the *Remarks*. 'Tis easier
 to supply such Defects, than to remove such unreason-
 able Impositions.

I shall conclude this Head, with observing that the
 Bishop has, of all Men, the least Reason to blame the
Directory for these Defects: For unless he could pro-
 duce express Scriptural Precepts or Pattern for these
 Things, which he saith the *Directory* has omitted, (as
 I think no Man can do it) he must, according to his
 former Principles, censure them for human Inventions,
 and rather commend the *Directory* for omitting them.

For the Bishop's Charge against the *Directory*, for
 requiring additional Conditions contrary to Scripture
 Presidents, of which he gives us only one Instance,
 viz. *Its ordering that Baptism be not administered in pri-
 vate Places, but in the Place of publick Worship, and in
 the Face of the Congregation**. I suppose the Bishop will
 grant that it should ordinarily be administered in Pub-
 lick; and if these Words of the *Directory* were in-
 tended in the strictest Sense they are capable of, I am
 sure the Generality of Dissenters have receded from
 the Rigour of this Rule.

II. The Bishop comes to shew that my Argument
 against the Cross is of no Force.

Of this he only gives us this short Account, *Ad-
 monition*, pag. 175. *His great Objection against it is,
 That we make a new human Sacrament, and then it must
 be a human Invention*. And upon this the Bishop pro-
 ceeds to give us a new Account of his own concerning
 the Nature of a Sacrament; and endeavours to shew
 that the Cross is not made a Sacrament by them, ac-
 cording to that Account. Now, though I should have
 thought it fairer to have propos'd the Argument in
 the same manner I had done, yet in order to the
 bringing this Debate to some Issue, I shall do these
 two Things.

1. I shall set the Argument I had propos'd against
 the Cross in Baptism in its due Light, by giving as dis-
 tinct and clear an Account as I can, of the Nature of
 those Parts of positive Worship which we call Sacra-
 ments, and applying it to the Subject in Dispute.

2. I shall shew the Insufficiency of the Bishop's An-
 swer to this Argument.

1. I shall set the Argument I had propos'd against
 the Cross in Baptism in its due Light, by giving a dis-
 tinct and clear Account of the Nature of those Parts
 of positive Worship which we call Sacraments, and ap-
 plying it to the Subject in Dispute.

And this is the more necessary, not only because the
 uncertain Signification of the Word Sacrament has in-
 volv'd this Subject in great Obscurity and Confusion,
 but especially because the Account which the Bishop
 gives of it, (when he supposes us ill-instructed in it,
 and proposes to inform us better) seems to me not
 only indistinct, but also very lame and defective, omit-
 ting several considerable Uses of Sacraments, which
 were the chief Strength of this Argument against the
 Cross.

There are two Ordinances of positive Worship pre-
 scrib'd in the New Testament, viz. Baptism and the
 Lord's Supper: There have been two Names invented
 and frequently us'd among Christian Writers, to signify

the common Nature of these two Institutions, that of *Mysteries* in the Greek Church, and that of *Sacraments* in the Latin, a Word probably borrow'd from the *Military Oath* which Soldiers took with certain Rites appointed for that End, and which was call'd the *Military Sacrament*: But 'tis the Thing it self we are concern'd to enquire into. Now if we can fix upon the true general Notion, wherein these two Ordinances of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* agree, we may thence easily infer what a *Divine Sacrament* is: For of that I am now speaking.

And if we attentively consider this Matter, we may soon observe, that those two Ordinances of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* agree in this, that they are *Fæderal Rites*, or *sacred Ceremonies instituted by God for publick Solemnizing the Covenant between him and us*. And on the other hand, in this they differ, that the former is the *Sacred Rite*, whereby that Covenant is first publickly enter'd into; the latter is that whereby 'tis renew'd. And accordingly these positive Institutions under the Gospel, succeed in the Place of two parallel Ordinances, or *fæderal Rites* under the *Old Testament*, viz. *Circumcision*, and the *Feasts upon Sacrifices*. By the former the *Israelites* were initiated into that Covenant made with *Abraham* and his Seed: By the latter their League of Amity and Peace with God, was (upon the Atonement made by Sacrifices) renew'd by these *Feasts* upon them. Of which more may occur anon.

Now these sacred Rites that are appointed by God, both in our first publick Entrance into the Covenant, and our publick Renewal of it at the *Lord's Table*, are design'd for several Uses, and principally for the three following;

1. As representing Signs for Instruction.
2. As obliging Signs to confirm and ratify the Covenant enter'd into.
3. As distinguishing Signs or Badges of our Profession, and the Relations we thereby are invested in.

All these Uses of them must be carefully and distinctly consider'd.

1. These sacred Rites are us'd in these two Ordinances, as representing Signs for Instruction. (The infinitely wise God condescending herein to our Infirmary and Weakness.)

Thus washing with Water, which is the Rite appointed in *Baptism*, is by its Resemblance instructive to us, both concerning the Privileges and Duties of the Covenant we enter into.

Concerning the Privileges, 'Thus 'tis designed to represent our natural Pollution and Defilement, and the Necessity of the regenerating and purifying Vertue of the Holy Spirit. And hence we are said to be born of Water and the Holy Spirit, * i. e. formed to a new and divine Life, by that sanctifying Efficacy of the Holy Spirit, which is compar'd to the purifying Vertue of Water. And elsewhere in Allusion to this Baptismal Rite, we are said to be saved by the Laver of Regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, Tit. iii. 5.

Nay, this Rite seems also design'd to instruct us concerning our Guilt as well as Pollution, and of the Necessity of our being cleans'd from it by the Laver of our Mediator's Blood. For the most judicious Expositors understand those Words of *Ananias* concerning the Remission of Sins, when he saith to *Saul* upon his Conversion, *Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy Sins*, (or be thou wash'd from thy Sins, *καταλείψας*) calling on the Name of the Lord Jesus, Acts xxii. 16. And accordingly such a cleansing Vertue is ascrib'd to the Redeemer's Blood; and that Expression of his washing us from our Sins, in it, seems to carry an Allusion to this sacred Baptismal Rite. See 1 John i. 7. Rev. i. 5.

The same sacred Rite is designed to represent our Duty to us, viz. To renounce the Defilements of Sin and of the World, and to consecrate our selves to a Life of Holiness, as Christ's purified peculiar People.

And this Use of it the Bishop omits in his Account. To this Rite those Expressions seem to refer, *Such were some of you; but ye are washed, ye are sanctified*, 1 Cor. vi. 11. And thus the Apostle supposes in our Baptism, that there is a Resemblance of our Dying with Christ, and our Rising with him; that should instruct us in our Duty, to dye to Sin, and live to Righteousness, Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5. Col. ii. 12. For our dying to Sin, and walking in newness of Life, is not signified in Baptism as the Benefit confer'd by God, as the Bishop seems to suppose; but rather as the Duty requir'd from us; tho' the renewing and purifying Efficacy of the Holy Spirit, whereby we are enabled to do so, is signified as a Benefit which we receive from God.

The same I might observe concerning that other Institution of the *Lord's Supper*, in whose sacred Rites there is not only a Commemorative Representation of the Death of Christ, but also an Instructive Representation of our Spiritual Communion with him in his Body and Blood, (viz. in the precious Fruits of his Sacrifice) and of those Duties or Exercises of our Faith and Devotion to him, by which we are said to eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, John vi. 53, 54.

I might observe the same concerning those two parallel Institutions under the Old Testament, *Circumcision* and religious *Feasts upon Sacrifices*. But this Use of Sacraments being so obvious, I shall not insist any further upon it, but only add, That though I suppose all Sacramental Signs to be representing ones, and to carry such an instructive Resemblance and Allusion, yet I do not suppose all barely instructive Signs to be Sacramental or Fæderal ones. For there seems to be more requisite to such.

2. The sacred Rites in *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, are intended also as obliging Signs to confirm and ratify that Covenant that is then enter'd into, or renew'd between God and us.

'Tis evidently so in *Baptism*; for the sacred Rite there us'd is both,

1. An obliging Sign on God's part, whereby he confirms and ratifies the Promises of his Covenant to all that are interested therein, even that grand comprehensive Promise of being the God of the Faithful, and of their Seed, and particularly that eminent Promise of the Remission of Sins. See Gen. xvii. 7, 11. and compare it with Acts ii. 38, 39. Repent and be baptiz'd every one of you for the Remission of Sins, and ye shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost; for the Promise is to you and your Children, &c. And our being baptiz'd into the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, implies his Engagement to be a reconcil'd Father, Redeemer and Sanctifier, to all that sincerely devote themselves to him.

So in that other Fæderal Rite of the *Lord's Supper*, 'tis said of the Cup, † That 'tis the New Testament in the Blood of Christ, i. e. This sacred Memorial of his Blood is like an authentick Seal set to the New Testament, wherein so many precious Legacies are convey'd to us as the Fruits of his Death and Sacrifice.

And the same may also be observ'd concerning *Circumcision*, both in the Place fore-quoted, Gen. xvii. 7, 11. and in its being call'd by the Apostle Paul, the Seal of the Righteousness of Faith, (viz. of that Right to Impunity and Life, which Abraham was as a Believer entitled to, through the Merits of that Redeemer, who was his promised Seed) Rom. iv. 11.

So in their religious Feasts upon Sacrifices, God's admitting the Offerers or Guests to his Table, was a solemn Ratification of the League of Amity and Peace renew'd between them, through the Vertue of that future atoning Sacrifice of Christ, of which the Legal ones were only Types and Figures.

2. This sacred Rite of washing with Water in *Baptism*, is no less an obliging Sign from us to God, whereby we bind our selves to the Duties of his Covenant.

* John iii. 5.

† Luke xxii. 20.

Now this important Use of a Sacrament, the Bishop not only omits in his Description of it, but plainly denies that it belongs to its Nature. For, *Admonition*, pag. 180. he asserts it to be a Mistake concerning Sacraments, to suppose that they are Signs from us to God; whereas he affirms them to be wholly (for only) Signs from God to us: I confess this seems very surprizing, because if this be a Mistake, 'tis such a Mistake as he himself has run into in his *Discourse*: For there, pag. 4. he gives this Reason, "Why the Celebration of the Sacraments is a Part of outward Worship, viz. because in them we not only express our Dependance on God for his Grace, but likewise oblige and bind our selves to serve him". Now how this can be true, without making the Sacramental Rite a Sign from us to God, of that Obligation to his Service, I cannot comprehend. So that his Lordship seems to me in this Particular inconsistent with himself, and speaks more accurately of these Matters, where his Partiality to his Cause does not mislead his Judgment. But since he now asserts this to be a Mistake, and demands some Place of Scripture to prove this Notion, of a Sacrament's being a Sign from us to God, (See *Admon.* pag. 180.) I shall endeavour herein to give him all reasonable Satisfaction.

And this Account of Sacraments I shall particularly prove, in reference to *Baptism*, which is the Sacrament in Dispute.

That *Baptism* is a Sign from us to God of our Obligation to the Duties of his Covenant, as well as a Sign from God to us of the Truth of his Promises, is evident from the Apostle Peter's* excellent Description of that internal and saving *Baptism* which the external *Washing* is the Sign of, viz. That 'tis not the putting away the Filth of the Flesh, (i. e. *Baptism* is not merely or principally that) but the Answer of a good Conscience towards God. Which Words manifestly allude to the Covenant-Transaction that passes between the great God and the adult Person baptiz'd, (for of such the Apostle here speaks) and to the Questions that were to that End propos'd to such as receiv'd this Seal of God's Covenant. They were ask'd? If they believ'd in the Lord Jesus with all their Heart? (See *Acts* viii. 37.) or, as some antient Christian Writers propose the Question, "If they renounc'd the Devil and his Angels, the World and its Poms? If they believ'd in, if they devoted themselves to, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? &c." And their sincere Profession and Promise of doing so, which in *Baptism* they ratify'd by this external Rite of Washing with Water, is that which the Apostle here calls the Answer of a good Conscience towards God. So that the Apostle was so far from supposing that *Baptism* was not a Sign from us to God, that he rather defines it by this Part of its End and Use, viz. To be a solemn Rite whereby we profess to engage our Hearts to the Duties of his Covenant. And indeed, since *Baptism* is the Solemnizing a mutual Covenant between the blessed God on the one Part, and our selves or our Seed on the other, it is first a Sign from us to God, of our Consent to the proposed Terms of his Covenant, before it can be a Sign from him to us, of our, or our Children's Interest in those Benefits of his Covenant that pre-suppose our Consent as the Condition thereof. 'Tis the *Baptism* of Repentance for the Remission of Sins, Mark i. 4. And is therefore first a Sign of our Repentance towards God, before it can be a Sign from him of the Remission of Sins. And so 'tis propos'd by the Apostle Peter at the first time we read of its Administration to his adult Converts, *Acts* ii. 38, 39. Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of Christ, for the Remission of Sins, for the Promise is unto you and your Children. Where they were by *Baptism* first to profess their Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jesus, and then receive the promised Benefit, Remission of Sins. Nay, Christ's own Command to his Apostles, first, to Disciple or Proselyte all Nations, and then to baptize them, plainly implies

that one great Use of *Baptism* was to be a solemn Bond upon them to the Duties of that Christian Profession they had embrac'd, and the *Baptizing* them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has been always suppos'd to imply a solemn Dedication of them by this sacred Rite to the Faith, Worship, and Service of that blessed Trinity, into whose Name they are baptized. There is in that Institution a Seal set to the Covenant of God on our Part, as well as on his: To which 'tis not improbable that those Words of the Apostle Paul refer, 2 Tim. ii. 19. — Nevertheless the Foundation, (or as some render the Word *ὑπόστασις*, *Tabula contractus*, the Covenant) of God stands sure, having this Seal (on God's Part) The Lord knows them that are his; and (this Seal on our Part) Let him that names the Name of Christ depart from Iniquity. As the Covenant is mutual, so the external Rite is intended to ratify our Re-stipulation as well as God's Promise, and accordingly our Breach of the baptismal Covenant by Apostacy or Infidelity is Perjury, and therefore so often in the Scripture-Language represented by the Breach of the Conjugal Vow, that the Adulterers is guilty of. And this Notion of *Baptism*, as an obliging Sign from God to us, is the more unreasonably deny'd by the Bishop, if we consider, that 'tis this very Use of *Baptism*, that chiefly occasion'd the Name of a Sacrament being given to it, because *Baptism* was reckon'd (like the Military Oath of the Roman Soldiers) as a solemn lifting the Person baptiz'd into the Service and Warfare of Christ against the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. So that the Bishop has excluded that from the Nature and Notion of a Sacrament, which was the chief, if not the only Ground of this Rite of the Christian Religion being call'd one.

And it were as easy to shew the same concerning the other Institutions that are call'd *Sacraments*. Thus as *Circumcision* was a Token of the Covenant between God and Abraham, and his Seed in their Generations; so 'twas an obliging Sign on their Part, as well as on God's Part. It oblig'd them to receive and obey the Revelations of the divine Will to them. And hence, after the Delivery of the Law of Moses, *Circumcision* was an external Bond on those that receiv'd it to observe that Law; as the Apostle Paul plainly intimates to us, Gal. v. 3. — He that was circumcis'd made himself a Debtor to the Law to do it; i. e. brought himself under a solemn Tye thereto by this external Rite.

That the Feasts upon Sacrifices under the Law were Federal Rites, (in Allusion to the general Custom of those Eastern Nations, to confirm mutual Covenants by eating and drinking together; See Gen. xxvi. 30, 31. Gen. xxxi. 44, 45, 46. Josh. ix. 14. Psal. xli. 9. Lam. v. 6. Obad. vii. 5.) is so largely prov'd by the learned Dr. Cudworth, in his excellent Treatise on the Lord's Supper as a Feast upon a Sacrifice, that I shall refer the Reader to it for fuller Satisfaction. And that one Passage in Psalm l. 5. is sufficient to put it out of doubt; Gather my Saints together, those that have made a Covenant with me by Sacrifice. Now the Covenant was made and celebrated, not merely by offering it up, but chiefly by their religious Feast upon it.

And as the Lord's Supper succeeds in the Place and stead of those Jewish Feasts upon Sacrifices, so 'tis evidently design'd as such a Federal Rite, whereby we renew our League of Peace with God, upon the Memorials of the atoning Sacrifice of his own Son, by our renewed Consent to the Terms of his Covenant: And hence the Apostle Paul warns his Corinthian Converts against the Idolatrous Practice of Feasting in the Temples of the Heathen Idols, as inconsistent with the Obligations which their Feasting at the Lord's Table had laid upon them, to be the Worshipers of the only true God, who was too jealous of his own Honour to admit of any Rival in it. See 1 Cor. x. from the 14th to the 23d Verse.

* 1 Pet. iii. 25.

3. These Federal Rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, must be consider'd as intended also to be distinguishing Signs of our Christian Profession, and the Relations which we are thereby invested in.

Thus our Baptism is the honourable Badge of our Discipleship, whereby we are discriminated from the Infidel World. We do hereby put on the Livery of Christ, (as those Words of the Apostle Paul imply, — *Gal. iii. 27. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*) And therefore he adds, they were no more to be distinguish'd into Jew or Greek, &c. but all were one in Christ Jesus. This one Livery was to be the common Sign of their belonging to him as their one Lord and Master. And accordingly, our partaking of one external Baptism, is made a Mark and Character of those that belong'd to that one visible Body, or Church of which Christ is the Lord and Head, as our partaking of one Internal Baptism is the certain Mark of our belonging to the one invisible Church, or mystical Body of Christ. See *Eph. i. 4, 5, 6.* To the same purpose we read elsewhere, that we are by one Spirit baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be Bond or Free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. The latter Words, of being made to drink into one Spirit, according to the general Consent of the best Expositors, refer to the Lord's Supper, as the former do to Baptism. And the Words plainly imply, that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the Symbol and the Bond of our External Communion, as Members of the visible Church, as by partaking of the sanctifying Operations of the same Holy Spirit, we become Members of one mystical Body of Christ. So that by our Baptism we are incorporated into the Christian Community, and thereby discriminated in our Right to its External Privileges from them that are without, who are yet Aliens and Foreigners. And so by the Lord's Supper we are, as Partakers of Christ's Holy Table, distinguish'd from them that partake of the Table of Devils, and are in Fellowship (or Communion) with them, *1 Cor. x. 20, 21.*

Thus was Circumcision the discriminating Mark of these that embrac'd the Faith of Abraham, from such as were Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, and Strangers to the Covenants of Promise. Circumcised and Uncircumcised was equivalent to one that did, or did not own the Jewish Religion.

Having thus far clear'd the general Nature and Uses of these two Institutions in the Christian Religion which we call Sacraments, (for all the particular Uses of each of them, I am not now concern'd to consider) I come to apply this Account to the Matter in Debate.

And accordingly, 'tis obvious to any that shall consider the foregoing Account, that there is one Use of these federal or sacramental Rites that does necessarily pre-suppose divine Institution, viz. *There being obliging Signs on God's Part to ratify his Promises.* For it were too absurd for any to imagine, that God will oblige himself by Signs he never appointed for that End. And therefore the Papists themselves pretend their new Sacraments to be divine ones, by feigning God's Institution for them.

When therefore I speak of a human Sacrament, I mean no more by it, "Than an external Rite set up by meer human Authority, without any pretence of divine Institution, for several Sacramental Uses, such as constitute it as truly a Part of religious Worship, as Baptism and the Lord's Supper are". So that it wants nothing but God's instituting it to be a Seal to his Part of the Covenant, as Men have made it a Seal to their Part, to render it as proper a Sacrament as either of the two former. And 'tis only in this Sense that I suppose the Cross to be made a human Sacrament by the Establish'd Church. 'Tis made by them a Sacrament, as far as Men can make one of a religious Rite that they can pretend no divine Authority for. And this is sufficient to prove it a sinful human Invention, as

I shall now show, in prosecuting the Particulars here suggested.

1. "The Cross is set up for several Sacramental Uses, even the like Uses as Baptism and the Lord's Supper are appointed for."

For according to the foregoing Account of these Federal or Sacramental Rites,

1. 'Tis set up as a representing or instructive Sign. And that both in the Duties and the Benefits of the New Covenant.

'Tis set up as instructive in the Duties of it. And this the Bishop grants, when he owns*, "That the Cross is us'd to signify the Return we ought to make to God, for the Benefits receiv'd in Baptism". And indeed the Words of the Service-Book put this out of doubt: *We sign this Child, &c. in token that he shall not be ashamed to confess the Faith of Christ crucify'd, &c.*

'Tis set up as instructive in the Benefits of the New Covenant. This indeed the Bishop denies in the Place last quoted; and tells us, *The Cross is not us'd by them to signify any Grace or Benefit communicated from God.* But I think there is just Ground to conclude the contrary, from the Reason which the Convocation alledges for retaining the Use of the Sign of the Cross, viz. "That the Holy Ghost, by the Mouth of the Apostles, did honour the Name of the Cross so far, that under it, he comprehended not only Christ crucify'd, but the Force, Effect, and Merit of his Death and Passion, with all the Comforts, Fruits, and Promises we receive or expect thereby. See the Thirtieth Canon of the Church of England. Now I would gladly know what this Reason can signify, to vindicate their retaining the Use of the Cross, unless they suppos'd it a fit external Sign to signify the same Things which the Holy Ghost had honour'd the Name of the Cross to signify. And this Inference seems the more just, from the Account they give of this Ceremony of Crossing, as practis'd by the Primitive Christians, viz. "That they signed their Children with the Sign of the Cross when they were Christned, to dedicate them by that Badge to his Service, whose Benefits bestow'd on them in Baptism, the Name of the Cross did represent". And consequently, the Sign of it is design'd to represent too. But,

2. Which is more considerable, the Cross is made by the Establish'd Church an obliging and ratifying Sign on our Part, to bind us to the Duties of God's Covenant, even to the same which Baptism is appointed to oblige us to, viz. "To confess boldly the Faith of Christ crucify'd, to fight manfully under his Banner against the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful Soldiers and Servants to our Lives end". And I may still renew the Question propos'd in the Remarks, *What more peculiar Duties of the New Covenant could Baptism oblige us to?* And to put the Matter, if possible, out of doubt, the Infant is expressly said in the Canon to be, by this Badge, dedicated to the Service of Christ. I know, indeed, the ingenuous Author of the Case † relating to the Cross in Baptism, distinguishes here between an immediate and proper, and an improper and declarative Dedication, and accordingly would persuade us that the Convocation only designed the latter; partly, because they refer to the Words us'd in the Service-Book when the Child is cross'd; partly because they suppose the Child dedicated by Baptism before, and suppose Baptism compleat without the Sign of the Cross.

But I see not that either of these Reasons warrant us to take the Words of the Convocation in so very strain'd and improper a Sense as this is, viz. That when they affirm the Cross to be a lawful outward Ceremony, and honourable Badge whereby the Infant is dedicated to the Service of him that dy'd on the Cross, they should mean no more than that 'tis a lawful outward Ceremony and honourable Badge, to declare that the Infant has been dedicated to Christ by another outward Ceremony and

* *Almonition*, pag. 178.

† See *Coll. of Cases*, 2d Edit. pag. 377, 378.

honourable Badge before. For 'tis evident that the Words us'd when the Child is *sign'd* with the Sign of the Cross, do as fully and directly express a proper immediate Dedication, as the Words us'd when 'tis baptiz'd, and therefore we have no reason from them to apply so unusual and odd a Sense to the Words of the Canon, and the Convocation's supposing Baptism compleat without the Sign of the Cross, does no way argue that they design'd not a proper renew'd Dedication by the Cross; for tho' we are dedicated by Baptism, yet we properly renew that Dedication as oft as we attend the Lord's Table. And the Romish Church does, in their Ritual*, suppose no more necessary by divine Right to this Sacrament than we do, and speak of their Ceremonies as only pertaining to the Solemnity of that Sacrament, yet they use several other Rites for proper immediate Dedication, besides that of washing with Water.

3. The Cross is made a distinguishing Sign of our Christian Profession, and the Relations we are thereby invested in.

For this evidently follows from its being made the honourable Badge of our Dedication to the Service of a crucify'd Saviour. So that by being cross'd, we as truly (according to the Establish'd Church) wear the Livery of Christ, as by being baptiz'd. And this former external Sign is as effectually made the common Symbol and Tessera of our Discipleship, the Mark of our belonging to him as our Lord and Master, as the latter can be.

II. Now from hence I farther infer, That the Cross is made as much a Sacrament as Men can make any Sign of their own, for which they can produce no divine Institution. 'Tis set up for most of the same Uses as Baptism, nay, for such Uses as do constitute it a proper Part of positive Worship, that has no Stamp of divine Authority, and consequently 'tis made a sinful human Invention. For if (as the Bishop himself supposes) all Ways of Worship are displeasing to God, that are not expressly contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, nor warranted by the Examples of Holy Men therein; or, (as he now adds) that cannot be by Parity of Reason deduc'd thence; much more are all Parts of Worship truly displeasing to him, (and such as our Saviour justly censures for vain Worship) that are no way instituted. And yet, that all those Rites in religious Worship, whereby we oblige and bind our selves to serve God, or (which is the same) dedicate our selves to his Service, are a proper Part of positive Worship, is evident from the Bishop's own Confession, who (pag. 4. of his Discourse) does therefore make the Sacraments to be a Part of outward Worship, not only on the Account of our expressing therein our Dependence on the Grace of God, but likewise on the Account of obliging and binding our selves by them to serve him. And doubtless, it does as properly belong to God alone to appoint the religious Rites whereby we bind our selves to his Service, as to the supreme Magistrate to appoint the Ceremonies us'd in our taking the Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance. Nay, it belongs to him alone to appoint the honourable Badge of our Discipleship, who receives us into his Holy Covenant; and no inferior Pastors are any more authoriz'd to super-add any other Rite for this Use, to that he has instituted already, than the Servant of any great Prince is warranted of his own Head to prescribe to his Fellow-Servants the wearing of a new Livery, as an honourable Badge of their belonging to such a Master, besides that which he has appointed of his own choosing. To set up external Rites for such Sacramental Uses as these, viz. not only to instruct us in the Privileges and Duties of the New Covenant, but to oblige and bind us to them, and to be the honourable Badge of our Christian Profession, when God has already instituted other Rites for these very Ends, is a Piece of Presumption we dare not be guilty of: 'Tis an offering him a Part of Worship which has no Stamp of his Authority, which therefore we have no

reason to hope he will accept; nay, which there is no Shadow of Reason for, if his own fœderal Rites be sufficient for all the Ends they are appointed for.

Having thus stated my Argument, I come,

II. To shew the Insufficiency of the Bishop's Answer to this Argument.

All that I can find he has directly reply'd to my Argument, is only this; "That the whole Force of it seems to proceed from two Mistakes concerning the Nature of Sacraments: First, As if they were Signs from us to God, and not wholly from God to us. Secondly, As if we were to learn the true Nature of Sacraments from the Schools and partial Definitions of interested Disputants, and not from the Holy Scriptures. Hence, saith the Bishop, he has not given us one Place of Scripture, to prove his imperfect Account of a Sacrament.

As to this Answer to the Argument, I need do no more for the Refutation of it, than refer the Reader to the foregoing Account of a Sacrament, wherein I fully prov'd concerning Sacraments in general, and particularly that of Baptism, that they are as truly and properly Signs from us to God, as from God to us; nay, that they cannot be the latter without being the former. And this I have prov'd, not from the Dictates of the Schools, but from the Oracles of God; having quoted no other human Authority but his own, and I hope he will not reckon himself one of those partial and interested Disputants he speaks of. So that 'tis not the Force of my Argument, but of his Answer, that proceeds from a Mistake.

But I suppose his Lordship may lay more Strefs upon his Account of a Sacrament, and his Application of it to vindicate the Cross, which therefore I shall also briefly consider.

To this Purpose he acquaints us, "There are three Things necessary to make up a Sacrament.

"First, An outward visible Sign instituted by God, signifying some Spiritual Grace we expect from him.

"Secondly, An Obligation on God by some Promise of his to grant us that Spiritual Grace or Benefit whenever we duly use the visible Sign.

"Thirdly, Our Use of this visible Sign, without which we are not to expect the Spiritual Benefit if we willfully neglect it.

Accordingly the Bishop thinks me oblig'd to prove that these Things concur in the Cross in Baptism, viz. That the Establish'd Church teaches that the Cross is instituted by God to signify some Spiritual Grace we expect from him, and that he has oblig'd himself by Promise to grant us that Spiritual Grace upon the Use of the Cross, and will deprive us thereof if we neglect it.

Now to shew the Insufficiency and Weakness of this Answer, I need only suggest these two Things.

I. The Bishop has, in this Account of Sacraments, omitted several of those Uses and Ends for which they were appointed, and particularly those from whence the Force of this Argument is deriv'd. For he neither considers their being made representing Signs to instruct us in the Duties of the New Covenant, nor (which should have been chiefly observ'd) their being obliging Signs to bind us to them, nor their being distinguishing Badges of our Profession and Communion. And yet these are very important Uses of those Fœderal Rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and such as chiefly occasion'd their being call'd Sacraments.

He expects I should prove that which my Argument no way obliges me to, viz. That the Establish'd Church teaches, that God has oblig'd himself by Promise to grant us some Spiritual Benefit upon our Use of the Sign of the Cross, and will deny that Benefit to all that neglect that Sign. Now tho' he might justly have expected me to prove this, if I had said, That the Establish'd Church feigns the Cross to be a Sacrament of

God's Appointment, and uses it as such; yet 'tis evident, from the foregoing Account, that 'tis unreasonable to expect it in what I call a *human Sacrament*. For when I suppose it made a *human Sacrament*, I intend no more, than that 'tis made a *Sacrament* as far as Men can make one of a religious Rite of their own. Now they may make it a sacred Fœderal Rite to oblige and bind themselves to God's Service; tho' 'tis absurd to expect they should make it a Rite to oblige God to confer his Benefits. And their setting it up to this former Sacramental Use (as well as other Uses aforementioned) is sufficient, as I have shewn him from his own Principles, to make it a sinful *human Invention*, as every Part of Worship is that has no Stamp of divine Authority. So that I can easily allow the Bishop, without any Prejudice to my Argument, That to be a Seal of God's Part of the Covenant, is so necessary to a true and divine Sacrament, that what wants that, is but the lifeless Image of one. But Men may presumptuously appoint Rites of their own to so many *Sacramental Uses* as shall as truly render them Parts of divine Worship as divine Sacraments are, tho' they do not suppose God oblig'd to confer his Benefits on all that use them. And by doing so, they set up such *vain Worship* as our Saviour condemns, as only taught by the Precepts of Men, *Matt. xv. 8, 9.* compar'd with *Isai. xxix. 13.* So that the Bishop here only cavils at the Name of *human Sacraments*, while he over-looks the plain Force and Strefs of the Argument, which depends not on the Name at all, but on the *Uses* for which the *Cross* is appointed. And I have shew'd 'tis appointed for all but that one that necessarily supposes *divine Institution*.

But because the Bishop now pretends to a *divine Warrant* for the Use of the *Cross* to those Purposes for which he supposes it appointed by the Establish'd Church, 'tis requisite I should consider what he has offer'd on that Head.

II. The Bishop undertakes to shew, *That the Use of the Cross in Baptism is warranted by Scripture.*

His Argument to prove this is drawn out to a considerable Length, from *pag. 181, to pag. 187.* And that I may not wrong him in contracting it, I shall take this Method in what I shall offer against it.

First, I shall shew, That the Bishop's Argument does not reach the main Use of the *Cross*, which he was concern'd to defend.

Secondly, I shall shew, That the same Argument will justify many other Rites added by the *Romish Church* to *Baptism*, and other Parts of Worship, which they have rejected as well as we.

Thirdly, I shall consider the distinct Propositions the Bishop has laid down, and shew where I judge the Argument in them to be weak and unconcluding.

First, I shall shew, That the Bishop's Argument does not reach the main Use of the *Cross*, which he was concern'd to defend.

For he was chiefly oblig'd to defend the *Cross's* being made a *dedicating Sign*, whereby we bind our selves to the Service of Christ, and thereby a common distinguishing Badge of our Christian Profession; whereas in his Argument he attempts to prove no more than that the Scripture does warrant our using it as an *instru-ctive Sign*, to signify, or express this particular Duty of our *Glorying in the Sufferings of Christ*. Now though I do not think he has produc'd us any clear scriptural Warrant for this very Use of the *Sign* of the *Cross*, yet if he had, what he has said falls very far short of justifying those two other more important *Uses* of it, which are more peculiar to *Fœderal* or *Sacramental* Rites, *viz. Its being a Rite of Dedication* to the Service of Christ, and thereby the Livery or Badge of the Christian Profession.

Secondly, I shall shew, That the Bishop's Argument will serve as well to justify many other Rites which

the *Romish Church* has added to *Baptism* and other Parts of Worship.

As to *Baptism*, a Papist may, from the Bishop's Argument, draw the following Plea for several other Ceremonies added to it by the *Roman Ritual*; such as the *Priests putting Salt into the Mouth of the Infant*, his *anointing his Ears and Nostrils with Spittle*, his *putting a lighted Taper into the Infant's or God-father's Hand*, his *putting a white Garment on him*, &c.

"We are oblig'd (saith the Bishop*) to express the inward Sense of our Minds concerning God by outward Means, the Scriptures command to express it by our *Actions* as well as *Words*; as to these outward *Actions*, we are to use such as the general Custom of our Country has made significant in the like Cases. Thus, because making the Sign of the *Cross* is an *Action*, which universal Custom has apply'd to signify our glorying in the Sufferings of Christ, and 'tis proper to make a Profession of doing so in our *Baptism*, therefore the Scriptures warrant our Use of it in general, and particularly at that Time.

Since then (may the Papists in *Italy* or *Spain* argue) 'tis our Duty to *savour the Things of God*; to have our *Lips season'd with Wisdom and Grace*; to open our *Ears* to the *Doctrine of Christ*, as becomes his *Disciples*; to preserve our *Garments clean by immaculate Purity of Life*, that we may appear faultless before the *Tribunal of Christ*; to walk in the *Light* by a blameless Observance of our *baptismal Vows*, that we may, with the wise *Virgins*, be admitted to the heavenly *Nuptials*; nay, since 'tis as proper to make a Profession of all this in our *Baptism*, as of *Glorying in the Sufferings of Christ*: And since the Scriptures warrant us to make that Profession not only by *Words*, but also by such *Actions* as the universal Custom of our Country has made significant to those *Uses*, we are thereby warranted to use all the *Rites* foremention'd in the Celebration of *Baptism*, since, by the universal Custom of our Country †, they are apply'd to signify our Obligation to these undoubted Duties of Christianity.

Nay, the Bishop's Argument will go farther: For since 'tis as lawful to profess our *Glorying in the Sufferings of Christ*, in other Parts of religious Worship, as in *Baptism*, and universal Custom has apply'd this *Action* to signify our doing so, Why do we not imitate, instead of blaming the *Papists*, for their so frequently *crossing* themselves in all their Devotions? Or rather, since the Scriptures command us to express the inward religious Sense of our Minds by *Actions*; nay, since (as the Bishop asserts) *Scripture-Presidents* not only warrant, but oblige us to use such *Actions* as well as *Words*, as by universal Custom signify our *Glorying in the Sufferings of Christ*. How come we to lay aside so pious a Custom, so commendable, nay, so necessary an Expression of our devout Respect to a crucify'd Saviour, which we are not only warranted, but oblig'd to use?

Nay, as the *Romish Church* has, in other Parts of divine Worship, introduc'd a great Number of *Actions* or *Rites* to express some Part or other of our Christian Duty or Devotion, and those *Actions* are rendred significant to that Purpose by universal Custom among those of that Church, 'tis plain, by this Argument, that all those *Rites* are warranted by *Scripture*, and our first Reformers seem to have been very unreasonable in their Rejection of them. So that this loose Way of Reasoning will serve to worse Purposes than I hope his Lordship ever design'd it: For it will altogether as well fit the Mouth of a Papist for justifying his Observance of most of those numerous Rites and Ceremonies (or in his Lordship's Language, significant *Actions*) which their Church has enjoin'd, as it does his for justifying the *Cross* in *Baptism*. If the Bishop should pretend that the Numberousness of those *Rites* is the only Fault of them, he would do well to acquaint us where we may stop, what Number of them is innocent, and what becomes sinfully excessive.

* *Admonition*, pag. 181, 182, 183.

† See *Rit. Rom.*

Thirdly, I come to examine the Propositions the Bishop has laid down for proving the Use of the Cross in Baptism to be warranted by Scripture, and shew wherein I think his Argument in them weak and un-concluding.

That we are, according to Proposition the first, to express our inward Reverence or Worship of God by outward Means, such as Praise, Prayer, &c. will be freely granted.

That we are, according to Proposition the second and third, to express that inward Worship in general, by such bodily Gestures, as either Nature or Civil Custom direct us to, and render most fit to represent and testify it to others by, will be also own'd. But I cannot so easily grant, that the Scriptures warrant our expressing the Sense of our Minds in all religious Things or Matters by significant Actions. The particular Duties we owe to God are almost numberless; and if we were warranted by Scripture to express the Thoughts and Sense of our Mind, as to each of them, by some significant Rite and Ceremony, the Romish Church would be sufficiently authoriz'd by Scripture in her introducing such a Load of significant Rites and Ceremonies into the Christian Religion, especially if (as the Bishop observes) such significant Actions be more effectual and sincere Expressions of the Sense of our Minds than Words*.

Tho' then the Scriptures enjoin Bodily Worship in general, and consequently warrant all such devout Postures as either Nature or civil Custom has taught us to express it by, as Bowing, Prostration, Kneeling, Standing, and (in these Parts of the World) the Mens being uncover'd, yet they do not warrant us to contrive distinct significant Actions to express each distinct Part of inward Worship, as one to express our Faith in God, another to express our Love to him, another our Hope, another our Subjection to his Authority, another our Resignation to his Disposal, another our Dread of his Justice, &c. So tho' we may testify our Worship of Christ as the Incarnate Word, by the forementioned Postures of Devotion, yet the Scriptures no where warrant our contriving one significant Action or Rite to express our believing his Gospel, another to express our Reliance on the Virtue of his Merits and Sacrifice, another to signify our Subjection to his Royal Authority, another to declare our glorying in his Cross or Sufferings. Besides the religious Postures that are expressive of Worship in general, the Scriptures require no other external Rites as Signs of our particular Respect to him, besides those of being baptiz'd in his Name, and commemorating his Death, by receiving the Bread and Wine as the sacred Memorials of it. Therefore,

As to the fourth and fifth Proposition, though 'tis our Duty to glory in the Sufferings of Christ, yet the Scripture does not warrant (much less oblige us, as the Bishop adds) to contrive any particular Rite or Ceremony to signify it, any more than to contrive such a Rite to signify our Belief of his Gospel, or Dependence on his Mediation, or Subjection to his Government. The Scriptures command our expressing our inward Worship by Reverence in our bodily Postures, and consequently uncovering the Head is to us a Particular included in that general Precept. But the Scripture no where commands us to signify this particular Duty of glorying in the Sufferings of Christ by any external Rites, and therefore does not warrant any particular Rite for that End; for that would have been to have left a Gap open for bringing in an endless Train of such significant Rites of our own devising, into the Christian Religion, even such as would have made the Yoke of Christianity as heavy as that of Judaism once was.

As to the sixth and seventh Proposition, it plainly follows from what has been suggested, That if the Scripture neither oblige nor warrant us to contrive an external Rite for signifying our glorying in the Cross of Christ, much less does it warrant our Use of it in Baptism,

where there is an external Rite appointed by Christ himself, sufficiently expressive of the whole of our Duty to him. What if the same Authority that set up this aery Sign of the Cross, had appointed leaning on a material Cross, to signify our Faith and Reliance on the Merits of a crucified Saviour, and kissing a Sceptre to signify our Homage to him as a King, &c. and had introduc'd these Rites into the Office of Baptism? Could they justly pretend the Scripture warranted them, because it enjoyns Faith in a crucified Saviour, and Subjection to him as our exalted Head and Lord? And yet these would be as fit Actions to signify these Duties, as the making that aery Sign to express our glorying in the Sufferings of Christ. But the Scriptures have given no countenance to such foolish Inventions of our own, nor open'd any such Door to our Fancies, which if indulg'd this way, will soon prove very fruitful in such superstitious Devices, as the Church has learnt by the sad Experience of so many Ages, in which the multiplicity of such Rites (or in the Bishop's Language, significant Actions) had almost eaten out the Vitals of Religion.

For the eighth Proposition, I shall consider the particular Instances of such significant Rites in religious Worship, for which the Bishop produces Scriptural Precedents; and by which he thinks this Ceremony of Crossing equally warranted.

For that of Christ's washing his Disciples Feet, I cannot see what it should signify to his Purpose: For who doubts but Christ might teach his Disciples Humility, by practising before their Eyes a common, but in him a most condescending Instance of it; or, that he might improve that Occasion, (as he did almost all Occurrences) to remind them of the Necessity of being wash'd in his Blood, or purify'd by his Grace. But what is this to our appointing a new external Badge of our Dedication to Christ, besides that he has appointed already?

For the second Rite of Dipping entirely under Water in Baptism, if the Bishop had prov'd both that the Words of the Apostle did certainly refer to the Practice of Dipping under Water, assigning this spiritual Signification to that particular Rite; and yet that the Christians of that Age had arbitrarily, and without any Warrant from Christ or his Apostles, set up this Mode of Baptizing as a religious Rite, to signify their Obligation to dye to Sin, and live to Righteousness, in Conformity to the Death and Resurrection of Christ, then indeed this Instance had signified something to his Purpose; but unless he prove both these Particulars, it signifies nothing.

And the same Answer may be applied to the next Rite, viz. The change of Clothes. He should have first prov'd, that the Apostles Words do certainly refer to such a religious Rite practis'd in Baptism, to signify our Obligation to put off the old Man, and put on the new; and then prov'd this was a Rite meerly introduc'd by arbitrary Custom, without any Warrant from Christ.

For if the Apostles Expressions refer to these two Rites, as us'd to these Purposes, it will be much more reasonable to conclude that they are a part of the Ordinance of Baptism, and consequently should still be retain'd and us'd by us; (unless we suppose that as to the former, that Maxim of our Saviour will warrant our Omission of it in this colder Climate, That God will have Mercy and not Sacrifice) And on this Supposition the Bishop can draw no Argument from hence to his Purpose.*

For the Feasts of Charity and the Holy Kiss, I do not see that they were religious Rites at all, but rather real Expressions of their mutual Charity. If the richer Sort in a Congregation should, on the Lord's Day, invite the Poor to Dinner, this would be such a real Instance of their Love, (agreeable to our Saviour's Advice about Feasting, Luke xiv. 12, 13, 14.) as those Feasts of Cha-

* Admonition, pag. 181.
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vity were ; but it would be no such Symbol of their Spiritual Communion as their Feasting at the Table of the Lord is. And the same may most probably be said of the Holy Kiss, which being then a common Instance of mutual Respect and Amity among Persons in their ordinary Assemblies, was therefore innocently continued in their religious ones. As no doubt we may there pay the same Marks of our Respect and Friendship to each other when the publick Worship is over, that we do on other Occasions of meeting together. Nay, if we suppose these two to have been religious Rites, yet it will be then more reasonable to suppose they had a temporary Institution, than that they had no other Warrant than meer arbitrary Custom. And upon either of these Suppositions there can be no shew of any Argument drawn from them, to prove that the Scripture warrants us to institute a religious Rite of our own, as an honourable Badge whereby we are dedicated to the Service of a crucified Saviour, when Christ himself has instituted one for that use. For this is that which the Bishop was concerned to produce a scriptural Warrant for. And therefore I may justly add here, that though the Bishop's Argument had prov'd that the Scriptures warrant us to express our glorying in the Sufferings of Christ, by crossing our selves, as the primitive Christians did in their common Conversation ; yet this would not prove that they warrant us to use it as a religious Rite in Baptism, for our solemn Dedication to the Service of Christ, because that is a needless doing that over again by a Rite of our own devising, which is sufficiently done before by a Rite of Christ's Institution. Whereas this is the Thing in question, and which to us looks like sinful Presumption.

But before I dismiss the Argument of the Bishop's, 'tis requisite I should consider those two significant Ceremonies among the Dissenters, which he thinks liable to the same Exceptions as the Use of the Cross in Baptism, viz. " Their giving their Children Names at their Baptism, and giving Tickets to Communicants.

For the former significant Ceremony, viz. " Of giving Names to Children at their Baptism, The Bishop tells us, it signifies their giving up their Names to Christ, and engaging them to be his Servants. So that our Names are a lasting Token and Badge to us of our Dedication to the Service of Christ, and an Obligation on us to behave our selves accordingly, *Admon.* pag. 184.

Answ. It seems somewhat strange the Bishop should so positively assert, that we give our Children a Name at Baptism for any such Purpose as this : For we use it not as any religious Ceremony at all, much less as an external Sign or Token of giving up their Names to Christ, and engaging them to be his Servants. This is all suggested by his own Fancy, without any ground ; for we know of no other Use of this Practice in Baptism, than that the Person baptiz'd may be notified to the Congregation, by being call'd by his Name. And for the Bishop's Remark on God's giving Abraham a new Name at his Circumcision, in allusion to the Custom of Masters giving their Servants a new Name upon their Admission into their Families ; besides that, 'tis asserted, without any Proof, (there being no such Reason, but a different one assign'd by God himself, for changing his Name from Abram to Abraham, Gen. xvii. 4, 5.) yet if it were true, I know not what Use it can be to his Purpose : For if he would infer from it, That this is a Scriptural Warrant for giving Names to Children at Baptism, as a Token of their Admission into God's Family, he makes it a significant Ceremony of God's own Appointment ; and consequently can draw no Argument from it to justify the Use of the Cross as a Ceremony arbitrarily appointed by Men, to signify their Dedication to Christ.

For the other significant Ceremony which the Bishop saith the Dissenters have added to the Lord's Supper, and which he desires them to reflect on, viz. Giving

of Tickets to such as are to be admitted thereto. 'Tis, I confess, a very dangerous one, in which he has found out abundance of very strange and mysterious Significations. For in this Ceremony he tells us, " There is an outward and visible Sign, a Ticket. Secondly, " An inward spiritual Grace, our Aptitude and Title to the Lord's Supper and Communion of Saints, found upon our Examination when we receive the Ticket. Thirdly, 'Tis a Badge and Token whereby privileg'd Members are distinguish'd from those that are without. Lastly, 'Tis a sort of necessary Term of Communion, since those that neglect this Badge, shall not be admitted to the Sacrament.

Answ. If all these wonderful spiritual Significations assign'd to this poor Ticket, prove meerly the Product of the Bishop's Imagination, then I hope there can be no Argument drawn from it to patronize the Cross. The Ticket is, I confess, an outward and visible Sign ; but I could never learn before that it was a Sign of any thing more, than that the Person that brought it, was allowed by the Minister to Communicate at that Time, and did not intrude there without his Permission. But how it should come to signify a Man's Qualifications for Receiving, or his Title to any spiritual Benefits that belong to worthy Communicants, is very hard to conceive. All that can be said of it is, that 'tis probable the Minister would not have given him leave to Communicate, by giving him a Ticket, if he had not known him to be a Member of his own, or some other Congregation. And the Bishop further mistakes in making the Ticket a Badge to distinguish privileg'd Members from those that are without ; for there may be many present as Spectators at Communion that are Members, and have not Tickets at present, because they do not at present Receive. Nor would any Man's having a Ticket secure his Admission, if he were known to be no Member of that or some other Congregation. Nay, the Ticket is no necessary Term of Communion neither, since no Man that is a noted Member of that, or any other Congregation, would be refus'd, tho' he should have no Ticket, or left it behind him. It's plain, that the giving those Tickets is a Circumstance that genuinely falls within the Apostle's Rule of doing all Things decently and in Order. Now in such Multitudes as in the North of Ireland ordinarily frequent their Communion, there cannot be a more easy and orderly Expedient to distinguish the Communicants from meer Spectators ; and prevent any Persons from intruding into the Communion of particular Churches without leave, than this of giving Tickets to such as they allow to Receive at that Time. So that the general Rule of Scripture foremention'd, does oblige them to use this or some other Method of the like kind, for the decent and orderly Celebration of that Holy Institution, and preventing the contrary Confusion and Disorder. But I hope the Bishop will not pretend, that Baptism cannot be decently and orderly perform'd without using the Sign of the Cross, as an honourable Badge whereby the Person baptiz'd is dedicated to the Service of a crucified Saviour ; and therefore the Cross is no way warranted by that Rule of Order and Decency, as the forementioned Custom evidently is. If indeed this perilous Ticket had had a Cross upon it ; and the Persons that brought it were order'd to wear it upon their Breasts or Foreheads, as a Sign whereby they publicly profess'd their Remembrance of, and renewed Dedication of themselves to the Service of a crucified Saviour, as the adult Members of his Church ; the Bishop might then have had some Pretence to have compar'd these two Customs together. But as they are really practis'd, there is no more Resemblance between them, than between a prudential Mode of ordering Christ's own Institution in general necessary, and virtually included in his own Rule of Order, and an unnecessary religious Rite unwarrantably added by Men, to Christ's Institution, to some of the same Uses as he had appointed another already ; and any one that pleases may easily discern a wide Difference between these two.

I shall only add here, that as the Bishop has fail'd of producing us any clear scriptural Warrant for the *Cross*, (and consequently ought by his own Rule, on that very Score, to discard it as a *human Invention*) so he has not so much as attempted to vindicate that other *human Invention* of *Godfathers* and *Godmothers*, set up to exclude the publick Promise of Parents, for the pious Education of their own Children, and to enter into rash Vows, which few ever perform, which I take to be the more dangerous Corruption of the two. See *Remarks*, pag. 116.

As to the Bishop's Conclusion, I shall only observe,

1. I do not find that he has made good his Charge of *human Inventions* against the *Dissenters* in any one particular Instance of their Worship, notwithstanding all the Assurance wherewith he had asserted, *Disc.* pag. 187. *That they were so strangely misled as to content themselves to meet together, perhaps for some Years, with a Design to worship God, when one could hardly ever see any thing of God's immediate Appointment in their Meetings.* For this the Bishop there saith, was manifestly the Case of the *Dissenters* in his Thoughts. And he still takes the same for granted, *Admon.* pag. 188. *That the Worship of Dissenters has no express Warrant of Scripture for it.* And now to advance so terrible and comprehensive a Charge, and not prove the Truth of it in any one particular Instance, seems to us a very *unadvised*, as well as a very *uncharitable* Attempt. Nay, 'tis strange, that (except that of *crossing*) he has not so much as endeavour'd to vindicate one Practice of the Establish'd Church from his own Arguments, when retorted upon himself.

2. Since the Bishop threatens us, if the Matters of Fact be disputed, to produce his *Vouchers* and *Authorities*, we must now desire him either to do so, or own those Mistakes whereby he has highly injur'd the Reputation of his Brethren. And I hope he will take Care that the Testimony of his *Vouchers* be as credible as that of those I have produc'd. And he need not spare to produce them out of *Tenderness* to the *Dissenters* of his Diocese, for they desire no other *Tenderness* in this Point, besides that of speaking nothing but Truth of them.

3. I think his Caution against the *Remarks* which he here gives very unfair, unless he had prov'd, instead of barely asserting, that my Arguments are not founded on Scripture, and that my Answers to his Proofs contradict the Letter of Scripture. I hope his Lordship will excuse us, tho' we are unwilling to take all this for granted on no other Evidence than his bare Word.

Lastly, I hope he will find nothing in these Papers contrary to a Spirit of Meekness, or favouring of Passion. And tho' the *Dissenters* of his Diocese cannot carry their Civility to so high a Strain as to thank him for his Book, as he does them for the *Entertainment* they have given it, yet they can readily comply with his Request to them, *Not to be offended with him for telling them the Truth.* For the chief Offence they took at his Book, was not his reasoning against their Opinions and Practices, but his giving so untrue an Account of them. And therefore they cannot altogether assent to what his Lordship insinuates in these following Words: "Remember, nothing is more apt to provoke Mankind than Truth. And if you meet with any Book in Answer to mine, that discovers the Writer to have been in a Passion when he wrote it, you may look on it as a probable Argument of the Truth of what I have propos'd. And if upon reading what I have wrote, you find any Motion in your selves towards Passion, consider well whether it proceed not from the same Cause, namely, my declaring the Truth to you. For they think there is one Thing more apt to provoke, even the mildest and best of Men, and that is, to be unjustly accus'd to the World; and yet, when the Accuser is admonish'd of his Mistakes, to have the Accusation renew'd; and be appeal'd to themselves as Evidences for what they as certainly know to be un-

true, as they know their own Judgment and Practice. For in this Case they think it no probable Argument of Guilt in the Accused; if they should express some just Displeasure against such ill Usage. And yet I hope he will find even this extraordinary Provocation has not drawn out any Language that looks like *Passion*. But yet as the Bishop expects we should allow *plain Dealing* to be a Part of his Character, so I hope he will not deny us the same Liberty of *dealing plainly* with him; not only in vindicating our Opinions and Practices where we think his Objections against them invalid, but especially in clearing both from such Misrepresentations as we think manifestly groundless and injurious; and in desiring an ingenuous Retraction of them, as an Act which a Regard to Justice as well as Truth should prompt him to. For common Justice forbids our ascribing to our Brethren Opinions and Practices which are none of theirs: Nay, it forbids our receiving and publishing mistaken Accounts of them, from the Informations of others, when a little Care and Diligence might have enabled us to discover the Falshood of them. And consequently the same Principle should prompt us to do Right to the Reputation of our Brethren, when we have, thro' our unwary Credulity, or in the heat of Opposition, spoken or written of them what is not true; and yet what, if believ'd, would tempt others to very unjust and uncharitable Apprehensions of their Judgment and Practice. And when his Lordship has given the *Dissenters* of his Diocese this Evidence of his Justice towards them, they will then be more ready to believe his Sincerity in studying their Good.

And now if these Papers contribute any thing to reconcile his Lordship, and those whom his Book and *Admonition* may have misled, to more charitable Thoughts of our Worship, and to caution us in such Debates as these to be more strict in observing that excellent Rule of the Apostles, *To speak the Truth in love*, Eph. iv. 15. I shall not think my Pains in writing them wholly lost: For tho' in the Matters in Dispute between us, it becomes every good Man, as to his own Practice, to adhere impartially to the Rule of the Holy Scriptures, as far as he understands it; yet nothing is more plain, than that those great Truths and Duties of Christianity wherein we are agreed, are of incomparably greater Moment and Importance than those wherein we differ. And as 'tis our Unity in those more important Truths and Duties that chiefly recommend us to the Acceptance of our Blessed Lord; so that alone is sufficient to endear us to one another: And for those smaller Differences among us that are so fully consistent with a happy Unity in these Essentials of our Religion, however they may now distinguish us into Parties, yet they can never be reasonably thought to exclude the Churches on either side from the Communion of the Church Catholick; much less will they exclude the truly pious Members on either side from the Heavenly Society. How little then should those Differences tend to disunite our Affections, or to obstruct our amicable Endeavours to advance the common Interest of practical Holiness? How should we rejoice to see that blessed Work prosper in each others Hands? How entirely should Charity govern all our Debates in the Points wherein we disagree, and make us unwilling to misrepresent each others Opinions or Practices, when we calmly reason against them? How strongly should it prompt us to treat each other in all Respects as Brethren, in whom we behold the Image of our great Master stamp'd, tho' we may not see the Inscription of this or that Party, which we judge to be the most happily reform'd, or the best constituted and modell'd? How much more zealous should we be to proselyte Men to the Substance and Power of Religion, than to any external Modes of Worship and Discipline? And how heartily should we joyn in that Apostolical Benediction, *Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity*, Amen. Eph. vi. 24.

Mr. Sinclair's Letter, referred to pag. 14.

S I R,

THE Argumentative and Historical Parts of the Bishop of Derry's Admonition, seem both of a Piece, as to the many apparent Mistakes in them. A satisfactory Answer to the former is justly expected from your self. But for the latter, as it's necessary to make use of the Information of others, who, I am confident, will be more faithful to you, than the Bishop's Informers have been to him: So I shall readily comply with your Desire, to give a true and certain Account of the Practice of Dissenters in Waterford, before the late Troubles; which was so very different from that which his Lordship gives, when he says, pag. 32. He had Opportunity to enquire, and was told they did not communicate above once a Year, if so often: That (as he hath taught us in the former Page) we may thence conclude the Probability of what he says concerning others.

This Account I am more concerned, and better enabled to give you with greater Assurance, because I preach'd to them at that time, and have also carefully preserv'd a Memorial of such Things in my Diary, which are as followeth.

I was ordain'd a Pastor to that People about a Year and a Half before the Troubles, and administred the Lord's Supper five Times in thirteen Months of that Time, viz. Dec. 18, 1687. May 6, 1688. July 1, 1688. Oct. 28, 1688. Jan. 27, 1688. besides four times more I administred that Sacrament the same Year to another Congregation, that was supply'd by some neighbouring Ministers and my self. And I can assure you, that those Ministers gave the Communion more frequently, most of them once a Month, some of them once in two Months, to their own Congregations.

But that I may conceal nothing from you, that the Bishop's Information may possibly be supposed to reach unto; I shall acquaint you, that tho' the Dissenters in Waterford, both before I came among them, and while I preach'd to them only as a Candidate, had no fixed Pastor, yet even then they had the Communion administred to them oftner than once a Year, by some of the aforesaid Ministers that us'd to visit them for that End, and many of the People us'd also to communicate frequently with those Ministers in their own Congregations.

I shall further suggest to you, that the Reason of my preaching to them for some time as a Candidate only, was the extreme Discouragement I met with there from the Severities of some that call'd themselves Protestants, for we were frequently disturb'd in our publick Worship, and six times forc'd to change the Place of our Meeting: The best Part of the Auditory was for a whole Sabbath detain'd Prisoners by armed Men, and towards Evening, I was convey'd by a strong Guard through a throng of Papists, who rejoic'd to see Protestants doing that Drudgery for them; and several times besides that, I was brought before the Magistrate, and instead of being accused, was only revil'd and threaten'd: But at last they attempted, the common Practice of that Time, to accuse me of Plots, and when they were shamefully disappointed, and vented their Rage against me, the then Mayor hardly rescued me from them. But soon after another Mayor succeeded that was for their Purpose, and join'd with some of them to expose me after this manner: The Military Governor rudely assaulted me in the Mayor's House (where I came to see some Friends take Horse, for he kept a publick Inn) and dragg'd me into the Streets, where the Soldiers received me, the rude Officers pull'd off my Hat, and forced me to go bare-headed through the chief Parts of the City, with two Drums tabering before me, till they sent me over the River, with a threatening Message to the Inns on the other side, if they should dare to entertain me. This forc'd me to complain to the Lord Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant, who being fully convinc'd of my Persecutors Malice, and the Miseries I had suffer'd, gave his Order that I should return peaceably to my Habitation, and be safely protected in it. And having then some hope of Ease from the Violence of my Adversaries, I accepted the Call of the People, and was Ordain'd among them by some of the neighbouring Ministers, and administred the Communion for the time I continued with them, as is above-mentioned; and I am assur'd that the same Congregation hath the Sacrament administred to them six times a Year by their present Pastor Mr. Cock. This I judge sufficient to vindicate our Practice from what we are accused of, and being a Matter of Fact so generally known, I could produce many Witnesses (if it were needful) to confirm this Testimony of,

S I R,

Your affectionate Brother,

and Servant,

ALEXANDER SINCLARE.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHEREAS the Bishop, Admon. pag. 69. asserts, That some, who have been found unqualified and insufficient for Learning, by them, are receiv'd as Preachers among the Dissenters, after being rejected by them. And adds, That he has a notorious Example thereof since he came to this Diocess. The Dissenting Ministers of his Diocess declare they know of no such Person. And if the Bishop (as there is some ground to

conjecture) mean Mr. Sq— he declares he was never examin'd as to his Learning by them; and (besides that, he is no Preacher in that Part of the Kingdom) most that know him think, that if his Lordship should reject all those of his Clergy that are not Mr. Sq—'s Superiours in Learning, he must exclude a great many of those that are now in his Diocess.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.



THE *Sermon* concerning the *Office of a scriptural Bishop* being reprinted in Quarto, not only without, but against my Consent (for the Convenience, as I suppose, of binding it up with the two *Answers* that Mr. Drury and Mr. French have done me the Honour to write against it) I had it only left to my Choice, whether I would think fit to add any Thing by way of *Postscript* to it. And this, upon second Thoughts, I judg'd needful for allaying the Heat, and silencing the Clamour that has been unexpectedly raised by the Publication of it.

I design not, in this *Postscript*, to enter on the particular and close Examination of those *Answers*. My *Answerers* have, in my Opinion, quite chang'd the Subject of Debate about *scriptural Bishops*, into a NEW ONE about *scriptural Apostles*, which I had expressly wav'd the Consideration of in that Discourse. And tho' I may (if GOD give me Life and Leisure) take what they have offer'd to prove those now call'd *Bishops* to be the *Successors* of the *Apostles* in the *Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power* (as Mr. Drury terms it) into my farther Thoughts; yet I shall at present content my self with a few brief Remarks on that new Controversy which they have rais'd. And I do so, the rather, because I am told there are other *Answers* to that *Sermon* expected. And 'tis but reasonable that I should patiently attend to all that will be said for my Conviction of those *Errors* which my *Answerers* are pleas'd to charge me with. And 'tis not improbable, that some abler Pen will produce what may much more deserve to be examin'd than any Thing I have met with in those two *Discourses*.

All therefore that I intend in this *Postscript*, is, to make some *Apology* for printing the *Sermon* it self. To vindicate my self from those injurious *Reflections* that both my *Answerers* (but especially Mr. Drury) have made on my *Temper* in the Management of this Subject: And to suggest to those two Gentlemen some *Reasons*, why I think their *Answers* very defective and unsatisfactory.

For printing the *Sermon* it self (among several others on Miscellaneous Subjects) I take what follows to be a sufficient *Apology*.

I found that in a great Number of *Discourses*, printed in *England* within these few Years last past, (and especially by the *Nonjurant Clergy*, who have made it their great Work this Way to heighten and inflame our unhappy Divisions.) The *Authors* have not only asserted the *divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy*, but have carry'd the Matter so high, as to declare *all Ordination by Presbyters absolutely null and void*. And this they do in Pursuance of their avowed Principles, concerning the Conveyance of all Ecclesiastical Power from the *Apostles* to *Diocesan Bishops*, in an uninterrupted Line of Succession, and thro' no other Hands but theirs. What a fatal Wound those Principles, if they should prevail, would give to the Honour and Interest of the Reformed Churches in a great Part of *Europe*, is obvious to every one's Consideration. Some of these *Authors* speak consonantly to their own Principles, and without any Scruple, unchurch all the *Reformed Churches*

that want the *Diocesan Form of Church Government*. Others that pretend to more Moderation, seem willing to entertain some charitable Thoughts concerning those Foreign Churches that are *compell'd* to take up with Ordination by Presbyters thro' *unavoidable Necessity*. Tho' by the Way, as none of those *Foreign Churches*, that I know of, are capable of this Excuse; so even this seeming Charity towards them is no way consistent with the Principles which these *Writers* so openly abett. And besides the larger *Discourses* of this Strain, I find that several *Sermons* have been printed this last Year, wherein the same Principles are deliver'd with an unusual Air of Assurance, as if they were now become the current Doctrine of the Establish'd Church. The Strain of the rest may be seen in Mr. Bisse's *Sermon* preach'd before the *University of Oxford* at St. Mary's, on *Trinity-Sunday*, 1708. I cannot think such *Discourses* as these to be agreeable to the Sentiments of any that are truly Moderate and Judicious in the Establish'd Church. I am sure the Generality of her most learned *Writers* against Popery, have look'd on the Superiority of *Bishops* above *Presbyters* as a distinct Order, to be only a Matter of Ecclesiastical Custom and human Constitution, and have therefore been far from unchurching those *Reformed Churches* abroad and at home that have wanted it. To all this I may justly add, That several Attempts had been made upon such as were Members of the Dissenting Congregations in this Kingdom, to infuse the like Prejudices into them against the *Validity* of our *Ordinations*, and our sacred *Ministrations* pursuant to them. And it was in Part for obviating these Attempts, that I yielded to the Publication of that *Sermon* (among many others) which had been for some Years confin'd to my Study.

I cannot therefore see what reasonable Ground there is for the loud Out-cry made against this *Sermon*, when the Doctrine contained in it, viz. That *Presbyters and scriptural Bishops are the same in Office as well as Name*, is so far from being peculiar to those whom my *Answerers* call *Presbyterians*; that 'tis not only the declared Doctrine of most of the *Reformed Churches* abroad (as appears by the publick *Confessions of their Faith*) but it was the current Doctrine of the greatest Instruments of the *English Reformation* it self, in the Reigns of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. And because this is a Matter too little consider'd, I think the producing some satisfactory Evidence of it may be of use to take off the Prejudices which the late *Writers* I mention'd have rais'd against this important Truth.

For King Henry VIIIth's Reign, I need not produce the Testimonies of single Divines, such as Tyndal, Lambert, Barnes, who were Men of valuable Learning, and sealed the Reformed Religion with their Blood; who assert, That there were but now two Offices of divine Institution in the Church, viz. Elders or Bishops to feed the Flock, and Deacons to minister the Charity of the Church to the Poor and Needy. [See their Testimonies more at large, in the *Healing Attempt*, pag. 6, 7, 8.] For we have a fuller and clearer Attestation given to this Truth by two authentick Papers publish'd by Authority in that Reign.

The one was, *A Declaration made of the Functions and divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*. It was subscribed * *Thomas Cromwell*, the Arch-bishops of Canterbury and York, Eleven Bishops, and many other Doctors and Civilians; by whom 'tis thus Resolved: "As touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders; We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct our People committed by Us to their Spiritual Charge: First, How that Christ and his Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, That besides the Civil Power and Governance of Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture, *Potestas Gladii*, the Power of the Sword; there should be also continually in the Church Militant certain other Ministers and Officers which should have Spiritual Power, Authority, and Commission under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God unto his People; and to dispense and administer the Sacraments of God to them, and by the same to confer and give the Grace of the Holy Ghost. To consecrate the blessed Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. To loose and absolve from Sin, all Persons that be truly penitent and sorry for the same. To bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest Crimes and Sins, and will not amend their Defaults. To order and consecrate others in the same Room, Order, and Office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves. And finally, to feed Christ's People, like good Pastors and Rectors, (as that Apostle calls them) with their wholesome Doctrine, and by their continual Exhortations and Monitions, &c. This Office, this Power and Authority was given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain Persons only, that is to say, to PRIESTS or BISHOPS whom they did elect, call and admit thereto by Prayer and Imposition of Hands. And again more fully, — Albeit the Holy Fathers of the Church of Christ did devise not only certain other Ceremonies than those already rehearsed, as *Tonsures, Rasures, Unctions*, and such other Observances to be used in the Administration of the said Sacraments; but did also institute certain other inferior Orders and Degrees, as *Janitors, Lectors, Exorcists, Acolytes and Sub-Deacons*; and deputed to every one of these certain Offices to execute in the Church, &c. Yet the Truth is, That in the New Testament there is no mention made of any Degrees, or Distinctions in Orders, but only of DEACONS or MINISTERS, and of PRIESTS or BISHOPS. Nor is there any Word of any other Ceremonies used in the conferring this Sacrament, but Prayer and Imposition of Hands. [See the Addenda in Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part I. Pag. 321, &c.]

The other is in the Book, call'd, *The Erudition of a Christian Man*, compos'd by the Ecclesiastical Committees appointed by the King, and publish'd by his Authority, in the Year 1540. Wherein the Compilers having described the "Office of a Bishop or Priest as consisting in true preaching and teaching the Word of God to the People; in dispensing and ministering the Sacraments; in loosing and absolving from Sin such Persons as be sorry and truly penitent for the same; and Excommunicating such as be guilty of manifest Crimes, and will not be reformed otherwise. And finally, in praying for the whole Church of Christ, and especially for the Flock committed to them. They positively affirm, That of these two Orders only, PRIESTS and DEACONS, the Scripture makes express mention; and how they were conferr'd by the Apostles, by Prayer and Imposition of Hands. And they add,

"Whereas we have thus summarily declar'd, what is the Office and Ministration which, in Holy Scriptures, is committed to Bishops and Priests, and in what Things it consists, as is before rehearsed; we think it expedient and necessary, that all Men should be

"advertised and taught, that all such lawful Authority and Power of one Bishop over another, were and be given them by Consent, Ordinance, and positive Laws of Men only; and not by any Ordinance of God, in Holy Scripture.

We see here, plainly, That they suppose the Ministry of Bishops or Priests to be the same in all the Branches of it by divine Institution, (including the Power of Excommunication it self, and in the former Paper that of Ordination too;) and that any Superiority of one Bishop or Priest above another, was only owing to human Constitution.

This Evidence is so clear and uncontestable, that the excellent Historian foremention'd (Dr. Burnet) freely owns, "That both in this Declaration, and the Erudition of a Christian Man, BISHOPS and PRIESTS are spoken of as one Office.

But to obviate the Inference that he foresaw would be readily drawn from this Concession, that Author seems to "ascribe this Determination of our Reformers to their Carelessness, in following too much the Authority of the School-men and Canonists: The former of whom, that they might magnify Transubstantiation, extoll'd the Priestly Office; the latter, to exalt the Pope's Universal Supremacy, so depress'd the Office of Bishops, as to make them only the Pope's Delegates. Which (saith he) was so well observ'd at Trent, that the Establishing the Episcopal Jurisdiction as of divine Right, was apprehended as one of the fatalest Blows that could be given to the Papacy. And therefore he seems to impute this Decision in (the two Papers fore-mention'd) to their not having duly consider'd these Matters, and regards it as a Part of the Dregs of Popery, flowing from the Belief of Transubstantiation, and the Pope's Supremacy, of which all the Consequences were not so early observ'd. [See Abridgment of the History of the Reformation, pag. 207. And the History it self, Part I. pag. 366.]

Now tho' I pay a great Deference to the Judgment of that learned Writer, yet I can by no means acquiesce in the Truth or Justice of this Remark; and think it not a little injurious to the Memory of those excellent Instruments of the Reformation, by whom those two Papers were drawn up. And this being a Matter of Fact, the Author should have produc'd some Vouchers for it, if he had expected our Assent to it.

Since those learned Divines expressly declare, That they founded their Doctrine concerning PRIESTS and BISHOPS being the same Order and Office, on the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, I see no reason why the Historian should suppose them sway'd therein, by any Authority of the School-men and Canonists, of whose Opinion they take not the least Notice.

As for the School-men, they themselves generally founded their Opinion (concerning the Office of Bishops and Priests being the same) on the Authority of St. Jerome and other Fathers; who found theirs on such Passages of the New Testament as are mention'd in my Sermon. And whatever extravagant Thoughts any of the School-men might entertain concerning the Priests Miracle-Working Power in the Business of Transubstantiation; yet their Argument in general was very solid and good, That those who had Power to preach the Word, and dispense the Sacraments, had much more a Power to rule the Churches they taught. The Apostle Paul himself supposes it to be a more honourable Part of the Pastoral Office, to labour in Word and Doctrine, than to rule well. And this learned Author was once of the same Mind, when he saith, (Confer. pag. 310.) "As for the Notion of the distinct Office of Bishop and Presbyter, I confess it is not so clear to me. And therefore since I look upon the sacramental Actions as the highest of sacred Performances, I cannot but acknowledge those that are empower'd for them, must be of the highest

* In the Year 1537, or 1538. † 1 Tim. v. 7.

" Office in the Church. So I do not alledge a Bishop to be a distinct Office from a Presbyter, but a different Degree in the same Office; to whom, for Order and Unity's Sake, the chief Inspection and Care of Ecclesiastical Affairs ought to be referr'd, &c. And I the more willingly incline to believe Bishops and Presbyters to be the same Office, since the Names of Bishop and Presbyter are used for the same Thing in Scripture; and are also used promiscuously by the Writers of the two first Centuries. See also Page 331.

And for the Canonists, I cannot imagine why this Historian should suppose, That these Divines who had actually rejected the Pope's Authority, should be led to this Determination concerning the Identity of the scriptural Bishop and Presbyter, by any regard to the Authority of the Canonists. I rather take the Canonists themselves to have been sway'd by the Authority of St. Jerome. And least of all do I understand why the Declaration of the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as of divine Right, could have been a more fatal Blow to the Papacy at the Council of Trent, than the Declaration of Bishops and Presbyters being the same Office according to Scripture, would have been. 'Tis true, indeed, the Roman Bishops might be more afraid of the former in that Council, because there was more Danger of such a Decision being carry'd by the major Vote of the Bishops, who might be suppos'd very willing to magnify their own Office, and to get themselves more free from the Servitude they had long been in to the Papal Authority. But the Determination of the latter, (had it been practicable in such a Council of Bishops) would have struck more deeply at the Root of all the Papal Pretensions; and more clearly shewn the monstrous Absurdity and Arrogance of any one Man's claiming an universal Government over the Catholick Church, who could, by divine Right, claim no more than the Government of a particular one. Whereas the Episcopal Government of an Imperial City (in the modern Sense) was at least a much fairer Step towards the Government of the universal Church, or at least over the Church within the Bounds of the Roman Empire.

Nay, I hope this excellent Historian was no way influenc'd in his Judgment by either the School-men or the Canonists, when he formerly so freely acknowledg'd Bishop and Presbyter to be one and the same Office, and asserted, " Presbyters to be equal Sharers with the Bishops in all that is of divine Right in the Ministry. [See Vindication of the Church of Scotland, pag. 331, 310.] And therefore to represent this Opinion, as flowing from the Dregs of Popery, seems highly groundless and unreasonable. And for Mr. Drury's parallel Assertion, of Presbytery rather than Episcopacy being a Relict of Popery. (See Disc. pag. 48.) I take it to be no better than a notorious Mistake. If Mr. Drury will stand to this Argument as a Test of the Matter in dispute, it will, I think, come to a short and easy Issue. For though I know the Council of Trent have not in so many Words declared the Episcopal Jurisdiction to be of divine Right, (which many of the Bishops would have been at:) yet for my Part, I cannot but see that their Decisions are tantamount to it. For that Council declares, " That besides other Ecclesiastical Degrees, Bishops who succeed in the Place of the Apostles, do belong to the sacred Order of the Hierarchy, and are plac'd, as the Apostle Paul saith, by the Holy Ghost, to govern the Church of God, and are superior to Presbyters; that they may confer the Sacrament of Confirmation, ordain the Ministers of the Church, and do several other Things, which others of an inferior Order have no Power to perform. * And among the Canons of that Session, the 6th and 7th run thus.

Canon 6. " If any Man shall say, That there is not a divine Hierarchy in the Church appointed by di-

vine Ordination, consisting of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons; let him be Anathema.

Canon 7. " If any Man shall say, That Bishops are not superior to Presbyters, and have not the Power of Confirming and Ordaining; or that the Power they have therein, is common with them to Presbyters; let him be Anathema.

Now if any Man compare these Assertions together, he must have a very nicely subtle Head that can distinguish between Bishops as a distinct Order from Presbyters, being a Part of that Hierarchy in the Church that is appointed by divine Ordination; and the Episcopal Jurisdiction being of divine Right. Nay, Mr. Drury may see, that not only the grand Assertion of his Discourse, viz. That of Bishops being by divine Ordination a distinct Order from Presbyters, is established by the Authority of this Council; but the Foundation of it, viz. The Bishops succeeding in the Place of the Apostles. So that if he had ever consider'd the Decisions of that Council, he would never have advanc'd such an incredible Proposition as that of Presbytery, rather than Episcopacy, being a Relict of Popery. I may, indeed, be afraid of the Anathema's of that Council for my Sermon, if I were not shielded by that divine Sentence; As the Bird by wandring, as the Swallow by flying, so the Curse causeless shall not come †: But Mr. Drury is in no danger of it by his Discourse; that entirely conspires herein with the Sentiments of that Council. I own, indeed, that the Romish Bishops have been of late Ages as desirous to engross all Power in the universal Church into their single Hands, as Diocesan Bishops within the Bounds of their narrower Districts. And the Credit and Interest the Roman Popes had gradually got, as the Bishops of that Imperial City, was the first Step towards that arrogant Claim. But the Foundation of this exorbitant Power of the Popes, is entirely sapp'd and subverted, if once the Office of Bishop and Presbyter be declar'd to be the same, according to the Holy Scripture. Nay, I may here justly add, that Mr. Drury's Assertion, viz. That the Episcopal Office is the same with the Apostolical, and the Bishops are the Successors of the Apostles, in the Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power, is one Part of that sandy Foundation that the Papal Supremacy is built upon. For the Apostle Peter is first supposed by them to fix his Episcopal See at Rome, and then his Successors in that See are supposed to be entitled thereby to all his Apostolical Power: And then there needs but one Step more, viz. to make Peter Prince of the Apostles, and the Pope his Successor therein; and then you have this pretended Monarch of the Christian World set up in his Throne, and made the Head of the Catholick Church.

And therefore the learned Dr. Barrow, in his admirable Treatise against the Papal Supremacy, (publish'd by the late Archbishop Tillotson, with an high but just Encomium) saw himself oblig'd to over-turn this rotten Foundation of it, by shewing, || " That the Apostolical Office, as such, was Personal and Temporary; and therefore according to its Nature and Design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual Descendance from them. That it was as such in all Respects extraordinary, design'd for special Purposes, discharg'd by special Aids, endow'd with special Privileges, as was needful for the Propagation of Christianity, and Founding of Churches.

And this he fully proves, by several Arguments that entirely overthrow Mr. Drury's Notion, which he imagines to be plain, viz. " That the Apostolical Office was what we now call Episcopal, and the Episcopal Apostolical **. Of which I may have occasion to take Notice in the Close of these Papers. Nay, since Mr. Drury asserts a Bishop to be " a Bishop of the whole Church; and that the Limitation of his Power to a particular District, is only owing to Compact and Agreement ††; I hope he will allow the

* See Concil. Trid. Sess. 23. † Prov. xxvi. 2. || See his Works, in Folio, Vol. I. Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, pag. 77. ** Discourse, p. 15. †† Ibid.

Roman Bishop all that he claims by the *Compact* and *Agreement* of the *Popish Churches*: And that is a good Step towards his *Supremacy* in these *Western Churches*. And let the Reader then judge, whether his Principles, or those laid down in the Sermon, have a more favourable Aspect on the *Papal Pretensions*, or bear a nearer Alliance to the known Doctrine of the *Romish Church*, as declar'd in the Council of *Trent*?

From the Reign of *Henry VIII.* let us pass to that of *Edward VI.* and we shall find in the first Year thereof an Act of Parliament pass'd, "affirming all Authority of Jurisdiction Spiritual [I suppose it is to be understood of that exercis'd by Bishops in their Spiritual Courts, not of that which the Papers forementioned assert, to be committed by Christ to Priests or Bishops] "to be deriv'd and deducted from the King's Majesty, as supreme Head of those Churches of *England* and *Ireland*". On which *Dr. Heylin* makes this observable Remark: * "That the Design of this Law was to weaken the Authority of the Episcopal Order, by forcing them from their strong Hold of divine Institution, and making them no more than the King's Ministers, his Ecclesiastical Sheriffs, as a Man may say, to execute his Will, and disperse his Mandates."

In this Reign, we are told by *Dr. Stillingfleet*, in his *Irenicum* †, There was a select Assembly called by the King's special Order, at *Windsor Castle*, where met these following Persons, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edward* Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, *Robert* Bishop of *Carlisle*, *Dr. George Day*, *Dr. Thomas Robertson*, *Dr. J. Redmaine*, *Dr. Edward Leighton*, *Dr. Symon Matthew*, *Dr. William Tresham*, *Dr. Richard Cozen*, *Dr. Edgworth*, *Dr. Owen Oglethorpe*, *Dr. Thyrleby*. And among other Questions propos'd to them, to which they severally gave in their Answers, the 10th Question was, *Whether Bishops or Priests were first? And if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop?* To this Question Archbishop *Cranmer's* Answer was in these Words: *The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were not two Things, but one Office in the beginning of Christ's Religion.* And we are told by the same Author, "That the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *Thyrleby*, and *Cox*, were all of the same Opinion with the Archbishop, That at first Bishops and Priests were the same ||. Thus (saith he) we see by the Testimony chiefly of him who was instrumental in our Reformation, that he own'd not Episcopacy as a distinct Order from Presbytery, of divine Right; but only as a prudent Constitution of the Civil Magistrate, for the better Governing in the Church **.

This Paper I find is printed at large, in *Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation*, Part I. Call. 201. How he comes to bring it among the Collections of the former Reign, I confess I do not understand: But he may here see, that these Divines founded their Opinion not on the *School-men* and *Canonists*, but on the Bible and the known Judgment of *St. Jerome*.

If we go on to *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, we find Bishop *Alley* approving *St. Jerome's* Opinion, concerning the scriptural Bishop and Presbyter being the same in Office, as well as Name. See *Poor Man's Library*, Tom. 1. Pag. 95, 96. and Tom. 2. Pag. 16. See also Bishop *Pilkington's* Judgment, *Healing Attempt*, pag. 16.

But I shall content my self with producing the Sentiments of those two excellent Writers of that Reign, Bishop *Juell*, and *Dr. Willet*.

Bishop *Juell's* *Apology for the Church of England*, and the Defence of it, is one of the most valuable Productions of that Age and Reign; and met with so general Approbation and Applause, that I know not of any Book from which we may form a truer Judgment of what was then the current Doctrine of the *English Church*.

I shall not insist on all the Passages of his *Apology*, in which he asserts, That there is but one only Key, one only Power of Opening and Shutting, Absolution and Excommunication, given to all Ministers. See *Apol.* Part II. Chap. 5. Div. 1. Chap. 6. Div. 1, 3. Chap. 7. Div. 5. I shall rather take Notice of two Passages in the Defence of his *Apology*, against *Harding*, (his *Popish Antagonist*) that are clear and decisive.

"In *St. Jerome's* Time (saith the Bishop's Defence, Part II. Chap. 3. Div. 5.) there were *Metropolitans*, *Arch-Bishops*, *Arch-Deacons*, and others: But Christ appointed not these Distinctions of Orders from the Beginning. These Names are not found in all the Scriptures. This is the Thing which we defend. *St. Jerome* saith, *Sciant Episcopi*, &c. Let Bishops know, that they are in Authority over Priests more by Custom, than by Order of God's Truth. *Erasmus* speaking of the Times of *St. Jerome*, saith, that, *Id temporis idem erat Episcopus, Sacerdos, Presbyter*: These three, Bishop, Priest, and Presbyter, were at that time all one. And to the Testimony of *St. Jerome*, Bishop *Juell* adds that of *St. Austin*: That the Office of a Bishop is above the Office of a Priest, not by Authority of Scriptures, but after the Names of Honour which the Custom of the Church has now obtain'd.

Again, *Harding* having alledg'd against the Protestants to shew the Danger of rejecting unwritten Traditions, That they were taken for Hereticks that deny'd the Distinction of a Bishop and a Priest, &c.

Bishop *Juell* thus replies.

"This is an Untruth. For hereby both *St. Paul* and *St. Jerome*, and other good Men, are condemned of Heresy. But what meant *Harding* here to come in with the Difference of Bishops and Priests? Thinketh he, that Bishops and Priests hold only by Tradition? Or is it so horrible an Heresy as he makes it, to say, That by the Scriptures of God, a Bishop and Priest are all one? Or knoweth he how far, and to whom he reaches the Name of Heretick? Verily *Chrysostom* saith, Between a Bishop and a Priest, in a Manner, there is no Difference. *St. Jerome* saith somewhat in a rougher sort, I hear say there is one become so peevish, that he sets Deacons before Priests; that is to say, before Bishops. Whereas the Apostle plainly teaches, that Bishops and Priests are all one. *St. Austin* saith, What is a Bishop but the first Priest, that is to say, the highest Priest?

"So saith *St. Ambrose*, There is but one Ordination of Priest and Bishop. For both of them are Priests, but the Bishop is the first. All these and other holy Fathers, for thus saying, by *Mr. Harding's* Advice, must be held for Hereticks.

The other Writer I propos'd to mention is *Dr. Willet*, whom Bishop *Hall* mentions among those Worthies of the Church of *England*, to whom he gives that Elogy, *Stupor Mundi Clerus Britannicus*. He, in his *Synopsis Papismi*, (Contr. 5. Quest. 3.) considers this Question; "Whether the Difference between Bishops and other Ministers be grounded on the Law of God, and Institution of the Apostles? And he thus states the Resolution on each Side.

P A P I S T S.

Bellarmino affirmeth, "That the Jurisdiction of Bishops, as it now stands in the Church, and the Difference between them and other Presbyters is, *Jure Divino*, grounded on the Law of God, and of such Necessity, that he holds the contrary to be Heresy, and those to be Hereticks that hold this Difference to arise rather of a politic Constitution of the Church to avoid Schism, than of the Institution of the Apostles. Yea, they hold them to be no Churches at all that are not under the Government of Bishops, but of

* *Hist. Edw. VI.* p. 51. † *Iren. Part 2. ch. 8. p. 386*, &c.

** See *Stillingfleet Irenic. Part 2. ch. 8. p. 393*.

|| And the two latter expressly cite the Opinion of *St. Jerome* with Approbation.

" other

" other Overseers and Superintendants. Surely I see
" not (saith *Espenceus*) how there can be any Church
" where there is no Bishop.

[By the way, we may see from whom the *Dodwells*,
the *Lesleys*, the *Bisses*, and other Authors of that
Stamp, borrow their uncharitable Sentiments and Lan-
guage.]

But Dr. *Willet* thus answers in the Name of Pro-
testants.

PROTESTANTS.

" OF the Difference between Bishops and Priests, there
" are three Opinions; That of *Aerius*, who did hold,
" That all Ministers should be equal; and that a Bishop
" neither was, nor ought to be superior to a Priest, &c.
" The Second is that of the *Papists*, as we have seen,
" That not only would have a Difference, but a Princely
" Pre-eminence of their Bishops over the Clergy, and
" that by the Word of God. The Third Opinion is
" between both, That although this Distinction of Bi-
" shops and Priests, as 'tis now receiv'd, cannot be
" directly prov'd out of Scripture, yet it is good for
" the Policy of the Church to avoid Schism, and pre-
" serve it in Unity. Of this Judgment Bishop *Juell*
" against *Harding*, sheweth both *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*,
" and *Jerome* to have been. And mentioning that
" Passage of *Austin*, That according to the Names of
" Honour which Use and Custom hath obtained, a
" Bishop is greater than a Priest, he adds, so that
" *Augustin* himself, who was no *Aerian*, doth ground
" this Distinction rather on antient Custom than on
" the Scripture.

Again, p. 275. He produces several Arguments in
Confirmation of St. *Jerome's* Opinion and his own.
The Second is this, " Archbishops and Primates have
" the same Right of Jurisdiction over other Bishops,
" which Bishops have over simple Priests. But their
" Authority and Jurisdiction is rather grounded on
" the antient Custom of the Church, than any *Apostolical*
" *Injunction* or *Institution* in Scripture. His fourth
" Argument is, If the Distinction of Bishops and
" Priests were by the Commandment and Institution
" of Christ and his Apostles, it should necessarily be
" enjoined to all Churches. But this cannot, with-
" out Prejudice of many Reformed Churches, be affir-
" med, which have no Bishops, tho' they have other
" Overseers in their Stead.—Wherefore I cannot
" conclude, That this special Form of Ecclesiastical
" Government is absolutely prescribed in the Word.
" For then all those Churches which have not that
" prescript Form, whether of Bishops or others, should
" be condemned as erroneous Churches. So then
" here is a Difference between our Adversaries the
" *Papists*, and Us. They say, 'Tis of absolute Necessi-
" ty to Salvation to be subject to the Pope, and to
" the Bishops and Archbishops under him, as neces-
" sarily prescribed in the Word: But so do not our
" Bishops and Archbishops, which is a notable Dif-
" ference between the Bishops of the Popish Church,
" and of the Reformed Churches.

And in the Sequel of his Discourse, he affirms the
Bishops Powers of Confirmation, Ordination, Jurisdic-
tion, giving License to Presbyters to preach, to belong only
to Ecclesiastical Policy, as that is distinguish'd from *Apo-*
stolical Institution.

To this I may add, That Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, in the 8th
Chapter of his *Irenicum*, Part II. has fully prov'd,
That Archbishop *Whitgift* himself, who first solemnly
appear'd in Defence of the English Hierarchy, does
yet frequently assert, That no Form of Church Govern-
ment is by the Scriptures prescribed to, or commanded the
Church of God. And this he shews was the Judgment
of Dr. *Cofins*, Dr. *Low*, Bishop *Bridges*: And he shews
this to have been the Judgment of King *James*, Dr.
Suttcliff, Dr. *Crakanthorp*, &c. Now all these Writers
do hereby disclaim that divine Right of Bishops as a su-
perior Order to Presbyters, that my Answerers plead for.

VOL. II.

Bishop *Morton*, in his *Apol. Cath.* tells the *Papists*,
" That Power of Order and Jurisdiction which they
" ascribe to Bishops, doth, *de Jure Divino*, belong to
" all other Presbyters, and particularly, that to or-
" dain is their antient Right. Dr. *Whitaker*, that
learned Defender of the Protestant Cause, making his
Remarks on St. *Jerome's* telling us, That the Diffe-
rence between Bishops and Presbyters was brought in
by Men long after the Apostles, as a Remedy against
Schism, saith, That it's a Remedy almost worse than the
Malady, for it begat and brought in the Pope with his Mo-
narchy into the Church. [See *Whitaker* de Eccl. Regitti.
Contr. 4. Q. 1. Sect. 29. p. 540. Col. 2.]

I shall only add, That Dr. *Lawrence Humphrey*, and
Dr. *Holland*, both of them Doctors of the Chair at
Oxford, maintain'd the Doctrine of the scriptural Bishop
and Presbyter being the same. For the Judgment of the
Former, see *Humphrey* against *Campion* the Jesuite,
Part II. pag. 273. The Latter delivering the same
Doctrine in the A.D. July 9th, 1608, concluded the con-
trary Opinion to be most false against the Scriptures, the
Fathers, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.
And he was so offended with Dr. *Laud* for his asserting
in his Disputation for his Degrees, That Episcopacy as
a distinct Order from Presbytery was of divine and necessary
Right, that he told him, He was a Schismatick, and went
about to make a Division between the English and other Re-
formed Churches.

And to all these I may add, the Judgment of the
learned Archbishop *Usher*, who took not Episcopacy to
be a distinct Order from Presbytery, but only a Su-
periority of Degree in the same Order. And who
therefore justly concluded *Ordinis est Ordinare*. [See the
Judgment of Archbishop *Usher* in several Points, &c. pub-
lished by Dr. *Bernard*.] And a great Number of such
as own and favour Episcopacy, concur with that excel-
lent Person in this Opinion.

I have been the more large in collecting these Te-
stimonies, not as any Arguments to decide the Matter
in Debate, but to satisfy all unprejudic'd Persons of
the Establish'd Church, that the Doctrine asserted in
that Sermon, concerning the scriptural Bishop and Elder
being the same, is every way agreeable to the Judgment
of those that had the greatest Hand in the English Re-
formation it self, and were the most early and eminent
Defenders of it.

And had my Answerers been as conversant in the
Writings of these excellent Divines of the Established
Church, as might have been expected from Persons
so forward to engage in this Controversy, I believe
they would have forbore to charge me so rashly with
assaulting their Church, and the Order of their Bishops, with
flying in the Face of my Superiors and the Laws, (as Mr.
Drury speaks) and with opposing the Constitution of the E-
stablish'd Church (as Mr. *French* expresses it.) And all
this for maintaining a Doctrine wherein I have the en-
tire Consent and Concurrence of some of the brightest
Lights that ever shone in the Orb of the English Church,
and who themselves submitted to Diocesan Episcopacy as
an human Constitution. I might with more Reason charge
those Gentlemen with flying in the Face of these emi-
nent Reformers. My Sermon is no way concern'd with
Episcopacy as 'tis any Part of our legal Constitution, or
with the Laws that establish it, or with that spiritual
Jurisdiction which our Laws suppose the Bishops to de-
rive from the Crown, but my Answerers from the Apo-
stles. It only opposes the late Pretence of a necessary
divine Right; and I am satisfy'd that those are none of
the best Friends to Episcopacy that set it on so uncer-
tain and precarious a Basis. 'Tis manifest that such
later Defenders of Episcopacy that go this way, have
receded herein from the Sentiments of their more
learned as well as more moderate Predecessors. And I
think this new Claim of such a divine unalterable Right
the more dangerous, because it so naturally leads the
Patrons of it to entertain uncharitable Thoughts of so
many of the Reformed Churches abroad, and renders
them so averse to all Thoughts of any desirable com-
prehensive

prehensive Union with their Brethren at home. And on both these Accounts, I take the Defence of the contrary Assertion to be both a *needful* and *seasonable* Attempt, and no way unsuitable to the Character or Design of a Peace-maker.

Having given this Account of the Publication of the Sermon, I shall now proceed to vindicate my self from those Reflections which my two *Answerers* (but especially Mr. Drury) have made on my *Temper* in the Management of it; which I take to be groundless and highly injurious. What end they had in making them, is best known to themselves: But I hope all reasonable Persons will allow me to defend my own Reputation, when 'tis so unjustly attack'd.

I shall no longer insist on Mr. Drury's invidious Suggestion, that I have taken the Sermon out of *Smechynus* and the *Jus divinum Ministerii Anglicani*, (See *Disc.* pag. 1.) and the like Insinuation of Mr. French's, than to tell these Gentlemen that they are so unfortunate in their Conjectures, that I never in my Life saw the former of those Books, nor any Book intitled, *Jus divinum Ministerii Anglicani*; nor have I seen *Jus divinum Ministerii Evangelici* above this twenty Years. I had no occasion to go any further for Arguments than the Bible.

But the main Charge is drawn up by Mr. Drury, thus: "Mr. Boyse promised in the Preface to his first Volume of Sermons, to manage the Controversy with that Clearness and Temper that are the genuine Characters of the *Wisdom that is from above*, which is first pure, and then peaceable; but I leave it to the Christian Reader to judge how he has observ'd those Characters, either in his Sermon, or in that very Preface where he made so Christian a Profession. If he had kept to his Preface, we should not have had so many undecent Reflections on Bishops and their Order; Nay, on All who profess themselves Members of the Establish'd Communion. We should not then have had our Bishops branded with the odious Names of *Sine-cures*, nor our Bishops marked out as *unscriptural* and *scandalous Non-Residents*. We should not then have had him insinuate, that our Religion is corrupt for retaining and justifying that Form of Church-Government; nor its Members term'd *degenerate Protestants*, and *Enemies to the Reformed Religion*. This seems to be no less than an uncharitable Condemning of all the Churches in the World, for 1500 Years after Christ, of Degeneracy and Corruption; and an Exclusion of all who are not of their own Perswasion, from that Purity that is necessary to every good Christian. And I leave it once more to the World to judge, whether this be not far from that *Modesty* and *peaceable Temper* which Mr. Boyse boasts of? Or whether it can ever agree with those genuine Characters of *Heavenly Wisdom*, which he has laid down in his Preface as a Rule to walk by?

Answ. Here is a heavy Charge indeed, if it had any thing of Truth in it: But if all that is ill in it, is entirely drawn from Mr. Drury's *Imagination*, or rather *Invention*; and not from any thing I have said, either in that particular Sermon, or in the Preface; he must consider whether the Charge will not recoil, and bear harder upon the Reputation of his own *Sincerity* and *Truth*, &c. than on the *peaceable Temper* which I have always professed, and shall ever, by the Grace of God, endeavour to maintain? And I do not despair, by what follows, to convince all unprejudiced Persons, even Mr. Drury himself, how egregiously he has wrong'd me in the greatest part of it.

I had in my Entrance on the Consideration of the Office of a Scriptural Bishop, said, "That if the Bishoprick which the Apostle speaks of, be the same Thing that too many apprehend it to be, who most vehemently aspire to it, viz. A grand and pompous

Sine-cure; a Domination over all the Churches and Ministers in a large District, managed by others as his Delegates, but requiring little Labour of a Man's own; and all this supported by large Revenues, and attended with considerable secular Honours; I should despair of being able to vindicate the Truth of the Apostle's Saying.

Upon this Passage Mr. Drury breaks out into this warm Expostulation: "Whoever entertain'd this Notion of Episcopacy? And I desire the Reader to judge, whether this be not a Taxing our Church with what it was never guilty of? And again, in the same Page: "I cannot see what Design Mr. Boyse could have in telling the World, this is the Notion of a Bishoprick, that they entertain of it, who most vehemently aspire to it, unless it was to abuse his Auditory and Readers, and give them wrong Notions of our Constitution, in order to keep up the Division among them. Just such another Out-cry against the Church as *Popery* and *Superstition*, &c.

Answ. I must here take the Liberty of inverting Mr. Drury's Questions. For the Latter of them; "Whether this be not a Taxing our Church with what it was never guilty of? And a giving wrong Notions of our Constitution? I would desire Mr. Drury to shew me what there is in the Passage fore-mentioned, that has any particular Reference to the *Establish'd Church*, or its Constitution at all? And consequently, what ground he has for this invidious Reflection, which is so contrary to what he may find suggested in the Sermon it self? For 'tis so far from being my Opinion, that by the Constitution of the Establish'd Church, a Bishoprick is a *meer Sine-cure*; that on the contrary, he will find in the Sermon it self, that if I had design'd to urge any Objection against the Diocesan Form of Church-Government, it would have been, that by confining the Power of Excommunication as well as Confirmation (if by the latter be understood the Admission of Persons to the State and Privilege of adult Members of the Church) for an whole Diocese to one Bishop, it obliges him to far greater Work, than what is, in my Opinion, possible for one Man to perform for so many Churches, as most of our Diocesses contain. See *Serm.* pag. 415, 416, 437.

And I am so far from giving this as a Notion of Episcopacy, owned by those of the Establish'd Church; that I take it for granted, it must be disown'd on all sides, as absolutely inconsistent with the Truth of the Apostle's Saying. Nay, 'tis a Notion of Episcopacy, that those will be asham'd to own, who yet really entertain it. All must acknowledge, that what the Apostle supposes to be a *laborious Work*, can never be a *Sine-cure*. And all must own, that our Blessed Saviour had forbidden all Domination to his Apostles themselves (whether we understand by it a coercive Power, like that of secular Princes; or, as Dr. Whitby, an imperious Dictatorship.) And all either do, or should own, that the Work of a Bishop requires personal Abilities and personal Attendance; and is not to be turned over to Delegates and Deputies. 'Tis a just Observation of the Lord Bacon †, "That in all Laws in the World, Offices of Confidence and Skill cannot be put over, or exercised by a Deputy; except it be contained in the Original Grant. Never did any Chancellor of England, or Judge of any Court, make a Deputy, &c. And this he justly supposes to be the Case with respect to the Bishop's Office. And accordingly Bishop Bedel, in his Defence, truly observes, "Tis one of the most essential Parts of a Bishop's Duty to govern his Flock, and to inflict spiritual Censures on obstinate Offenders. And a Bishop can no more delegate this Power to a Layman, than he can delegate a Power to Baptize or Ordain, &c. And to be sure, Temporal Honours and Revenues are no Ingredients in the Office, whatever Temptations they may be to

* *Lifcourse*, pag. 2.

† Consideration for the better establishing the Church of England, pag. 10.

desire it. Mr. Drury therefore has no shadow of Reason to put so malicious a Construction on these innocent Expressions, as if they branded our *Bishopricks* with the odious Name of *Sine-cures*.

But then for his other *Question*: "Who ever entertained such a Notion of Episcopacy? I have a short and plain Answer to give him, viz. All Clergymen of worldly and ambitious Minds, that court the Episcopal Office only with an Eye to the Dignity and secular Advantages that attend it; and with no other Design than to turn it into a *pompous Sine-cure* and *Domination*, without ever proposing to themselves a Life of *Self-denying Labour* and *Service* in the Discharge of it. And can Mr. Drury be such an utter Stranger to Church History, as to think there have not been too many Candidates of the Episcopal Office of this Stamp and Character, since Diocesan Episcopacy came to its present Height, and especially since great Honours and Revenues have render'd it so powerful a Temptation and Bait to Men of worldly Minds? Has Mr. Drury never heard of the early bitter Complaints and passionate Wishes of Gregory Nazianzen? Or of the feverer Exclamations of Isidore Pelusiot? Or of those of Bede, Bernard, or the later ones of Alvarez Pelag. Nich. Clemangis, and of many others in the Roman Church itself, that had any serious Sense of Religion left? Had not too many courted a Bishoprick rather as a *lazy Sine-cure* and *proud Domination*, than an *humble* and *laborious Ministry*; would the chief Bishopricks in the Christian World have been so often the Scene of the most violent and furious Contests, that fill'd the Streets and Churches with Blood? Would the eager Competitors for the See of Rome in particular, have so often involved so many Kingdoms in tedious Wars, for the Support of their several Pretensions? Would there have needed so many *Canons* to forbid Men's ascending to the Episcopal Dignity by *Simony*, and other scandalous Arts? Or so many grievous Complaints of Bishopricks being conferred without any Regard to *Merit*? And of those that obtain'd them, neglecting all the proper Duties of their Charge, while they consumed the Revenues annexed to them in Luxury and Sensuality? And does he not think, that such ambitious Candidates formed such a false Notion of Episcopacy in their Minds, when they so vehemently aspir'd to it? And was it not very reasonable, for any one that had these notorious Matters of Fact in his View, when he was to describe the Bishop's Office, as a *good Work*, to discard this false Idea of it? Or can this be just Matter of Offence, to any that are conscious to themselves, that they undertake the Office as a *difficult Work*, not a *lazy Sine-cure*; as an *humble Ministry*, not a *proud Domination*; with a Design of personally discharging the several Obligations of it, without turning them off to others as their *Deputies*? And if any enter upon it with other Views and Designs, I hope Mr. Drury will not attempt to extenuate their heinous Guilt, and much less to defend it. My Expressions can therefore be displeasing to none but the truly Guilty: And Mr. Drury has little consulted the Honour of the Establish'd Church, by such an invidious Insinuation, as if they were levell'd against its *Constitution*, for which my Words have given him no just Ground.

The next Branch of Mr. Drury's Charge is, "That I have marked out the *Bishops* of the Establish'd Church, as unscriptural and *scandalous Non-Residents*."

Ans. That I do suppose our *Diocesan Bishops* not to be those mentioned in Scripture, is true indeed. Nor do I find after all, that Mr. Drury himself thinks them to be so, when he supposes them rather to be the *Successors* of the *Apostles*, in what he calls the *Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power*, which was manifestly superior to that of the *Bishops*, mentioned in the New

Testament. So that he himself makes them rather *Scriptural Apostles*, than *Scriptural Bishops*.

But I wonder with what Face Mr. Drury can pretend, That I mark out the *Bishops* of the Establish'd Church, as *scandalous Non-Residents*. For his Words plainly imply, that I bring this as a general Charge against them.

To shew him, how unjust an Imputation this is, I need only repeat the Passage in the Sermon on which 'tis founded.

In arguing against Dr. Hammond's Notion, That the Elders of the Church, for whom St. Paul sent, from Ephesus to Miletus, were not any *Diocesan Bishops* of Asia, I suggested, "That the Apostle's haste in going to Jerusalem, would not permit his sending to all the Parts of Asia to gather together so many Bishops, in the modern Sense, to meet him at Miletus, unless we suppose them to have been *scandalous Non-Residents*; and to have learned the modern Practice of spending the greatest part of their Time out of their own Dioceses, and at a Distance from their pretended Charge."

Now I would ask Mr. Drury, how can any of the *Bishops* of the Establish'd Church think themselves concern'd in this, that are no way guilty of any such Practice, as that of spending the greatest Part of their Time out of their own Dioceses? Or how can my calling it a *modern Practice* be reasonably construed as a Charging the whole Body of our *Bishops* with it? I believe few of them will give him Thanks for so groundless an Insinuation. But if Mr. Drury had been as well vers'd in Ecclesiastical History as he pretends, he might have readily understood, That I call this a *modern Practice*, in Opposition to that of the *ancient Churches*, among whom (as Dr. Barrow observes *) it was scarce known, and who made strict Canons to forbid any Practices that were a-kin to it. But does not Mr. Drury know, that in these later and degenerate Ages, the Practice was become so very common, as to occasion the loud Complaints of all Europe against it? He need only turn his Eyes upon the History of the Council of Trent, and he'll there find, that that Council itself (as bad as they were) thought this Practice to be a great Scandal and Reproach to the Church; and therefore set themselves to reform it, by endeavouring to have it declar'd, That *Residence was of divine Right*. But though these Endeavours were eluded by the Artifices of the Court of Rome, because such a Declaration would have struck at the gainful Trade of Papal Dispensations; yet that Council itself declares, † That the Duties of the Pastoral Office could not be perform'd by such, as instead of watching over the Flocks, did, like Mercenaries, desert them; and therefore condemns the Practice itself.

In short, either Mr. Drury thinks it no scandalous Thing for a Bishop to spend the greatest part of his Time at a Distance from his Charge, or he does not? If he do not, he is an utter Stranger to the Bishop's Office, as described by the Apostle; and may learn truer Notions of it from that degenerate Council itself. If he do, Why should he blame me for representing it as a *scandalous Fault*. I am sure I have neither spoken of it in so aggravating Terms, nor made any such particular Application of it to the Clergy of the Establish'd Church, as the excellent Author of the *History of the Reformation* (that was printed at the Desire of the Commons of England.) For he in his Preface to his 2d Part of that History, having told us, "That our Ecclesiastical Courts are not in the Hands of the *Bishops* and their Clergy, but put over to the *Civilians*, where often Fees are more strictly look'd after than the Correction of Manners, &c. He adds, "That besides this, there are a great many other *Abuses* brought in, in the worst of Times, and purged out of some of the Churches of the Roman Commu-

* Dr. Barrow against the Pope's Supr. pag. 84. † Conc. Trid. 6 Decr. de Reform. c. 1. and Sess. 23. Decr. de Reform. c. 1.

"nion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us; such as *Pluralities*, *Non-Residence*, and other Things of that Nature. So that it may be said, some of the manifest Corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the Advantages that accompany them, are not yet thoroughly purged out, notwithstanding all the Noise we have made about *Reformation* in Matters much more disputable, and of far less Consequence. And again, If Men had a just Notion of this holy Function, and a right Sense of it before they were initiated into it, those scandalous Abuses of *Plurality of Benefices with Cure*, *Non-Residencies*, and the *Hiring out that sacred Trust to pitiful Mercenaries at the cheapest Rates*, would soon fall off. These are Things of so crying a Nature, that no wonder if the Wrath of God is ready to break out against us". And had this particular Crime been entirely reformed since, we should have had no Occasion for the late *Regal Visitations*. But I perceive this Gentleman's Head is so full of the Danger of the Church, that if any *Faults* be mentioned that any of the Clergy are guilty of, he presently imagines their *Ecclesiastical Constitution* struck at.

And for Mr. French, I must advise him to read more carefully what he pretends to answer, and then he would never have run into so gross a Mistake, as to imagine, that I think a Bishop's *short Absence* from his Charge, upon *important and necessary Occasions*, to be *scandalous Non-Residence*; when I have so expressly explain'd it, of a *Man's spending the greatest Part of his Time at a Distance from his Charge*.

The last and severest Part of Mr. Drury's Charge is, "That I insinuate, that the Religion of the Establish'd Church is *corrupt*, for retaining and justifying that Form of Church-Government; and that I term the Members of it *degenerate Protestants*, and *Enemies to the Reformed Religion*. This (saith he) seems to be no less than an uncharitable condemning of all the Churches in the World, for 1500 Years after Christ, of *Degeneracy and Corruption*; and an Exclusion of all who are not of their own Perswasion, from that Purity that is necessary to every good Christian". And he refers to the *Preface of the first Volume*.

Ans. If Mr. Drury be conscious to himself, that what he here charges me with, can be no way reasonably infer'd from any thing I have said, I leave it to his own Conscience to determine what his Character is. If he thinks it a just Charge, he betrays herein such uncommon Ignorance, as should discourage him from pretending to answer what he does not understand.

And that his disingenuous Treatment may the more fully appear, I shall transcribe, *verbatim*, that Part of the *Preface*, on which he founds his Accusation.

"And for the Principles on which some late degenerate Protestants so uncharitably, as well as groundlessly, confine the Catholick Church, to what they call the Episcopal Communion; they are so manifestly prejudicial to the Reformed Religion, and to the Concord of those Churches that profess it, that I cannot think it unbecoming the Character of a Peace-maker, to expose the Weakness of them. He that would promote the nearest Union of the Reformed Churches, must endeavour to remove these unscriptural Pretensions as one of the greatest Obstacles that lie in the way of it. For my own Part, plain uncorrupted Christianity is my Religion: I have a mental Communion with all Churches whatever, so far as they profess that. But I desire to fix my stated External Communion with such as own it in its greatest Simplicity and Purity; and who add thereto the most comprehensive and Catholick Charity. *The Kingdom of God stands not in Meat and Drink, but in Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these Things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men*, Rom. xiv. 17.

Now I must desire Mr. Drury to tell me where he finds any such Insinuation. "That the Religion of the Establish'd Church is *corrupt* for retaining and justifying the Diocesan Form of Church-Government". If by Religion he understands (as he should in all Reason do) the *Doctrinal Articles* of it, I take the Religion of the Establish'd Church to be the same with my own. And as the Establish'd Church has no where placed the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy among her Articles of Religion; so I could have no Ground to bring any such Charge against her Religion being *corrupt* on that Account. I have indeed said, *That plain uncorrupted Christianity is my Religion*: And I know not what he can make of that more than this, that I account none of those Additions that have, in succeeding Ages, been made to it, to be any Part of my Religion; which I think ought to be wholly founded on *Divine Authority*, not on *Human Traditions*: And if this Gentleman be a Protestant, he ought to be of the same Mind.

But when he adds, "That I term the Members of the Establish'd Church degenerate Protestants, and Enemies to the Reformed Religion"; I think I may safely appeal to every unbiassed Reader, concerning the palpable Injustice of this Charge.

All that I have said is, "That for the Principles on which some late degenerate Protestants so uncharitably, as well as groundlessly, confine the Catholick Church to the Episcopal Communion; they are manifestly prejudicial to the Interest of the Reformed Religion, and to the Concord of those Churches that profess it".

The Principles I refer to are such as these: "That there can be no true Sacraments administered where there is no true Priesthood: That there can be no true Priesthood convey'd without Ordination: That the Power of Ordination belongs to none but Diocesan Bishops; and the Priestly Office (as they affect to call it) can only be convey'd by the Imposition of their Hands: and this Conveyance must be in an uninterrupted Line. And consequently, that all the Reformed Churches which are not under Episcopal Government, are without any true Priesthood or Ministry, and without any true Sacraments; and therefore are left to the uncovenanted Mercy of God. So that the Notion of the Catholick Church cannot extend beyond the Bounds of the Episcopal Communion; and those that are not under Episcopal Government, are excluded from any Relation to it.

Now these are the known and avowed Principles of such late Writers as Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Lesley, the Author of the *Principles of the Cyprianick Age*, and others of the *Non-jurant Clergy*: And these are the degenerate Protestants that my Words refer to. But these Gentlemen are so far from being Members of the Establish'd Church, that they have abetted an open Separation from it: And what their Principles are with respect to our Civil Constitution, the World is fully appriz'd of, by their virulent Reflections on the late happy Revolution.

'Tis indeed true, that these Principles have been imbibed and owned by too many of those that are now within the Pale of the Establish'd Church: And if Mr. Drury will extend the Character of degenerate Protestants to them also, I will freely allow them to be included in it, though the others were chiefly in my Eye.

And had I not just Reason to say, That the Principles of such degenerate Protestants are highly prejudicial to the Interest of the Reformed Religion, when they do, in one Breath, unchurch so many of the Reformed Churches, by declaring them to be destitute of any true Ministry and Sacraments? Was there not just Ground to say, that such Principles are prejudicial to the Concord of the Reformed Churches, when they so manifestly exclude a great Part of them out of the Catholick Church? Has not Father Nery made this very Use of them to prove, that the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches have no Pretence to the Catholick Church; and cited these very Principles as delivered by the late Writers

Writers I mentioned *, to justify this uncharitable Sentence he passes on them? And to requite them for these kind Concessions, he next excludes the Church of England, though Episcopal, from being any Part of the Catholick Church, on the Account of Heresy and Schism.

And since these are apparently the degenerate Protestants that I there intend, with what Conscience can Mr. Drury charge me with undecent Reflections on all who profess themselves Members of the Episcopal Communion, and terming them degenerate Protestants? I am so far from extending this Charge to all of them (as his Expressions imply) that I question whether, 'till Arch-Bishop Laud's Time, any one Divine of considerable Note and Reputation in the Establish'd Church ever entertained or avowed this strange Set of Notions. And I hope there is not one of a thousand among the sober Laity of the Establish'd Church, but what abhor so uncharitable an Opinion as that of the Catholick Church being confined to what these Men call the Episcopal Communion. And though more of the Clergy since Arch-Bishop Laud's Days, have favoured such Schismatical Principles as these (as Dr. Holland justly intimated them to be) yet I would hope the far greater Part of them entertain more judicious and charitable Sentiments. Even the Oxford Doctors themselves, that have so little Charity for their Dissenting Brethren at home, yet disclaim (in their Letter to those of Geneva) "their passing so rigid a Censure on those foreign Churches, that through unavoidable Necessity have been forced to recede from the Episcopal Form of Government". (Though by the way, I think that to be the Case of very few of them; the most of them having made their present Form of Government their free Choice, from the Apprehension of its nearest Conformity to the Word of God. And this was, in particular, the Case of the Church of Geneva, as the Author of the *Strictures* has shewn: So that after all, these Expressions of the Oxford Doctors are but a cold Complement.)

But for the Authors of the Principles forementioned, 'tis manifest by the Testimonies I have already produced, how entirely they have herein receded from the Sentiments of our first English Reformers, who were far from making that Diocesan Frame of Church Government, that our Laws had established, necessary to the very Being of the Catholick Church; and for leaving all the Reformed Churches that set up a different Form to the uncovenanted Mercy of God, as if they were in as hopeless a Condition as Infidels themselves. What Mr. Drury may think of these Principles, I know not: For my own part, I look on them as not only destitute of Truth and Charity, but of common Sense; and must think those to have depraved Notions of the Christian Religion, that entertain them: For they put a Matter of dubious Church Order (about which Men of great Learning and Piety have entertained very different Sentiments) in the Ballance against the Substance and Purity of the Christian Religion it self, and make the Former to out-weigh the Latter. And I cannot but assent to the just Censure that Mons. Claud, in his Excellent Defence of the Reformation, has passed on the Patrons of these Notions †: "To speak my Thoughts freely, it seems to me, that this fierce Opinion of the absolute Necessity of Episcopacy, that goes so high as to own no Church, or Call, or Ministry, or Sacraments, or Salvation in the World, where there are no Episcopal Ordinations, altho' the true Doctrine, the true Faith and Piety be there; and which would make all Religion depend on a Formality, and on such a Formality as we have shewn to be of no other than Human Institution. That Opinion, I say, cannot be looked on otherwise than as the very worst Character, and a Mark of the grossest Hypocrisy; a piece of Pharisaism all over, that

"strains at a Gnat, when it swallows a Camel. And I cannot avoid having at least a kind of Contempt of these Thoughts, and Compassion for those that fill their Heads with them."

I shall only add, to justify my giving the Character of degenerate Protestants to those that have abetted these Principles, that 'tis observable, how much more intent they have been upon a Coalition with the Church of Rome, than any nearer Union and Concord with the Reformed Churches. Of which, besides the many Instances alledged by Mr. Baxter, in his Excellent Treatise against a foreign Jurisdiction, we have a late considerable Proof in the Proposals of the Author of the *Regale and Pontificate*, towards an Accommodation of the Differences between the Church of England and that of Rome; and how liberal he is therein of his Concessions to the Latter, his Answerer has very justly observed.

And indeed, such late Writers do herein act very consonantly to the Principles I have now mentioned; because if the Popish Churches be a part of the Catholick Church, a Coalition with them would be desirable, if it could be effected by their renouncing the manifold Corruptions they have superadded to our common Christianity. But 'tis to no purpose to attempt a Coalition with any that are excluded out of the Catholick Church, any more than with Mahometans, and Jews, and other Infidels.

In short, either Mr. Drury avows such Principles as I have mentioned, and these unavoidable Consequences of them, or he does not? If he does not, why should he or any moderate Church-man, think himself concerned in a Charge that is brought against none but such degenerate Protestants, as thus professedly confine the Catholick Church to the Episcopal Communion? If he do, let him read the *Juell's*, the *Willet's*, the *Whitaker's*, the *Reinolds's*, the *Usher's*, the *Mason's*, and other learned Defenders of the Protestant Cause, against the Papists, who all own the Validity of Ordination by Presbyters, and blush to think how different his Sentiments are from theirs. And I the rather give him this Caution, because he has unwarily espoused some of the darling Notions of this Set of Men, though I truly hope he does not approve of the uncharitable Consequences which they regularly draw from them: Of which he may have occasion to hear more, when I come to examine the Scheme he has laid down. I will only at present remind him of one Passage in his *Discourse*, pag. 34. "Now therefore (says he) let us put the Case, that in process of Time a Man was Ordained by some Presbyters, without and against the Consent, Concurrence, or Assistance of their Bishop, or chief Presbyter, as it is now daily practised; in such a Case we must agree with the primitive Church in all Parts of the World, and say, That the Orders so conferred are utterly null and void". Now if Mr. Drury will please to apply these Premises to those Ministers of the Reformed Churches in France, who were Ordained there without and against the Consent, Concurrence, and Assistance of the Bishops and chief Presbyters of that National Church; he will see what an hopeful Conclusion will follow. And thus the *Daille's*, the *Blondell's*, the *Bochart's*, the *Capellus's*, the *Placeus's*, the *Amyrald's*, the *Le-Blanc's*, the *Claud's*, the *l'Arroque's*, the *Jurieu's*, and other glorious Lights of the Reformation there (to whom our Author, I hope, is too modest to think himself comparable for Learning and Ministerial Abilities) are turned into meer Lay-men, because the Hands imposed on them had no Law, and their Ordainers did not vainly pretend to Mr. Drury's Plenitude of Apostolical Power. And how entirely all the Ordinations in North-Britain, and all those among Protestant Dissenters in England and Ireland, are hereby nullified, is obvious to every one; and 'tis what I suppose Mr. Drury intends by that Passage. And what would he think of us, if we should pass such a Censure as this

* See True and modest Account in Answer to Arch-Bishop Tillotson.

† Def. de la Reform. Vol. 2. pag. 429.

upon *Episcopal Ordination*? But God be thanked, we have more *Judgment*, as well as more *Charity*, than to pass such blind extravagant Censures as these: And on the contrary, we reverence all learned and pious *Conformable Ministers* as our *Brethren*; whose *Abilities* we value, and to whose *Endeavours* for promoting the *Salvation of Souls*, we wish all possible Success; and shall heartily rejoice in it. And though the *Non-conformist Divines* at the *Savoy-Conference*, justly refused to admit of *Re-Ordination*; yet they would never have excepted against *Ordination* by *Diocesan Bishops* being continued for the future, on such *Terms* as their *Judgments* could have complied with. And therefore offered, for Peace sake, to yield to *Arch-Bishop Usher's Model* that insisted on *Episcopal Ordination*, though they still thought *Ordination* by *Senior Pastors* of particular *Congregations*, entirely conformable to the *Word of God*; and even to the *Practice* of the *primitive Church*. And so far as the *Cause of Truth* may be measured by that of *Charity*, the *Reader* may judge on which side it lies.

Again, Mr. Drury charges my Expressions as "an uncharitable condemning of all the Christian Churches in the World, for 1500 Years after Christ, of Degeneracy and Corruption; and an Exclusion of All that are not of their own Perswasion, from that Purity that is necessary to every good Christian."

Ans. For the former Part of the Charge, I would desire Mr. Drury to review my Expressions, and shew me what there is in them that concerns the Christian Churches for 1500 Years after Christ at all. I call those indeed degenerate Protestants, whose Principles do now confine the *Catholick Church* to the *Episcopal Communion*, i. e. Now since the *Reformation*, when so many Churches have revived that Form of Church-Government which St. Jerome tells us, obtained in the *Apostles Time*, when the Churches were governed by the common Counsel of their *Presbyters*; between whom and *Bishops* he supposes there was then no Difference. But what are the Christian Churches before the *Reformation* concerned in this? Besides, Mr. Drury is greatly mistaken, if he thinks that I will allow the present *Diocesan Frame* of Church Government to have been established in the Christian Church, in its first and purest Ages. For I take the Government of the Church in the three first Centuries (even after some Difference of Degree between the *Bishop* and *Presbyter* begun to obtain, such as that between the *Rector* of a *Parish Church* and his *Assistants* or *Curates*) to have been far more conformable to the *Presbyterian*, than the *Diocesan Model*; and shall at the close of these Papers shew him, that some of the best Writers of the *Established Church* have owned as much. And I am therefore far from charging those Churches with *Degeneracy* and *Corruption* in this Point: Nay, I take the *Presbyters* of the fourth and fifth Centuries to have had a far greater Share in the Government of the Churches, than the present *Diocesan Frame* allows them; as *Blondell* has undeniably proved by a large Collection of particular Instances, in his *Apolog. pro Sentent. Hyeron.* [See from pag. 198. downwards.]

But I will freely own to Mr. Drury, if that will do him any Service, That as the Power of *Presbyters* gradually declined and sunk: And as (to use the Expressions of a learned Divine *) the enlarging of *Dioceses* wholly altered the Figure of *primitive Episcopacy*; especially as by the moulding the *Ecclesiastical Government* in a Conformity to the *Civil*, (as Dr. Barrow has well observed †) the Power of *Metropolitans*, *Primates*, *Patriarchs*, and at last the *Papal* sprung up, and gradually swell'd; so in proportion the Churches did gradually degenerate from the *Simplicity* and *Purity* of the *primitive Discipline*; and that *Ecclesiastical Power* that was at first only a *Ministry* and *Service* (according to our Saviour's express Declaration concerning it ‡) did gra-

dually degenerate into a *Lordly Domination* and *Empire*; that soon became the fruitful Source of most of those *Schisms* and *Divisions*, that tore the *Christian Church*, and *Corruptions* that defiled it; and at last became so unsupportable to *Princes* themselves, by manifold *Encroachments* on their Authority, and the Rights thereof, as made way for the glorious *Reformation*, which particularly begun in *England* by a *Rejection* of the *Usurped Authority* of the *Roman Bishop*; and bringing the Power of *Diocesan ones* under the Check and Restraints of the *Regal Power* **. But then if Mr. Drury imagines that I think this gradual *Degeneracy* did cut off those Churches in which it prevailed, from all Relation to the *Catholick Church*, he cannot impute an Opinion to me more remote from my real Sentiments: For I have always distinguished between the *Essentials* of Christianity, that were retained even in the *Western Papal Churches* themselves (and much more in the *Eastern Churches*) and the corrupt *Additions* made to its *Discipline*, as well as *Doctrine* and *Worship*; as I would always distinguish between a *living Man*, though labouring under noisome and dangerous Diseases, and a *dead Corpse* ††.

For the latter Part of the Charge, "That my Assertions seem to be an Exclusion of all that are not of our Perswasion in these Matters, from that Purity that is necessary to every good Christian." 'Tis not only not founded on any Expressions of mine, but manifestly contradictory to them. There are no Expressions in that Preface, that carry any Sound this Way. I profess there to have *Mental Communion* with all those Churches that retain the *Essentials* of Christianity: And how many such Churches are there, in whom the *Essentials* of Christianity are mixed with manifold corrupt *Additions* to it, both in *Doctrine*, *Worship*, and *Practice*? And I may exercise such *mental Communion* with them as a Part (though a very unsound and diseased Part) of the *Catholick Church*, on the Account of what they retain of our *common Christianity*, when their imposing their corrupt *Additions* renders my *External Communion* with them impracticable. And for *Occasional External Communion*, I can exercise it with many Churches that retain some *Corruptions* and *Abuses*, and are guilty of some sinful *Divisions*, when nothing sinful is enjoyn'd in those Acts of *Worship* wherein I joyn with them. All that I have said is, "That for my Stated *External Communion*, I think my self oblig'd to maintain it with those Churches that own Christianity in its greatest Simplicity and Purity, and add thereto the most *Catholick* and *Comprehensive Charity*, (i. e. towards those Churches that are less Pure and less Charitable than themselves.) Now can any thing be more absurd, than to infer from hence, that I exclude all but those of my Perswasion from the Purity that is necessary to every good Christian, when I make such a *comprehensive Charity* towards all Churches that retain the *Essentials* of Christianity (such as the *Creed*, the *Lord's-Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*) to be one Character of those I would chuse to fix my *stated External Communion* with. Methinks if this Author have no Regard to the Rules of *Truth* and *Justice*, he should have so much Regard to *common Sense*, as not to force a Construction on my Words, so downright inconsistent with the obvious meaning of 'em.

I am sorry Mr. Drury has laid me under the unhappy Necessity of saying so much to clear my self from such *Reflections* as are chiefly *Personal*, and wherein the Cause I plead is so little concerned: I only wish it may have this good Effect, to caution him, and all others, to treat those they pretend to write against, with greater *Candour* and *Sincerity*.

I now proceed to offer a few general Remarks on the Discourses of those two Gentlemen that have undertaken to answer the *Sermon*, to shew them, wherein I think their Answers very defective and unsatisfactory.

* Burnet's Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 56. † Dr. Barrow against the Pope's Supremacy, p. 157, 158, &c. ‡ Matt. xx. 26, &c. ** 37 Henry VIII. cap. 17. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19, 20. †† See Letter prefix'd to three Treatises of Transub. Invoc. &c.

I. I think they should, before they had wrote on this Subject, have form'd to themselves some uniform and consistent Scheme of Principles; whereas their *Answers* are form'd upon two several *Hypotheses* that are perfectly *opposite* and *inconsistent*: And yet they one while make use of the one, and then of the other, to avoid the Force of the few plain scriptural Arguments I have used, just as they think will best serve their main Cause: And this I take to be *unfair* and *disingenuous*.

All learned Men know, that the Asserters of the *divine Right of Episcopacy* have taken two several ways to defend it: The one is that of Dr. Hammond, who asserts all the Elders and Bishops mention'd in the Holy Scriptures, to be of that Order that we now call *Diocesan Bishops*, and invested with all the Power that is now claim'd by such. The other is that more commonly insist'd on, That *Diocesan Bishops* are the *Successors* either of the *Apostles*, or of such as *Timothy* and *Titus*, in the Power that they are suppos'd to have claimed over these *scriptural Elders* or *Bishops*.

And indeed, one of these two *Hypotheses* must be follow'd, unless any Man could shew us, that the Scriptures assert two kinds of Bishops; one of the same Order with *Presbyters*, and the other of an Order superior to it. And if any Man could have done this, the Controversy had been long ago at an End; but I do not find that either of my *Answerers* pretend to it: Mr. Drury himself supposes, "That those now call'd Bishops were, in the first Age of the Church, call'd *Apostles* or *Angels*; but afterwards *Bishops*. And that in the Times of the *Apostles*, this lower Order were called sometimes Bishops, and sometimes *Presbyters*." See Mr. French speaking to the same Purpose, [Answ. pag. 12.]

If these Gentlemen embrace Dr. Hammond's Opinion, and assert all the *Presbyters* and *Bishops* in the *New Testament* to be of that Order we now call *Diocesan Bishops*; to what Purpose do they argue for *Diocesan Bishops* being an Order distinct from, and superior to that of *Presbyters*, from the Power which they suppose the *Apostles* to have assum'd and exercis'd over these *scriptural Elders* or *Bishops* themselves? This may, indeed, serve for an Argument to prove, that there must be an Order continued in the Church distinct from, and superior to that of *Diocesan Bishops*; and to whose Authority the *Diocesan Bishops* must as truly be subjected, as they suppose *Presbyters* to be to theirs. Nay, if such *Evangelists* as *Timothy* and *Titus* were of an Order and Office inferior to that of the *Apostles* (as I may have Occasion to observe afterwards) their Argument will prove, that we must have two Orders in the Church both superior to that of *Diocesan Bishops*: And so, instead of Mr. Drury's three Orders of consecrated Persons, we must have five.

Besides, if they follow Dr. Hammond's Hypothesis, to what Purpose do they tell us, of the *Apostles* reserving the *Episcopal Government*, during the greatest Part of their Life-time, in their own Hands, even in those Churches where they had constituted such *Elders* as the Scripture calls *Bishops*; how comes Mr. Drury to assign to these *Elders* only the necessary and ordinary Offices of the Cure? Nay, how comes Mr. French to tell us, that *Timothy* was not made Bishop of *Ephesus* till Anno Dom. 64; when, according to Dr. Hammond, both *Ephesus* and the *Pro-consular Asia* had *Diocesan Bishops* long before, even those that came to St. Paul to *Miletus*; and when Mr. French himself undertakes the Defence of that Opinion? [See Answ. pag. 14, 15, &c.]

Again, If this Scheme of Dr. Hammond's be true, then must all the present *Presbyters* of the Church quit all Pretension of any divine Right for their own Office; for if Dr. Hammond be in the right, 'tis not to be found in all the *New Testament*. For as to that learned Doctor's Conjecture, that this new Office of

Presbyters, of an Order inferior to *Diocesan Bishops*, might be instituted by St. John after the Decease of all the rest of the *Apostles*; it is so destitute of all Manner of Probability, that he must be strangely wedded to a Cause that would have recourse to so miserable a Subterfuge. So that both my *Answerers* think it safer to own, that the Order of *Presbyters*, as distinct from that superior Order which *Bishops* claim, was instituted at first: And indeed, otherwise all that they would get by their eager Defence of the *divine Right of Episcopacy*, would be to overthrow any Claim they can lay themselves to any Office in the Church of *divine Institution*. But after all, Dr. Hammond is so far in the right, that a *Presbyter* with only one Part of Mr. Drury's Ecclesiastical Power, viz. of *Preaching*, and *dispensing the Sacraments*, without any Power of ruling the Flock he instructs, or any Capacity to invest others in the same Office, is such an Officer in the Church, as the Scripture knows nothing of. And so far Dr. Hammond has the Advantage above those that go the other way.

On the other Hand, if the *scriptural Bishops* be the same with *Presbyters*, and not that Order of *Diocesan Bishops* that is suppos'd to be superior to them; then the main Cause pleaded for in that Sermon must be given up, viz. That the *scriptural Bishop* and the *scriptural Elder* are not two distinct Orders of Ministry in the Church, but the several Names of one and the same Order: And if so, how come these Gentlemen to take so much Pains to make us believe, that the *Elders* call'd to *Miletus* from *Ephesus*, were the *Diocesan Bishops* of *Asia*; and that the *Bishops* whom the *Apostle* joyns with the *Deacons* and *Saints* at *Philippi*, were the *Diocesan Bishops* of *Macedonia*. For all these *Evasions* must be thrown out of Doors, if they follow this latter Hypothesis; and Mr. Drury must blot out that Part of his Title Page, in which he pronounces the *Presbyterian Notion of a Bishop* to be wholly *unscriptural*. For if this Hypothesis be true, the Scriptures mention no other Bishop, whatever they say of *Apostles* and *Angels*.

And that 'tis but meer *Evasions* they make use of, I shall (reserving the Consideration of the rest to a fuller Answer) shew, in reference to that particular Instance of the *Presbyters* or *Bishops* that came from *Ephesus* to St. Paul at *Miletus*; which both my *Answerers* have taken the greatest Pains to enlarge upon.

And because Mr. French's Answer has, on this Head, all in it that Mr. Drury has offer'd, and something more; I shall consider what he has offer'd, to take off the Force of my Argument.

The Argument is, in short, That the *Elders* of the Church that came from *Ephesus* to *Miletus*, were the *Elders* of the Church of *Ephesus*, and not the *Diocesan Bishops* of *Asia*; because St. Paul's hastening, if possible, to be at *Jerusalem* at the Day of *Pentecost*, would not allow time for his sending for all the *Diocesan Bishops* of *Asia*.

To this Argument Mr. French replies.

First, "That the *Apostle* did actually fail of his Purpose, and did not arrive at *Jerusalem* till after the Day of *Pentecost*. And for this he refers us to Dr. Maurice and Bishop Pearson, who have taken some Pains to render it probable.

Answ. Whether the *Apostle* did actually reach *Jerusalem* before the Day of *Pentecost*, signifies nothing to the Argument. 'Tis sufficient, that the *Apostle* did then suppose it possible, and accordingly resolv'd to endeavour it; and for that End, determin'd not to spend Time in *Asia*. Whereas, if he resolv'd to stay at *Miletus* till he could send Messengers with Circular Letters to all the *Bishops* of *Asia*, he must have foreseen that so much Time would have been spent, as would have render'd it utterly impossible for him to reach *Jerusalem* at the time when he propos'd; and must have

* Discourse, pag. 8. † Discourse, pag. 12. ‡ Answer, pag. 28.

oblig'd him to lay aside all Thoughts of it. So that this Part of the Answer appears to be a meer *Subterfuge*.

Secondly, He alledges, "That 'tis credible, that the Apostle might, before-hand, send a Summons to the Bishops of *Asia*, to come and meet him at *Ephesus*; and that accordingly they might be all ready to come to him to *Miletus*, when he sent for them. And to countenance this Conjecture, He and Mr. Drury both cite that Passage of *Irenæus*, in which he saith, St. Paul called the Bishops and Presbyters from *Ephesus*, and the rest of the neighbouring Cities.

Ans. What may not this Gentleman pretend to say and prove, if we will allow him all the precarious Suppositions he makes for certain Matters of Fact? And that this is not only a precarious Supposition, but a very improbable one, will sufficiently appear upon these two Considerations: The one is, That it is unaccountable, that the inspir'd Historian would have omitted such a material Circumstance as this, without the mention of which his Historical Account of this Matter would appear incredible to every judicious Reader, if he had taken these Elders from *Ephesus* to be the Diocesan Bishops of *Asia*. The other is, That the inspir'd Historian has destroy'd this vain Supposition: For at the beginning of this Chapter, *Acts* xx. 1, 2, 3, &c. we see that the Apostle came from *Macedonia* into *Greece*, and thence design'd to sail into *Syria*: But upon Notice of the Jews lying in wait for him, he alter'd his Purpose, and returned back into *Macedonia*, and thence into *Asia*. So that his coming to *Miletus* was an accidental and unintended Thing, and therefore very inconsistent with this imaginary Supposition of sending such a Summons before-hand to all the Diocesan Bishops of *Asia*. And this clear and plain Account of the inspir'd Historian himself, deserves other sort of Credit and Regard, than the bare Assertion of *Irenæus*, at such a Distance of Time and Place; this being not the only mistaken Matter of Fact that *Irenæus* has taken up on uncertain Tradition. Besides, *Irenæus* himself knew nothing of any such Distinction of Order and Office between Bishop and Presbyter (as I may have Occasion to observe afterwards;) and therefore could not intend such Diocesan Bishops, as Mr. French speaks of; and he only speaks of Bishops and Presbyters from neighbouring Cities, not from all *Proconsular Asia*.

And whereas I had alledged to prove, that when the Apostle sent to *Ephesus*, to call the Elders of the Church, it must be meant of the Church of *Ephesus*. That the Christian Congregations dispersed thro' a large Province, are never call'd in Scripture a Church in the Singular Number, but always Churches in the Plural; as the Churches of *Asia* in particular, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 19. The Churches of *Macedonia*, 2 *Cor.* viii. 1. The Churches of *Gallatia*, *Gal.* i. 2. I may add those of *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, *Acts* ix. 31.

To this Mr. French replies.

1. "That the Original may be translated, the Elders of the Assembly: And so may be understood of the Bishops of *Asia* summon'd to meet St. Paul.

Ans. This Translation is liable to these two obvious Exceptions: The one is, that it makes the Expressions of the inspir'd Writer to be a meer Tautology, q. d. He sent to *Ephesus*, to call the Elders of the Company of Elders assembled there. The other is, that he can produce no Passage in the New Testament, wherein the Word *ἐκκλησία* is used in any such Sense as to signify an Assembly of Elders, and much less of all the Elders of a large Province.

2. He further replies, "The Church here mentioned being the Church which God had purchased with his own Blood, at *Ver.* 28. he sees no Reason why the Congregations dispers'd through a large Province, may not be called the Church.

Ans. When it appears from so many Places, that the inspir'd Writers do always vary their Expression, and call the Christians of a City or Town, a Church; but the Christian Congregations of a Province, Churches in

the Plural Number, and particularly those of *Asia*, concerning whom the Dispute is. The Question is, Whether Mr. French, or Mr. Drury, or the inspir'd Writers, best understood the Propriety of Words? Or whether we shall prefer their Fancies before the constant Use of those Expressions in the sacred Writers?

3. Mr. French argues, "That the whole Clergy of *Asia*, at least, the chief Pastors and Bishops, were present, when St. Paul made this Speech to them; because we read at *Ver.* 10. All they that dwell in *Asia* heard the Word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. And that St. Paul sent for them all, and gave them this Charge, appears (saith he) from *Ver.* 18. And when they were come to him, he said to them, Ye know that from the first Day that I came into *Asia*, after what manner I have been with you. Which plainly supposes this was the Clergy of *Asia* to whom St. Paul spake. And he adds, that 'tis not probable the Apostle would, when he wou'd take his last Leave, desire to see the Elders of *Ephesus*, and none of those in other Cities of *Asia*; and commit all the Flock to them, when they had only a Part of it under their Care. From all which, he saith, it plainly follows, that these Elders were Bishops in a proper Sense, viz. of *Asia*, and not the Elders of a particular Church.

Ans. What I have already said against his two first Arguments, quite overthrows the Force of this. To which I now add, That since of the three Years that the Apostle spent in *Asia*, he preach'd three Months in the Synagogues of the Jews at *Ephesus*, two Years in the School of *Tyrannus* there, and only nine Months in the other Cities; the Apostle might, with the greatest Propriety of Speech, appeal to the Elders of *Ephesus*, who had the most of that time the Opportunity of personal Converse with him, concerning his Preaching and Conversation among them, and say to them what occurs at *Ver.* 18. Ye know from the first Day that I came into *Asia*, after what manner I have been with you at all Seasons. And at *Ver.* 25. And I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the Kingdom of God, shall see my Face no more. Nay, Mr. French may as well from these Words infer, That all the Christians of *Asia* were present at this Valedictory Speech, as that all the Bishops of *Asia* were; because he mentions all among whom he had gone preaching the Kingdom of God, and whom he had taught publicly, and from House to House. [Compare *Ver.* 25. with *Ver.* 20.] And whatever Desire St. Paul may be suppos'd to have had to see the Elders of other Churches, it appears that his Haste to arrive at *Jerusalem* by the Day of *Pentecost*, would not allow him to stay till they could be conven'd; and therefore can be no Argument that they were so, but that on the contrary, he sent only for those of *Ephesus*.

To this I may add an Argument *ad Hominem*: That if these Elders were Bishops in a proper Sense (i. e. Diocesan ones) then I hope Mr. French will, at least, allow *Ephesus*, the Metropolis of *Asia*, the same Privilege with the rest of those Cities, viz. to have had a Diocesan Bishop of their own: And then, what Occasion had the Apostle some Years after (as he pretends) to constitute *Timothy* as their Diocesan, unless he supposes their first Diocesan to have dy'd in the mean time? And even on that Supposition, how comes their pretended Line of Succession to be derived from *Timothy*, as their first Bishop? So inconsistent is one Part of his Answer with the other.

Upon the whole, the Reader may judge by this Instance, who it is that build on weak Conjectures to support their Cause (as Mr. Drury speaks;) those that understand the Words in the plain obvious Sense, that offers it self to all unprejudic'd Readers, that when St. Paul sent to *Ephesus*, to call the Elders of the Church, he intends the Church of *Ephesus*; or my Answerers, who offer such Violence to the Words, and make use of such precarious and improbable Suppositions, to pervert the true Meaning of them.

I know, indeed, these Gentlemen may still pretend, that tho' the scriptural Bishop and Presbyter be the same, yet the Apostles themselves must have Successors in their Apostolical Office, as that is distinct from, and superior to that of scriptural Bishops: Or at least, that the Evangelists must have such Successors: And that the Diocesan Bishops are Successors either of the one or the other.

And as both my Answerers (but especially Mr. Drury) seem to insist on this Hypothesis, so here again I find them utterly at a loss. The Holy Scriptures plainly distinguish Apostles and Prophets from Evangelists, and those from Pastors and Teachers: And 'tis past doubt, that the Evangelists were under the Direction of the Apostles, and plac'd in an Order inferior to them; (as I shall afterwards have occasion to shew.) Now my Answerers assert Diocesan Bishops to be Successors of the Apostles, in the Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power; and they go about to prove it by the Instances of Timothy and Titus, who were no Apostles at all; but Officers of a Rank and Order inferior to them, viz. that of Evangelists: And such I shall in the Sequel prove Timothy and Titus to have been. How come then these two distinct Orders to be swallow'd up into one? And if those two Orders were not design'd to be temporary, but perpetual; why should we not have two Orders of Men to succeed them, and one of them as much under the Superintendency and Direction of the other, as the Evangelists, and particularly Timothy and Titus, were under that of the Apostles. If these Gentlemen then had consulted the Bible, they should have explain'd the distinct Offices of the Apostles and Evangelists, they should then have made the Diocesan Bishops either Successors of the one or the other only? or shewn us how and when these different Orders came to be confounded and jumbled into one. And when they had done all this, they should have shewn, that these pretended Successors of the Apostles have left the true scriptural Bishops in the Possession of all those Rights which they enjoy'd under the Superintendency of the Apostles themselves, and have made no Incroachment thereon. But how far they have been from doing any Thing of this, I shall have Occasion to shew.

II. I do not see, that these Gentlemen are consistent with themselves, in reference to that Order of Diocesan Episcopacy, for the Defence of whose divine Right they so earnestly contend.

They both speak of Diocesan Episcopacy as an Order distinct from, and superior to that of Presbyters; and yet by manifold Passages in their Answers, one would think that they took it to be only a different Degree of the same Order. *Ordo est facultas ad peculiarem actum.* Now if an Order of Ministry be a Right and Obligation to special ministerial Acts; and if there be no such ministerial Acts ascrib'd by my Answerers to a Bishop, wherein Presbyters may not, according to their own Concessions, concur with them, then the bare Presidency of a Bishop in them cannot make him to be of a different Order from Presbyters, but only of a different Degree in the same Order.

If we consider what Mr. Drury saith at pag. 7. we find him distinguishing between "the Power of Preaching and administering the Sacraments; and the Power of Ordaining, Governing, Censuring, &c. And then he tells us, That the Apostles, in constituting Ministers of the Gospel, gave not only the Power of Preaching and administering the Sacraments, but the Power of the Keys also, and Ordination to some, such as we now call Bishops; and part of this Power only to such as we call Presbyters, who receiv'd only a Part of this Power. So Disc. pag. 36. he tells us, that Timothy and Titus were of an higher Rank than Presbyters; and had Authority to do many Things which Presbyters had not, viz. Ordain, Censure, &c. Here, indeed, we have two distinct Orders clearly asserted by Acts of Ordination and Censure,

&c. being appropriated to a Diocesan Bishop, and a Presbyter being declared destitute of any Power to perform them.

But then, how shall we reconcile this with Mr. French's Scheme? who, at Answ. pag. 38. saith, "If Joseph Boyse understands these Expressions of the Sole Power of Church-Government, and Sole Power of Ordination, exclusively of Elders, from both Church Government and Ordination, he plainly intimates and suggests a Thing which we never affirmed, concerning either the Apostles or their Successors. We allow the Elders to be their Assistants, and as such, concern'd in Church-Government and Ordination. And if this be true, there are no peculiar Acts to constitute a distinct Order.

Nay, how shall we reconcile Mr. Drury with himself, when he owns*, "That according to the Practice of the Establish'd Church, the Presbyters do lay on Hands with the Bishop in the Ordination of Presbyters; and only supposes Ordination by Presbyters null and void, when without and against the Consent, Concurrence, and Assistance of their Bishop or chief Presbyter†. If Presbyters then may Ordain, where are the Acts peculiar to a Diocesan Bishop, and constitutive of a distinct Order of Ministry?

I would therefore advise these Gentlemen to digest their Notions of these Things more maturely. For if they do not appropriate these Acts of Ordination, Censuring, &c. to Diocesan Bishops, they must no longer pretend them to be a distinct and superior Order, which yet is the main Assertion they undertake to prove and defend.

If they do appropriate these Acts to Diocesan Bishops, and declare (as Mr. Drury does) that Presbyters have receiv'd no Power to perform them, then they must not blame me (as Mr. Drury does) for representing to them the Tendency of these Principles to unchurch the Foreign Reformed Churches that are not under the Episcopal Government, by declaring all Acts of Ordination and Church-Government among them to be null and void, because perform'd by Presbyters who receiv'd no Power to do them. And 'tis but a weak Evasion for Mr. Drury to tell me, That their Case is different from that of the Dissenters here. As if these Principles did not as effectually make all Acts of Ordination and Government perform'd by Presbyters among them, as void and null as ours. For so are all ministerial Acts done by those that never receiv'd any Power to perform them. And sure if Mr. Drury had ever read their Confessions of Faith, wherein they fully assert the Equality of Office among all Pastors, he would never have advanc'd so notorious an Untruth, as their lying under a Necessity of wanting Episcopal Government, and their lamenting the Loss of it||. For if those Foreign Reformed Churches that are under Protestant Princes and States, did apprehend any such Necessity of the Diocesan Form of Church-Government, and so much lament the Loss of it, Why did they never make any Complaint of their unhappy Case to those Civil Magistrates, under whom they live, and petition them to restore it? They must have done so in all reason, if they had entertain'd such strange Apprehensions as those of this Author, as if Presbyters were never empower'd for these Acts; nay, if they had thought they could not exert the Power they had for them any otherwise than in subordination to, and concurrence with an Officer of an Order superior to their own. My Answerers must therefore either quit their Assertion of Diocesan Bishops being a distinct Order, or ward off better this Consequence of it, that carries such a grossly uncharitable Aspect on so many excellent Reformed Churches abroad. I am sure the most moderate Defenders of Episcopacy plead only for a Superiority of Degree in the same Order, and therefore suppose Ordination by Presbyters, even where there are Diocesan Bishops, not to be null and void, (as Mr. Drury does) but only irregular.

* Discourse, pag. 33. † Ibid. pag. 34. || Ibid. pag. 47.

III. Whereas Mr. Drury alone has advanc'd any thing like a *Scheme of Principles*, in order to set the Controversy in a true Light, and bring it to some Issue; I must freely tell him, that I find the *Positions* on which he builds this Superstructure of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* to be full of palpable Mistakes, or precarious and unprov'd Assertions.

For his first *Position* indeed, viz. "That Christ has invested the Rulers of his Church with some Power, it will be freely granted him": Only I would desire him (at his leisure) seriously to consider, what one Branch of Ecclesiastical Power that has any Tendency, either to promote the Interest of serious Religion in particular Souls, or to secure the Order and Peace of Christian Societies those foreign Reformed Churches want, that yet are not under the *Diocesan Form of Church-Government*? And if no such Defect can be alledged, what shall we think of the Judgment and Charity of such as confine the *Catholick Church* to the *Episcopal Communion*?

For his second *Position*, viz. That this Power was lodg'd by Christ in his Apostles and their Successors for ever, it seems to me to contain two dangerous Mistakes.

I. When he saith, Christ lodg'd this Power in his Apostles: If he means, that he instituted himself no other Office but that of *Apostleship*, leaving all Ecclesiastical Power in their Hands; and leaving it to themselves to parcel out the several Branches of that Ecclesiastical Power as they pleased themselves, by constituting such Officers as they thought fit; and giving them what share of Ecclesiastical Power they thought most expedient, his *Position* is utterly false. For the same ascended Saviour that gave to his Church Apostles, gave also Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, Eph. iv. 11. And he as truly instituted the several Offices of Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, as that of Apostles. So the same God that set in his Church, First, Apostles; set also, Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers; (inclusive both of such extraordinary Itinerant Teachers, as the Evangelists, and the fixed Ones that had particular Flocks under their Care.) And therefore whatever Power these several Officers in the Church had, they derived not from any Gift of the Apostles at all; but from the Charter of Christ describing their Office and Qualifications. [See 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.] All that the Apostles themselves, as Founders of Churches, were authorized to do, was ministerially to invest in those Offices such as they found qualify'd for them, and willing to undertake them. 'Tis therefore a great Mistake in most of the late Defenders of the *Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy*, to suppose all Ecclesiastical Power so lodg'd in the Apostles, as to make them the Proprietors and Donors of it. 'Tis no less a Mistake than to set the Apostles in the Place of our Blessed Saviour himself, who is in his Church as truly the Fountain of Ecclesiastical Power, as the Supreme Magistrate is of all Civil Power in the State: There is nothing left to be done by the Apostles, or any other Officers in the Church, in the Conveyance of any sacred Office, but the Designation of the Person upon a due Trial of his Abilities and Qualifications, and for Order's sake, a solemn ministerial Investiture of him in it. By which Investiture they do not properly give the Power; but only declare the Person to be on his own Consent, pursuant to the Charter of Christ, authoriz'd, and oblig'd to perform those ministerial Acts that belong to such a sacred Office and Function in the Church; and by Fasting and Prayer recommend him and his Labours to the Divine Blessing. And 'tis the contrary Opinion that has led the Popish Writers, and such degenerate Protestants as I have mentioned, into their uncharitable Sentiments concerning the Reformed Churches abroad, as destitute of any true Ministry, because Ecclesiastical Power can (as they suppose) be no otherwise convey'd than from the Apostles to Diocesan Bishops, and from them to others in an uninterrupted Line of Succession.

II. For the other part of Mr. Drury's *Position*, viz. That the Apostles themselves must have Successors to the End of the World in their Apostolical Office: And that this Plenitude (as he calls it) of Ecclesiastical Power is lodg'd in the Hands of certain Persons as their Successors; 'tis not only a precarious unprov'd Assertion, but a palpable and dangerous Mistake.

And because Dr. Barrow's Arguments against this Opinion, (which is the Foundation of Mr. Drury's Plea for the Divine Right of Episcopacy) may be the more impartially weigh'd from the just Deference that is generally paid to a Man of so great Learning, and of so accurate Judgment; I shall choose to propose them in his own concise and comprehensive Words, that carry another Force and Weight with them, than Mr. Drury's raw and undigested Ramble of Thoughts on this Subject.

The Doctor having laid down this Assertion, "That the Apostolical Office as such was Personal and Temporary, and therefore according to its Nature and Design, not successive or communicable to others, in perpetual Descendence from them."

"That it was as such in all Respects extraordinary, conferred in a special Manner, design'd for special Purposes, discharged by special Aids, endowed with special Privileges, as was needful for the Propagation of Christianity, and Founding of Churches. He thus proves his Assertion.

"To that Office it was requisite, that the Person should have an immediate Designation and Commission from God, such as St. Paul does so often insist on for asserting his Title to the Office, Paul an Apostle, not from Men, or by Man. Not by Men (saith St. Chrysostome) this is a Property of the Apostles.

"It was requisite, that an Apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's Resurrection or Ascension, either immediately as the Twelve, or by evident Consequence, as St. Paul: Thus St. Peter imply'd at the Choice of Matthias; Wherefore of those Men that have company'd with us, must one be Ordain'd to be a Witness with us of the Resurrection. And am I not (saith St. Paul) an Apostle? Have I not seen the Lord? According to that of Ananias, The God of our Fathers has chosen thee, that thou should'st know his Will, and see that Just one, and should'st hear the Voice of his Mouth. For thou shalt bear witness to all Men of what thou hast seen and heard.

"It was needful also that an Apostle should be endow'd with miraculous Gifts and Graces, enabling him both to assure his Authority, and to execute his Office. Wherefore St. Paul calls these the Marks of an Apostle, the which were wrought by him among the Corinthians with all Patience, (or perseveringly) in all Signs and Wonders, and mighty Deeds.

It was also in St. Chrysostome's Opinion, proper to an Apostle, "That he should be able, according to his Discretion, in a certain and conspicuous Manner, to impart Spiritual Gifts, as St. Peter and St. John did at Samaria; which to do according to that Father, was the peculiar Gift and Privilege of the Apostles.

"It was also a Privilege of an Apostle, by Virtue of his Commission from Christ, to instruct all Nations in the Doctrine and Law of Christ. He had Right and Warrant to exercise his Function every where. His Charge was universal and indefinite, the whole World was his Province. He was not affixed to one Place, nor could be excluded from any. He was as (St. Cyril calls him) an Oecumenical Judge, and an Instructor of all the Subcelestial World. Apostles also did govern in an absolute Manner, according to Discretion, as being guided by infallible Assistance, to which they might upon occasion appeal, and affirm, It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us*. Whence their Writings have passed for Inspired, and therefore Canonical, or certain Rules of Faith and Practice.

* Acts xv. 28.

" It did belong to them to found Churches, to constitute Pastors, to settle Orders, to correct Offences, to perform all such Acts of Sovereign Spiritual Power in Virtue of the same Divine Assistance, according to the Authority which the Lord had given them for Edification, as we see practis'd by St. Paul.

" In fine, the Apostleship was (as Chrysostome tells us) a Business fraught with ten thousand good Things; both greater than all Privileges of Grace, and comprehensiver of them.

" Now such an Office consisting of so many extraordinary Privileges and miraculous Powers, which were requisite for the Foundation of the Church, and the Diffusion of Christianity against the manifold Difficulties and Disadvantages which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by Derivation. For it containeth in it divers Things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no Man, without gross Imposture and Hypocrisy, could challenge to himself.

" Neither did the Apostles pretend to Communicate it; they did indeed appoint standing Pastors and Teachers in each Church; they did assume Fellow-Labourers and Assistants in the Work of Preaching and Governance: But they did not constitute Apostles equal to themselves in Authority, Privileges or Gifts. For who knoweth not (saith St. Austin) that Principate of Apostleship to be prefer'd before any Episcopacy? And the Bishops (saith Bellarmine) have no Part of the true Apostolical Authority.

" The Apostles themselves do make the Apostolate a distinct Office from Pastors and Teachers, which are the Standing Offices in the Church. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

" Wherefore St. Peter, who had no other Office mentioned in Scripture, or known to Antiquity, could not have properly and adequately any Successor to his Office, but it naturally expir'd with his Person, as did that of the other Apostles.

And whereas it may be objected, That the Fathers do commonly call Bishops the Successors of the Apostles. [And by the way, this is the very Objection which both my Answerers make. See Disc. pag. 11. and Answ. pag. 9, 10.] Dr. Barrow thus answers:

" To asswyl this Objection, we may consider, That whereas the Apostolical Office virtually did contain the Functions of Teaching and Ruling God's People, the which for Preservation of the Christian Doctrine, and Edification of the Church, were requisite to be continued perpetually in ordinary standing Offices: These, indeed, were derived from the Apostles, but not properly in the way of Succession, as by univocal Propagation, but by Ordination; imparting all the Power needful for such Offices. Which therefore were exercis'd by Persons during the Apostles Lives, concurrently or in Subordination to them: Even as a Dictator at Rome might create Inferior Magistrates, who derived from him, but not as his Successors. For (as Bellarmine himself tells us) There can be no proper Succession but in respect of one preceding; but Apostles and Bishops were together in the Church.

" The Fathers therefore, so in a large Sense call all Bishops Successors of the Apostles; not meaning that any one of them did succeed into the whole Apostolical Office; but that each did receive his Power from some one (immediately or mediately) whom some Apostle did constitute Bishop, vesting him with Authority to feed the particular Flock committed to him in way of ordinary Charge. According to the Sayings of that Apostolical Person Clements Rom. The Apostles preaching in Regions and Cities, did constitute their first Converts, having approv'd them by the Spirit, for Bishops and Deacons, of those that should afterwards believe: And having constituted the foresaid (Bishops and Deacons) they withal gave them farther Charge, that if they should die, other approved Men should successively receive their Office. Thus did the Bishops

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" supply the Room of the Apostles, each in guiding his particular Charge, all of them by mutual Aid conspiring to govern the whole Body of the Church.

Now such Bishops as Clements Rom. there intends, who were together with the Deacons, to take Care of the particular Churches which the Apostles gathered, we freely own to be the Apostles Successors in this lax Sense, in the Work of Teaching and Ruling those that were converted to the Christian Faith. And by that Epistle of Clements 'tis manifest, that those Bishops were the same with Presbyters; on which Account the learned Grätius does so justly conclude the Epistle to be genuine, because it makes no mention of that Exors Episcoporum Potestas, that sprung up afterwards. And such Bishops Clements Rom. supposes impowered and obliged to ordain Successors to any of their Colleagues, when they should die. And that these Bishops were in the Account of Clements, the same with Presbyters, is evident from the following Passage; in which designing to reprove those of the Church of Corinth, that had rais'd a Sedition against their Presbyters, he saith, " It will be no small Sin in us to cast those out of their Episcopal Function, who have offer'd their Gifts in an holy and unblameable Manner. Happy are those Presbyters that have finish'd their Course: They fear not being turn'd out of their present Settlement. [Clem. Rom. Oxon. p. 94. εὐχάριστος ὁ θεὸς ὅτι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀποβάλλουσιν, &c.]

Only here by the way I would observe, That whereas Mr. French's third Argument, to prove the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy is drawn from the Succession of the Bishops to the Apostles, in the Power that the Apostles exercis'd over Presbyters, for which he offers no other Proof than such Assertions of Irenæus as these: " That the Bishops were instituted by the Apostles in the Churches, and were their Successors till his Time: That the Apostles committed the Churches to them. That they left them their Successors, delivering to them their Place of Authority". 'Tis strange that that Gentleman should, if he had read Irenæus, overlook all those Passages, wherein he does as expressly affirm Presbyters to be the Successors of the Apostles. Thus Irenæus advers. Hæres. lib. 3. c. 2. speaks of " the Tradition that is preserved from the Apostles, by a Succession of Presbyters. And lib. 4. c. 23. Let us hearken to the Presbyters who are in the Church, and who have their Succession from the Apostles". So also cap. 45. It were endless to produce all the parallel Passages in Ignatius's Epistles, that assert the Presbyters to be come in the Place of the Council of the Apostles. Cyprian asserts all [Præpositos Ecclesiæ] " that preside in the Church to succeed the Apostles by a vicarious Ordination, Lib. 4. Ep. 4. And 'tis well known, he gives that Name to Presbyters. Jerome (who was no Bishop) asserts himself to be a Successor of the Apostles: And ascribes the same Privilege to all other Priests or Presbyters. [See Dist. 35. cap. 6. ad Heliad.] And Austin ascribes it to all the Clergy, as distinguish'd from the Laity. [Serm. 33.]

And now Mr. French may see what he will make of his Argument. Irenæus asserts the Bishops to be the Apostles Successors. So does he and others assert Presbyters to be their Successors. Therefore the Bishops are the Apostles Successors in the Authority they exercis'd over Presbyters. Where is the Consequence? Of this Conclusion there is not one Syllable in Irenæus: 'Tis wholly Mr. French's precarious Assertion. Nay, 'tis inconsistent with what Irenæus as plainly asserts concerning Presbyters being their Successors. So that at Mr. French's rate of arguing, I might infer, that Irenæus asserts Presbyters to succeed the Apostles in the Power they exercis'd over Bishops; but the plain Inference that should be drawn from both Passages is, That Irenæus never dream'd of any Order of Bishops as distinct from, and superior to Presbyters; but took them both for the same Office. And accordingly the learned Chamier, who was no Stranger to the Writings of Irenæus, does with great Freedom deliver his Thoughts: " I dare affirm

Y 2

" (saith

" (saith he) that Presbyters are never distinguish'd
" from Bishops, and much less separated from them,
" in the Writings of *Irenaeus. Panstrat. Tom. 2. lib. 10. c. 6.*

Before I dismiss this Head of the *Diocesan Bishops*
being *Successors* to the *Apostles*, I shall only mention
some Arguments against it, offer'd by Dr. *Lightfoot*,
who not only declares his Judgment, " That the
" Apostleship was an Order for ever unimitable in the
" Church, *Vol. 1. pag. 787.* But at *pag. 745.* has this
remarkable Passage: " The Apostles could not ordain
" an Apostle by Imposition of Hands, as they could
" ordain Elders; but they are forced to use a Di-
" vine Lot, which was as the immediate Hand of
" Christ, imposed on him that was to be ordained.
" That Opinion took little notice of this Circum-
" stance, that hath placed Bishops in the Room of
" the Apostles, by a common and successive Ordina-
" tion". And at *pag. 727.* In Opposition to *Baronius*
and the *Rhemists*, he proves the *Apostolical Office* to be
for ever unimitable in the Church, in Opposition to the
Claim of *Bishops* being their *Successors* in it.

" From the *End* of their *Election* that was peculiar;
" the like to which was not to be again, viz. to be
" with Christ, and to be Eye-witnesses of his Resur-
" rection, &c.

" 2. From the *Name* of the *Apostles* keeping it self
" unmix'd and unconfounded with any other Order.

" 3. From the Cessation of the *Office* of *Prophets* and
" *Evangelists*: For as he argues, If these extraordinary
" kinds of Ministration were ordain'd but upon spe-
" cial Occasions, and never to be imitated in the
" Church in succeeding Times; much more (at least
" as much) were the Apostles an Order much more
" (at least as much) extraordinary as they.

" 4. From the constant undeniable Parallel that is
" made between the *Twelve Patriarchs*, the Fathers of
" the *Twelve Tribes*, and the *Twelve Apostles*; not
" only by the Number it self, but also in the *New Testa-*
" *ment*, by the *Twenty four Elders*, *Rev. iv. 4.* And in
" the *Gates* and *Foundations* of the *New Jerusalem*, *Rev.*
" *xxi. 12, 14.* These prove the latter Order as unimi-
" table as the first; " These Things (saith he) well
" consider'd, if there were no more, will shew how
" improbable and inconsonant the first Inference is,
" That because there was a Subordination between the
" *Apostles* and *Philip*, that the like is to be reputed
" between *Bishops* and other *Ministers*; and that *Bishops*
" in the Church are in the Place of the *Apostles*.

I might, if the Matter were to be decided by
Testimonies instead of Arguments, produce against my
Answerers the whole Stream of Protestant Writers;
who, in Opposition to the *Pope's* Claim of being *St.*
Peter's Successor, deny any proper Succession at all to
the *Apostles* in their *Apostolical Office*, or the Plenitude
of Power that belong'd thereto. I shall only mention
the learned *Spanheim*, who has a particular Dissertation
concerning the *Apostleship*; of which having mention-
ed several peculiar and distinguishing Characters, such
as *Immediate Mission* from Christ; *Unerring Assistance*
in what they taught and deliver'd; Entire Consent in
Doctrine, being Eye-witnesses of our Saviour's Resur-
rection: The Extent of their Commission; (whence he
infers, that they could not be *Bishops* of any particu-
lar See.) The Gift of Miracles, the Divine Energy that
accompany'd their Preaching. The Ninth is the Ju-
dicial and Legislative Power they exercised in the Laws
they deliver'd, and the Punishments and Censures they
inflicted. And the last is, their Power of Writing in
an authoritative Style to all the Churches. In all which
he justly asserts, they have no Successors. See *Dissert.*
Miscellan. 3.

And now let the Reader judge what Ground Mr.
Drury had to assert, " That 'tis plain, that the Aposto-
" lical Office was what we now call Episcopal, and the
" Episcopal Apostolical; both of them consisting, in

" the Supreme Spiritual Government of the Church.
" So that really an Apostle was a moving Bishop to
" found the Churches, and a Bishop a settled Apo-
" file to govern them". And the same Page, " That
" a Bishop is a Bishop of the whole Church of Christ,
" and the Limitation of his Power wholly owing to
" Compact and Agreement. [*Disc. p. 15.*]

If the *Bishops* pretend to this, we must desire them
to prove, they have the same immediate Commission from
Christ, and the same unerring Assistance of the Holy
Spirit promis'd to the *Apostles* (on which their *Aposto-*
lical Authority was founded) and to produce the same
Power of Miracles as the Credentials of it: Otherwise
we shall very little regard such extravagant Preten-
sions. And if Mr. *Drury* is pleas'd to ascribe it to
the Modesty of *Bishops*, that they decline the Name of
Apostles, when they are really vested in the Plenitude
of their Power, we shall rather conclude with Dr. *Bar-*
row, " That no Man, without gross Imposture and
" Hypocrisy, can challenge it to himself.

And if this Assertion of Mr. *Drury's* be so utterly
groundless, the whole Fabrick of the *Divine Right* of
Diocesan Episcopacy that he has built upon it, falls
to the Ground; and the greatest Part of his Answer
to the Arguments I produced, falls with it.

Mr. *Drury's* third Position is, " That this Power was
" not equally distributed to all; but that some were
" invested with the whole Power, and in the first Age
" of the Church, were called *Apostles* or *Angels*, but
" afterwards *Bishops*. Others were invested with part
" of this Power only, and were, in the Times of the
" *Apostles*, sometimes call'd *Bishops*, sometimes *Presby-*
" *ters* or *Elders*, to distinguish them from that other
" Order that was superior to them". See *pag. 8.*

And this he had explain'd at *pag. 7.* " Of the *Bi-*
" *shops* having the Power not only of Teaching and Ad-
" ministring the Sacraments, but the Power also of Ordi-
" nation and the Keys, whereas the Presbyters had
" only part of it", i. e. (if he be consistent with him-
self) only the Power of Teaching and Administering the
Sacraments.

Now this Position as thus explain'd is utterly false,
and is so by the Confession of my Answerers themselves,
as well as by the known Account which the Scriptures
give of the Office of Presbyters. Mr. *French*, in the
Place I mention'd before, *pag. 38.* allows the Elders to
be concerned with the Bishop in Acts of Church-Govern-
ment and Ordination; and disclaims any such sole Power
of Church-Government and Ordination belonging to the
Bishops, as shall exclude Presbyters from their Share in
it. And Mr. *Drury* himself owns, That the Presbyters
do in the Establish'd Church, concur with the Bishop
in the Ordination of Presbyters. Now this cannot
be, if the Bishops only were vested with the Power of
Ordination, and the Keys, and the Presbyters had only
that of Teaching, and Administering the Sacraments com-
mitted to them.

And 'tis no less repugnant to the plain Declaration
of the Holy Scriptures.

As to Acts of Church-Government, the Presbyters of
the Church of *Ephesus* are charg'd to feed the Flock of
God among them, which implys the Power of Ruling as
well as Teaching them. Those whom *St. Peter* writes
to, are required to do the same. They are indeed
caution'd not to lord it over God's Heritage (or his Lot)
but that supposes they had the Power of Ruling them,
tho' they were not to abuse it by turning it into a
proud Domination: And when the Apostle enjoyns that
double Honour should be paid to the Elders that rule well,
he reckons all those that labour in Word and Doctrine in
that Number, and supposes if there be any different
Degree of Respect, it should be especially paid to
them*. And the Apostle *Paul* supposes it to be the
Fault of the *Corinthian Church* (i. e. of the Teachers
and Rulers of it: For that they had such Teachers is

* 1 Tim. v. 17.

evident from 1 Cor. xii. 28.) that the incestuous Person had not been excommunicated by them, and therefore charges it upon them as their Duty to cast him out of their Communion; and even supposes those call'd the Laity to be concerned in the Execution of the Sentence, by avoiding the Company of such an Excommunicated Person. [See 1 Cor. v.]

As to Acts of Ordination, I have in the Sermon shewn, That Timothy himself was invested in his Office (whether that of Evangelist or Bishop I shall consider in what follows) by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14. That the Apostle, by the Presbytery, should understand other Apostles joyning with him in the Ordination of Timothy, is an Exposition that carries no manner of Probability with it. The Apostles, in the Council at Jerusalem, are manifestly distinguish'd from the Elders. And though Peter and John stile themselves Elders, yet the Word Presbytery is never us'd in any such Sense in the Holy Scriptures, as to signify the College of the Apostles. Nor is it probable, that if other Apostles had joyned with St. Paul in Timothy's Ordination, he would have omitted the mention of them, when he speaks of the laying on of his Hands. Nay, 'tis much more probable, that the Apostle himself lay'd his Hands on Timothy only for the conferring some extraordinary Gift upon him (which was, as Dr. Barrow has observed, the peculiar Power of an Apostle) not in order to the investing him in his Ministerial Office, of which there is no Intimation there given, 2 Tim. i. 6. Whereas the Presbytery could not confer such Gifts, and therefore their Imposition of Hands must be for vesting him in the Office. And for that Argument, that Timothy was invested in an Office superior to that of the Presbyters, (as I grant he was, if he was then constituted an Evangelist) and therefore could not be ordain'd to it by Presbyters: It has nothing of Force in it, for 'tis built upon a palpable Mistake, as if the Ordainers gave or convey'd the Power to that Person whom they ordain. Whereas the Power is derived from Christ, and flows from his Charter that constitutes the Office, and describes the Qualifications of those that shall be admitted to discharge it. And the Ordainers no more give that Power, than the Recorder gives the Lord Mayor his Power when he invests him in his Office, or the Lord Chancellor gives any Officer of State his Power when he sets his Seal to his Patent, (to use Mr. King's Comparison, Answer to Dean Manby, pag. 19.) Or the Arch-Bishop gives a King the Royal Authority when he performs the Ceremony of his Coronation. Now as in such Cases an Inferior may invest his Superior in a Civil Office, so may an Inferior Officer in the Church invest a Superior. And Mr. Drury himself must own it to be so, when Bishops consecrate an Arch-Bishop, and so must those of the Romish Church, when Cardinals create a Pope. This could never be, if an Inferior could not invest a Superior Officer. And this plainly shews that the Ordainers, only for Order sake, recognize the Authority which the Charter of Christ conveys to the Person ordain'd, upon his being qualified for the Office, consenting to undertake it, and being (by the Election of those he is to minister unto, if he take a particular Flock as his Charge) called to it.

And for the other Exposition of those, that by the Word Presbytery understand the Office of a Presbyter, it is liable to these two great Inconveniencies. The one is, That it puts an unnatural and forced Construction on the Words, which must run as harshly in the Original, as they do in such a Translation of them as this; Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee according to Prophecy, with the laying on of Hands, of the Office of a Presbyter. The other is, That Presbytery is never used in Scripture to signify the Office of a Presbyter. 'Tis but twice us'd in the New-Testament, viz. Luke xxii. 66. and Acts xxii. 5. And in both Places sig-

nifies the Jewish Council of Elders. And from thence it was used to signify the Bench of Elders; which the Apostles ordain'd in every Church or City; and 'tis always used in this Sense by the earliest Writers of Christianity. 'Tis particularly used in this Sense, frequently by the Author of the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, by Clemens Alexand. Strom. 6. Origin. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 20. Cypr. Ep. 35. Cornel apud Cypr. Ep. 46. and many other ancient Writers. See Blondel's Apol. 89, 90. And there is no manner of Ground here to recede from the known and received Sense of it.

But I need not enlarge on this, when as I have shewn my Answerers themselves have granted it, tho' therein Mr. Drury is plainly inconsistent with himself.

And now let us see what Mr. Drury has offer'd to prove this third Position: "That the Apostles vested some with the whole of their Ecclesiastical Power; such are now call'd Bishops; and others with only part of it, such as are now call'd Presbyters."

To prove this, he insists on three Preliminaries.

"I. That there were by God's Appointment three Orders of Consecrated Persons in the Jewish Church; the High-Priests, the Priests and the Levites. And the Christian Church being to succeed the Jewish, he concludes, Our Saviour would keep as many of its Institutions as were consistent with his Design, and the Liberty of the Gospel; else he would seem to affront that God, who had appointed this Oeconomy."

Ans. To shew the Weakness of this Argument; I need only suggest the following Considerations.

1. Those Divines that are best vers'd in the Jewish Antiquities, do all conclude quite contrary to our Author's Supposition, That our Saviour drew the Model of his Church rather from the Jewish Synagogue; than from the Jewish Temple.

I have, in the Appendix, produced the Testimony of Monf. Basnage, in his learned History of the Jews. To confront that, Mr. French has produc'd a Passage out of Selden, wherein he saith, "That tho' the Civil Juridicatories of the Jews might be properly called Presbyteries, because constituted of a certain Number of Elders, yet this could not be said of their Synagogues, Proseucha's, and Schools, wherein no such College of Presbyters was found. And since therefore the Name of Presbytery only occurs once in the New Testament, and that not without some Doubtfulness about the Reading and Sense, and the Mention of Christian Presbyters is very rare; it may be rather said, that some one Presbyter that was, as it were, the [Archi-synagogus] Ruler of the Synagogue, or more, as the Place and Affairs required, were admitted and placed in the Christian Churches, than that any College of Presbyters was formed."

But with the Leave of that excellent Antiquary, I see not any just Ground for this Remark; for as other Masters of the Jewish Learning have often observ'd; that there were in each Jewish Synagogue several Doctors or Teachers, and Rulers [as is evident from the Scriptures themselves: See Acts xiii. 15.] so we never read of the Apostles constituting one Elder in any Church; but always of their constituting Elders, both κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, and κατὰ πόλιν*. And I have already shewn, that 'tis this Assembly or Bench of Elders; that are, in the earliest Christian Writers, call'd the Presbyteries of those Churches which were under their Care and Government. See pag. 92.

But I need only, to clear this Matter, refer Mr. French to Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum, wherein he lays this as a Foundation of his Enquiries, concerning the Apostolical Practice in founding of Churches, "That in forming them, they observ'd the Customs of the Jewish Synagogues, according to that just Observation of Grotius, That the whole Government of the Churches

* In every Church, and every City or Town.

" of Christ was conformed to the Pattern of the Synagogues. And accordingly he proves, That there was a distinct Bench of Officers belonging to each Synagogue, to superintend the Affairs of it. " 1. From the Ten requir'd for the Synagogue, distinct from the Number of those Elders requir'd for their Civil Judicatories. 2. From the peculiar Ordination of those that were the Rulers of the Synagogues. And from Maimonides's Description of the Manner of their sitting in their Synagogues, " That the Elders sat with their Faces towards the People, and their Backs towards the Hecall; (the Place where lay the Copy of the Law) whereas the Minister of the Congregation in praying, turn'd his Face towards the Sanctuary as the rest of the People. He observes, That there were so many Elders in a Synagogue as to make a Bench or Consistory; and therefore had a Place by themselves as the Governors of the Synagogue. That besides this College of Presbyters, there was the publick Minister of the Synagogue, the Superintendant over the Congregation; whose peculiar Work it was to pray for, and bless the People. This is he who is sometimes called *Archi-synagogus*, or the Ruler of the Synagogue; but who had no Power over and above the Bench of Presbyters, whereof he was a Member, but a meer Primacy of Order. And this is the same that was sometimes called the *Angel of the Church*. (As Mr. Basnage observes.)

And that the Apostles follow'd this Model in the Formation of Churches, he proves, " From the Community of Names and Customs between the believing and unbelieving Jews, at the first Forming of Churches. From the Apostles forming Churches out of Synagogues in their first travelling Abroad, and from the Agreeableness of that Model of Government to the State of the Christian Churches at that Time. These Arguments he prosecutes from Page 253, to 286.

And 'tis observable to my present Purpose, that having shewn a Conformity in the Christian Worship to that of the Jewish Synagogue, he proceeds to shew a Conformity in their Custom of Ordination. And to clear his way to that, he shews, " That the Rulers in the Christian Church do not succeed to the Priests or Levites under the Law, who were not admitted by Ordination to this Function, but succeeded by Birth into their Places. And whereas that known Passage of St. Jerome in his Ep. to Evagr. is produced to countenance this Argument of Mr. Drury from the Aaronical Priesthood, viz. " That what Aaron, and his Sons, and the Levites were under the Temple; that Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons may challenge to themselves in the Church, he has, with undeniable Evidence, shewn, that Jerome meant no more, than that as Aaron and his Sons were above the Levites under the Law, so Bishops and Priests are in the Evangelical Priesthood above the Deacons. See Iren. from Page 365, to 368.

For the Conformity of their Ordination, he shews it in the Rite used, the Imposition of Hands, in the Persons authoriz'd to ordain; (which at the first were all the Elders, but afterwards the Exercise of that Power was by Ecclesiastical Custom restrain'd to him that was for Order Sake the *Præses* among the Bench of Elders, answering to the *Archi-synagogus* or *Angel* in every Jewish Church) in the Number of the Ordainers that were usually three. And in the Name given to the Person Ordained of Presbyter or Bishop: Concerning which he has this remarkable Passage, " That among the Jews, in the Times of the Apostles, 'tis most evident, that the Name *Presbyter* imported not only Dignity but Power. The Presbyters among the Jews having a Power both of Judging and Teaching given them by their *Semicha*, or Ordination. Now under the Gospel, the Apostles retaining not only the Name but Manner of Ordination, but not conferring that Judiciary Power by it, that was in Use among the Jews; to shew the Difference between the Law and the Go-

spel, it was requisite some other Name should be given to the Governors of the Church, which should qualify the Importance of the Word *Presbyter* to a Sense more proper to the Gospel-State. Which was the Original of giving the Name of Bishops to the Governors of the Church under the Gospel. A Name importing Duty more than Honour, and not a Title above Presbyter; but rather us'd by way of Diminution and Qualification of the Power imply'd in the Name of Presbyter. Therefore, to shew what kind of Power the Name *Presbyter* imported in the Church, the Office convey'd by that Name is call'd *ἐπισκοπή*, Oversight; and Presbyters are said *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, to oversee, 1 Pet. v. 2. which is oppos'd to *κατακυριεύειν τὸν κλήρον*, Lording it over the People, as was the Custom among the Jews. So that if we determine Things by Importance of Words, and Things signify'd by them, the Power of Ordination was proper to the Word *Presbyter*, and not that of Bishop; because the former Name did then import that Power, not the latter.

Mr. Drury may therefore see, that if it be ominous to stumble at the very Threshold, we may guess what Proof we are to expect of his main Position, when he begins it with advancing so unhappy a Mistake. But that I may not be too hard with him, let us for once suppose that the Christian Church were to be conform'd to the Levitical Priesthood.

Therefore, 2. On Supposition that there were to be three Orders of consecrated Persons in the Christian Church, to render it conformable to the three Orders of High-Priest, Priests, and Levites under the Jewish Oeconomy. This Notion will agree very well with what he calls the Presbyterian Model; but by no Means with the Episcopal Model, unless he'll take in the Papal Supremacy.

According to what he calls the Presbyterian Model, we have Jesus Christ the High-Priest of our Profession, and he is not the less but the more so, since his Ascension and Entrance into the heavenly Sanctuary, to make perpetual Intercession for us there. And under this great High-Priest, we have inferior Priests, that are partly God's Mouth to his People, in delivering his Law to them; and their Mouth to God, in offering up their publick spiritual Sacrifices of Praise and Prayer. And so the Elders are represented as Pastors under the great Shepherd of Souls, 1 Pet. v. 12. And under them we have Deacons to assist the Priests in the lower Ministrations of the Church, as the serving of Tables, and distributing the Alms of the Church to the Poor. So that here the Parallel is exact, and supposes three Orders of consecrated Persons in the Christian Church, answering to those three in the Jewish Church: Whereas if our Author drew the Parallel, he must either leave our blessed Saviour, the great High-Priest of the Christian Profession, out of his Scheme (and consequently out of his Office) or else he must make four Orders of consecrated Persons, by making the Bishops a distinct Order from the Presbyters. And if he will be for an High-Priest on Earth, that should bear the same Rank in the Christian Church that the High-Priest did in the Jewish Church, I know none that has pretended herein to be the Vicar of Christ, but a certain Gentleman of Rome, whom our Author's Notion may very much oblige: But then if he be the High-Priest, our Bishops must either be excluded, or shroud themselves under the Order of Presbyters, which my Answerers will by no means allow. But this leads to the next Part of Mr. Drury's Argument.

II. Our Author himself draws the Parallel, and according to him, Jesus Christ, while on Earth, was the High-Priest, the Apostles the Priests, and the Seventy Disciples the Levites.

Now concerning this Part of his Argument, I shall only observe two great Defects in it.

I. That he does, without any solid Evidence, conclude, That by the Commission given by Christ to his Twelve Disciples, Matt. x. 12, &c. and that given to the

the Seventy Disciples, *Luke x. 1, &c.* They were constituted in two different Orders or Offices, whereas neither their *Commission* it self, nor their *Credentials*, were any way different. And consequently to make them to be two different Orders of *Ministry* during our *Saviour's* Life (as our *Author* does) is at best a precarious and unprov'd Assertion, whatever Difference we may suppose to have been afterwards.

II. That still even this Parallel agrees much better to the Presbyterian, than to the Prelatical Model.

For we have still three Orders, *Jesus Christ* our great *High-Priest*, the *Twelve Apostles* for the Presbyters of the *Christian Church*, and the *Seventy Disciples* to answer the *Deacons*: Whereas, if we introduce the Order of *Diocesan Bishops*, either our *Saviour* must be left out of the Scheme, and that great *Bishop of Souls* turn'd out of Office, or we shall have four, and not three consecrated Orders in the *Christian Church*.

Let us advance then to the

III. Stage of his Argument, pursuant to this Parallel between the *Jewish* and *Christian Church*.

And here he tells us, "That *Christ* gave his *Apostles* no other Commission than of doing as he had done; and of Consequence he gave them a Command to settle for ever three distinct Orders of *Church-Officers* under the Gospel Oeconomy, as they saw he had done before them: And if they had not follow'd his Example, they would not have acted according to their Commission. Which is, I think, no weak Argument for the divine Right of *Episcopacy*."

Ans. I must desire Mr. *Drury* to make any tolerable Sense of what he here saith, before he bestows the Name of an *Argument* upon it.

He had, under the former Head, made our *Saviour* the *Bishop*, and the distinct Orders of the *Twelve Apostles* and *Seventy Disciples* to answer those of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*; so that our *Saviour* appointed two Orders, besides that which he held himself, as the great *Shepherd* and *Bishop of Souls*. And accordingly, if the *Apostles* were to follow his Example, they must only institute two more. For our *Saviour* is as much as ever the *Bishop of Souls*, and is indeed never call'd so till after his *Ascension*, *1 Pet. ii. 25*. So that unless our *Answerer* again throws our blessed *Saviour* out of his Scheme, and consequently out of his Office, there are but two standing Orders to be instituted. And this is very conformable to the Presbyterian Model: For they say, the *Apostles* being extraordinary Officers themselves (as well as *Prophets* and *Evangelists*) did only actually institute two such standing Orders, viz. That of *Elders*, (the true scriptural *Bishops*) who are the inferior Pastors of the several Flocks under the great *Shepherd* and *Bishop of Souls*; and that of *Deacons*, to serve *Tables*, while these *Pastors* give up themselves to *Prayer* and the *Ministry of the Word*, *Acts vi. 2*. So that if there be any Force in the *Author's* Argument, it entirely destroys his own Opinion.

Let us then see, how he goes about to make good his Argument.

To this Purpose he tells us, "That the *Apostles* by their first Commission, were only empower'd to perform the Offices of that Order of Men in the Church now call'd *Presbyters*, viz. *Preach*, and *Baptize*, and remit *Sins*; and that they receiv'd a second Commission when our *Saviour* said to them, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*: When he saith, they were sent with the whole Ecclesiastical Power; whereas they had but part of it before."

Ans. We may guess what our *Author* will make of this Argument, when he begins it with such an Heap of Confusion and palpable Mistakes.

The first Commission the *Apostles* had, was given them, *Matt. xx. 12, &c.* To go and preach to the lost Sheep of the House of *Israel*, that the Kingdom of Heaven was at Hand: And to confirm their Doctrine, he endow'd them with Power to cast out Devils, and heal all manner of Diseases. After his Resurrection, he gives them a second Commission, at *John xx. 21, 22, 23*. *As my Father*

sent me, so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose Sins soever ye remit, they are remitted, &c. And immediately before his *Ascension*, he delivers the same Commission in fuller Terms: *Go, and disciple all Nations, baptizing them, &c. and teaching them whatever Things I command you, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20*. Now our *Author*, by a strange Jumble, supposes the Work of *Baptizing*, and *Remitting Sins*, (which he takes to be the Office of *Presbyters*) to be committed to the *Apostles* by their first Commission; whereas there is no mention of *Remitting of Sins* in their first Commission at all, nor any express mention of *Baptizing*; but express mention of both in their second. And he confines their second Commission to those Words, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*: Which do not describe at all the Work they were commission'd for, but only that their Commission was as immediately from *Christ*, as his was from the *Father*. But what the Work was they were commission'd for, must be learn'd not from these Words, but from the Commission it self, viz. *To disciple all Nations, baptizing them; and teaching them whatever he had commanded*. And as I freely grant the Power of committing that Doctrine to other faithful Men, in Order to their being Teachers in the Church, to be included in that Commission; so it is given to the same Persons that are, by that Commission, authoriz'd to succeed the *Apostles* (not in their *Apostolical Office*, and *Plenitude of Power* belonging to it; for none could teach or govern with the same Authority they did, who had not the Promise of the same un-erring Assistance from the Holy Spirit) but in the ordinary Work of *Teaching*, and *Baptizing*, and declaring the Laws and Institutions of *Christ* to his Church.

Again, at pag. 11. he tells us, "That the *Apostles*, after their second Mission, did not call themselves *High-Priests*, because there could be but one *High-Priest* to make Expiation for Sins.—And therefore contented themselves with the Name of *Apostles*, because immediately sent by *Christ*. And those that succeeded them in their Authority, would not be call'd *Apostles*, because they were not sent so immediately by *Christ*; nor had they all those miraculous Gifts the *Apostles* had: Out of Modesty, therefore, they took on them the Name of *Bishops*, a Name which they had before they receiv'd the supreme Ecclesiastical Power in the Church of *Christ*, and which had been common to every *Presbyter*. (To which Purpose he refers to a Passage of *Ambrose*, mentioned by *Salmasius*, but might, if he had consulted *Salmasius*, have seen 'tis nothing to his Purpose.)"

Ans. What he seems to ascribe to the Modesty of the *Apostles*, viz. That they contented themselves with the Name of *Apostles* instead of that of *High-Priests*, was really to be ascribed to their having quite other Apprehensions than this *Author* seems to entertain. They knew that there could be but one *High-Priest* of the *Christian Profession*; and must have entirely destroy'd this imaginary Parallel between the *Jewish* and *Christian Church*, if instead of one *High-Priest*, they had set up for twelve *High-Priests* themselves, with twelve distinct Churches under them; and appointed many Hundred, or rather many Thousand Successors in this their imaginary *High-Priesthood*, with a distinct Church under each of them to the End of the World. Yet this wild extravagant Scheme is the Foundation of Mr. *Dodwell's* Book of one Altar, and one Priesthood; a Scheme that can hardly be parallel'd for Absurdity by any other, but that in his other Book, concerning the Soul's being naturally mortal, but actually immortaliz'd in order to future Rewards and Punishments by the divine baptismal Spirit; the Conveyance of which baptismal Spirit is solely entrusted with *Diocesan Bishops*. And thus are all the Members of the Reformed Churches abroad, that want Episcopal Government, and of Protestant Dissenters at home, reduc'd to the sad Prospect of dying like Beasts, without any hope of Immortality. And by his former Scheme, instead of one *High-Priest* for the whole *Christian Church*, viz. our blessed *Saviour*, we are to have one High-

High-Priest for every *Diocesan Church*; and to his Cathedral Altar, all the Altars or Communion Tables in all the Parishes of the Diocese are subordinate: (But here again the Parallel is most miserably destroy'd, there being no such subordinate Altars in the Jewish Church.) And all who do not communicate with this Cathedral Altar, by being *subject to the Diocesan Bishop*, are out of the Church, and left to the *uncovenanted Mercy* of God. And thus are all the Protestants that are out of the Pale of this *Episcopal Communion*, reduced to the hopeless Condition of *Infidels*. Now Mr. Drury may, if he please, admire this Set of Notions (as he seems to approve of them at p. 30.) but I believe he will find all wise Men tempted by them to think the Censure that *Festus* unjustly pass'd upon St. Paul, too justly applicable to this Man of vast Reading, but slender Judgment, *μαῖνν, πολλά σε γράμματα εἰς μάταιον πετεινέσαι, Αἴτι xxvi. 24.*

What our Author adds concerning the early Distinction of the Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, I shall meet with them anon, and shew him how little it is to his Purpose.

After these confused Preliminaries, our Author comes at last to state the main Question thus.

"This therefore being evident, that there were three distinct Orders of Church-Officers when our Saviour was alive; and that he constituted his Apostles to officiate in his Stead after he had left the World: Let us next enquire, How the Apostles left the Church? Whether they also constituted some Persons with the whole Ecclesiastical Power, and others with part of it only? Or whether, as the Presbyterians would persuade us, they bequeath'd the whole of this Ecclesiastical Power to the Body of Presbyters, without any Distinction or Superiority of one above another?"

Ans. This Author begins his Preface with a true Observation, "That Men bring their Opinions to the Holy Scriptures, not to be try'd and regulated by them, but to be supported; and so they strive to pick up something which may give Countenance to those Notions they have imbib'd, and which they are resolv'd to maintain". And I take this whole Discourse to be a very solid Proof of the Truth of it, as apply'd to himself, and particularly this State that he has here drawn up of the Question, as will appear in the following Remarks upon it.

I. If our Author, by the *Apostles officiating in Christ's Stead*, means, that our Saviour at his Ascension devolv'd all his Power as the Head of the Church, unto the Apostles, to dispose of it at their Discretion, by giving Laws to his Church, and constituting what Offices they pleas'd in it, (and he must mean so, if he speaks any thing to the Purpose here). Then he begins the stating of the Question with a most pernicious Error, that strikes at no less than the *Universal Headship of Christ*; who was so far from delegating his Authority as the only Law-giver of his Church, and the *Universal Shepherd and Bishop of Souls*, to any single Person, or any Number of them; that for any such to pretend to it, is an arrogant Usurpation of his incommunicable Authority. And 'tis this impudent Claim of the Roman Bishop that all Protestants so justly detest, and many of them make the distinguishing Character of the Antichrist, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. And far be it from any Presbyters to claim any such Plenitude of Ecclesiastical Power as this.

II. If our Author pleases to peruse his Bible, he'll find that our blessed Saviour was so far from leaving the Constitution of such as should bear Office in his Church, to the Pleasure or Will of his Apostles; that he as truly by his own Authority constituted the Office of Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, as that of Apostles, Eph. iv. 11. And here he'll find, as I observ'd before, instead of three Orders in his Church, at least four or five, (for Deacons are not here mentioned.) So that this one clear Passage of Scripture overturns his whole Scheme, and should convince him how dangerous it is to pick up here and there what may

countenance our pre-conceiv'd Notions, instead of deriving them from the sacred Oracles themselves. If therefore our Author would state the Question right, it must be in such Particulars as these: "Whether the Offices of Apostles, Prophets, or Evangelists, are standing Offices of perpetual Continuance in the Church? Or which of them is so? And whether Pastors and Teachers (whose Offices alone Dr. Barrow supposes to be standing ones, besides that of Deacons, in the Church) are by divine Right as much subjected to some superior Order of Men (as Successors either of the Apostles or Prophets, or Evangelists) as the Presbyters now are to Diocesan Bishops? And if the Author can clearly prove the Affirmative, in reference to these Questions, he will say something to the Purpose in this Cause: If he cannot, his Discourse may tend to confound his Readers, but will signify little for their Instruction. For the Negative, I have already offer'd Dr. Barrow's and Dr. Lightfoot's Arguments to prove, that the Apostles neither did nor could communicate their Apostolical Power (which was founded on their immediate Mission and peculiar infallible Guidance, and unlimited Commission, &c.) to any proper Successors at all. None can pretend to succeed the Prophets without immediate Inspiration: And for the Evangelists, I shall shew, that their Office was as Extraordinary and Temporary as that of the Apostles; and that they actually had no Successors in it. But let us trace our Author in the Proofs whereby he pretends to convince every impartial Enquirer (in which Number I assure him I can justly rank my self) of the Truth of his Opinion.

"In order to make this evident, (saith he) we must consider, that when the Apostles had founded a Church in a City, and had constituted Elders there for the Supply of the ordinary and necessary Offices of the Cure; they reserv'd the Rule and Government of it to themselves, as long as they saw it convenient. Thus we are told, that some Years after Paul and Barnabas had preach'd the Gospel, and had ordain'd them Elders in every Church, Paul said to Barnabas, Let us go again, and visit our Brethren in every City where we have preached the Word of the Lord, and see how they do; i. e. How they have advanced in the Knowledge of Christ. This was the Order the Apostles constantly observ'd; and after they had made them several Visits, they begun to think of their own Mortality: And since the Numbers of Believers increas'd in all Places, lest they should be suddenly snatch'd away, and so the Church, for want of Persons who had Power to ordain, should be destitute of Clergy; they invested this Power in some single Persons of every Church, and appointed them to rule and govern with the same Authority as they had done.

Ans. Here again, we have a confused Heap of Assertions, that are either false, or precarious and unprou'd.

That the Apostles reserv'd to themselves the Rule and Government of such Churches as they had planted, in their own Hands, is an Assertion of a doubtful and ambiguous Sound.

If the Author only means by it, that when the Apostles had planted Churches, and constituted Presbyters in them; they did still exercise a general Superintendency and Care over them, by sometimes visiting them themselves, and reforming what they found amiss in them; and sometimes sending any needful Directions and Orders to them by such Itinerant Evangelists as were their Assistants in their unfix'd Ministry, or sending them Epistles, and giving them needful Advices and Directions therein: I shall then grant what he saith, and it will appear in the Sequel, that this Confession will do his Cause no Service. But if the Author means, that the Apostles invested these Presbyters set in particular Churches, in no other Power than that of Teaching and administering the Sacraments; so that they had no Power to rule the Churches they taught by

by the Exercise of sacred Discipline : 'Tis utterly false, as I have already shewn in reference to the Presbyters of the Church of Ephesus*, and those whom the Apostle Peter exhorts to feed and oversee the Flocks committed to them† : And I have already observ'd, that the Apostle gives this Charge to the Presbyters of Ephesus, when taking his last Leave of them, without any Prospect of ever seeing them any more. Nay, all Presbyters in general are represented as entrusted with a ruling Power||. And the Teachers of the Church of Corinth are blam'd for not having exercised that Power in the Excommunication of the incestuous Corinthian. And indeed, the Apostles could not have reserv'd this Power wholly in their own Hands, without a manifest Detriment to the Churches themselves, from many of whom they were long absent, and to some of whom 'tis probable they never once return'd again. (And this I take to have been particularly the Case of the Churches planted round Illyricum, which we never find the Apostle Paul visited afterwards, nor perhaps that of Thessalonica.) What then would have become of that sacred Discipline that is of so great Necessity to the Maintaining the Purity of Churches by the Exclusion of openly impenitent and scandalous Sinners, and by the Purging out that Leaven that would otherwise leaven the whole Lump (to use St. Paul's Expressions) if the Apostles had not left the Presbyters that they planted in every Church, impower'd to exercise it. And therefore Dr. Barrow, in refuting the Popish Pretensions of St. Peter's being the Bishop of Rome, justly observes, that the Offices of an Apostle and a Bishop (i. e. one that has the Care of a particular Church or Flock) are not in their own Nature well consistent (which I shall have Occasion to mention afterwards.)

For his other Assertion, "That the Apostles on the Prospect of their own Mortality, invested some single Persons in every Church with a Power to ordain others, and appointed them to rule and govern with the same Authority that they had done. It contains in it several Mistakes.

As,

I. 'Tis evident, that Presbyters were invested with the Power of Ordination long before the Decease of the Apostles, and actually exercis'd it in the Ordination of Timothy himself. See pag. 91, 92. And our Author himself supposes them invested with that Power. (As I have shewn pag. 80.)

II. I would gladly know, whether by every Church, the Author mean every single Congregation, (i. e. every Church, the Members whereof are ordinarily capable of Personal Communion) or every Diocesan Church consisting of some Scores or Hundreds of such Churches.

If he mean the former, then tho' he could prove (which I presume he'll find it hard to do) That the Apostles had confin'd the Power of Ordination to some single Person in every single Congregation, it would signify nothing towards proving, that Diocesan Episcopacy is of divine Right, or that the Power of Ordination for a whole Diocess ought to be confin'd to such a Bishop. For these are two vastly different Things. And by the way, I must tell him, that the Bishop of the two or three first Centuries was but the Pastor of a single Congregation with his Assistant-Presbyters, and the devolving the Work of Ordination on him alone, will be no Proof of the Claim of Diocesans from Antiquity it self. (Of which more afterwards.)

If he mean by every Church, every Diocesan Church, I must desire him to shew us any such Diocesan Churches with a Diocesan Bishop as their Governor in the Holy Scriptures. For I could never yet find them. And much less, that the Apostles did invest some single Person in every Diocesan Church with the Power of Ordination. If they did, how come the Presbyters in the establish'd Church to concur in the Acts of Ordination,

which, according to our Author, they receiv'd no Power to perform? So that this Part of the Assertion carries a flat Contradiction not only to the Holy Scriptures, but to the known Practice of the Establish'd Church, unless he suppose the Imposition of the Presbyters Hands to be a meer insignificant Cypher in that sacred Solemnity.

3. Again, when he saith, "The Apostles appointed some single Persons in every Church, to rule and govern with the same Authority that they had done; I must again repeat the same Question, Does he mean Congregational or Diocesan Churches?

If he means Congregational Churches, 'tis not only a precarious Assertion, but contrary to Matter of Fact, as he may see in reference to the Church of Ephesus, and those Lots in God's Heritage St. Peter speaks of, which were committed to the common Care of those Presbyters that were constituted by the Apostles in every Church, and every City. Compare Acts xiv. 23. with Titus i. 5. And if he mean these Churches, his Assertion signifies nothing at all to prove the divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy. Besides, the Author advances the Authority of every such Congregational Bishop far too high, when he makes it to be the same with that of the Apostles. There being another kind of Respect due to the Authority of an Apostle (that was founded on the unerring Assistance of the Holy Spirit, and confirm'd by Miracles) than ought to be paid to every such Congregational Bishop.

If he means Diocesan Churches, then he must both prove Diocesan Churches to have been constituted by the Apostles, and that the Apostles appointed Diocesan Bishops to rule and govern them with the same Authority that they had done. For I take both to be precarious Assertions. But that leads me to the Consideration of the main Arguments he has offer'd to make good his third Position.

For his Instances of Evodius and Linus, since he neither tells us what Churches they had, nor attempts to prove any Superiority of Order they claim'd over the Presbyters of the Churches of Rome and Antioch; I shall pass them by, as he has thought fit to do himself.

For his Instance of Epaphroditus, whom he tells us, St. Paul calls the Apostle of the Philippians**, I need only tell him, That our Translators have with much greater Judgment render'd the Words your Messenger. And so Grotius on the Place tells us, "That such were call'd Apostles or Messengers of the Churches, who gather'd and carry'd the publick Contributions: The Apostles, properly so call'd, are styl'd the Apostles or Messengers of Christ, and never that I remember the Apostles of the Churches, to whom and not by whom they were sent. We read indeed of the Apostleship of the Circumcision, but that only denotes the Jews to have been the chief, but not the only Objects of St. Peter's Care and Charge. And Epaphroditus is call'd the Apostle of the Philippians here (not as sent of God to them, but) as sent by them to St. Paul to minister to his Wants. And whereas 'tis alledg'd, that the Word Apostle is never us'd in this Sense in the New Testament, this also appears to be a Mistake. For the Brethren mention'd, 2 Cor. viii. 23. who were chosen by the Churches to travel with their Alms and Contributions (and who were sent with, but distinguish'd from Titus, whom the Apostle calls his Partner, and Fellow-helper) are called the Apostles or Messengers of the Churches. And the Word Apostle is us'd in general for any one sent by another, John xiii. 16.—And therefore there is no Ground, upon the Authority of Theodoret, to understand it otherwise here; especially since I have shewn him from Dr. Barrow, "The Office of an Apostle, properly so called, and that of a Bishop, are inconsistent. And he that had the general Charge of the one, could not attend the particular Charge of the other. And Philippi had its Bishops and Deacons already, and therefore needed not Epaphroditus to take

* Acts xx. 28.

† 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

|| 1 Tim. v. 17.

** Phil. ii. 25.

that Office on him which was already committed to others.

Our Author passing over these, tells us, "The first Instance he will insist on, shall be that of St. James, who was certainly the Apostle, or in our modern Dialect, Bishop of Jerusalem. And this he proves because St. Jerome calls him so."

And whereas I had in the Appendix objected, that St. James being an Apostle, "To make him Bishop of Jerusalem would degrade him from his Apostolical Dignity. Mr. Drury, in Answer, tells me, Whoever had the Power of Ordination, Confirmation, and Supreme Jurisdiction, were in those Days call'd Apostles, whether they were fix'd or limited to any particular Diocese or not; for that does no way alter the Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction, which is the same in all Places. A Bishop is a Bishop of the whole Church, and the Limitation of his Power to a particular District is wholly owing to Compact and Agreement, &c. This (saith he) was the Reason why St. Paul confin'd himself to the Gentiles, and St. Peter to the Jews. And that if St. Paul, after all his tedious Journeys, had sat down and resided at any of his Churches, it would have been no Degradation of him, &c."

Mr. French, to enforce this Argument, takes great Pains to prove what no Body denies; that St. James had some Authority; "We say that of a Bishop (saith he) Joseph Boyse, that of a Moderator. But here I must beg his Pardon, I say that of an Apostle. And when I tell him, "That they consulted as little the Extent of the Apostolical Dignity and Office, who make him Bishop of Jerusalem, as in our modern Language he would consult the Dignity of a Diocesan Prelate, who should entitle him the Curate of a Country Village. He replies, I profess you almost provoke my Patience; and yet puts me off with no better Answer than that Mr. Drury had given, which I have above recited."

Ans. That St. James was an Apostle, I have shewn to be past all Dispute, from the Apostle Paul's calling him so. And the more I have consider'd the Opinions of learned Men, the more I am confirm'd in that of Dr. Cave, the learned Spanheim, and others, that he was the same with James the Son of Alphaeus, who was one of the Twelve mentioned, Matt. x.

Now if St. James was one of the Twelve, or an Apostle at all, I must still say, 'tis a Degradation of him to make him the Bishop of the Church of any particular City. And because these Gentlemen are pleas'd to flight this Argument as used by me, I will present it to them as enforced by the Reasons of an Author, to whom, I suppose, they both pay a greater Veneration.

'Tis very well known, that the Defenders of the Papal Supremacy built it on St. Peter's being Bishop of Rome; and after his other Travels, fixing his Residence and See there. And this Mr. Drury and Mr. French see no Incongruity in, nor can imagine any Degradation in it. And the Romish Writers, to be sure, do herein conspire with their Sentiments; and on the other hand, think the Bishop of Rome as much entitled to St. Peter's Apostolical Power, as St. Peter was to the See of Rome. And why not? when 'tis plain to Mr. Drury, "That the Apostolical Office was what we now call Episcopal, and the Episcopal Apostolical". But let us hear what Dr. Barrow saith in answer to these confident Pretensions. Against this Popish Plea, he offers the following Considerations:

1. St. Peter's being Bishop of Rome (saith he) would confound the Offices which God made distinct; for God did appoint, first, Apostles, then Prophets, then Pastors and Teachers: Wherefore St. Peter, after he was an Apostle, could not well become a Bishop: It would be such an Irregularity, as if a Bishop should be made a Deacon.

2. The Offices of an Apostle and a Bishop are not in their own Nature well consistent; for the Apostle-

ship is an extraordinary Office, charged with the Instruction and Government of the whole World, and calling for an answerable Care; (The Apostles being Rulers, as St. Chrysostome saith, ordained by God; Rulers, not taking in several Nations and Cities; but all of them in common entrusted with the whole World.) But Episcopacy is an ordinary standing Charge, affixed to one Place, and requiring a special Attendance there."

[So far is Dr. Barrow from imagining with Mr. Drury, That a Bishop is as truly a Bishop of the whole Church, as the Apostles were.] "Bishops being Pastors, who (as St. Chrysostome saith) do sit, and are employ'd in one Place. Now he that hath such a general Care, can hardly discharge such a particular Office; and he that is fixed to a particular Attendance, can hardly look after so general a Charge: Either of those Offices alone would suffice to take up a whole Man, as those tell us who have consider'd the Burthen incumbent on the meanest of them: The which we may see described in St. Chrysostome's Discourses concerning the Priesthood."

3. It would not have besem'd St. Peter, the prime Apostle, to assume the Charge of a particular Bishop: It had been a Degradation of himself, and a Disparagement to the Apostolical Majesty, for him to take upon him the Bishoprick of Rome. (And there is the same Reason against St. James taking on him that of Jerusalem.) "As if the King [here I must, for Dr. Barrow's Sake, bespeak Mr. French's further Exercise of Patience] should become Mayor of London; as if the Bishop of London should be Vicar of Pauras."

4. Wherefore 'tis not likely that St. Peter, being sensible of that Superior Charge belonging to him, which would exact a more extensive Care, would vouchsafe to undertake an Inferior Charge.

"We cannot conceive that St. Peter did affect the Name of a Bishop, as now Men do, allured by the Baits of Wealth and Power, which then were none. If he did affect the Title, why did he not, in either of his Epistles (one of which they would persuade us was written from Rome) inscribe himself Bishop of Rome?"

Especially considering that being an Apostle, he did not need any particular Authority; that involving all Power, and enabling him in any particular Place to execute all kinds of Ecclesiastical Administration; there was no reason, that an Apostle (or Universal Bishop) should become a particular Bishop.

I shall pass by his fifth and sixth Considerations, and only subjoin his seventh and eighth.

7. It was needless that he should be a Bishop; for that by virtue of his Apostleship (involving all the Power of inferior Degrees) he might, whenever he should be at Rome, exercise Episcopal Functions and Authority. What need a Sovereign Prince be a Justice of Peace?

8. Had he done so, he must have given a bad Example of Non-Residence; a Practice that would have been ill relish'd in the Primitive Church, &c.

These Reasons of Dr. Barrow carry such Evidence and Weight with them, that I need only apply to St. James, what the Doctor hath said concerning St. Peter: And if Mr. Drury tells us, "that to say St. James was the Apostle, is the same as in our modern Dialect, to say he was Bishop of Jerusalem". The Dialect must be Modern indeed, for he may perceive Dr. Barrow was a great Stranger to it in his Time. Besides, St. James, though call'd an Apostle, is never stil'd the Apostle of Jerusalem; nor did his ordinary Residence in that City imply, that he took the Church planted there for his particular and ordinary Charge: For the Exercise of his Apostolical Office, was in effect, extended to all the dispersed Jews, whose Conversion he had so great an Opportunity to labour after by his ordinarily residing in a City, to which there was so vast a Concourse of them at their three yearly Festivals. So that his Office neither was nor could be confin'd as that of a Bishop is to the Care of any

any particular Church. Dr. Hammond has consulted his Honour more than these Gentlemen, by making him Metropolitan of all Judea : But then the Argument drawn from him can only prove the Divine Right of Metropolitans, not of Diocesans.

But for Mr. Drury's Assertion, " That whoever had the Power of Ordination, Confirmation, and Supreme Jurisdiction, were in those Days called Apostles : I must, in order to the answering it, beg leave to take it in Pieces. For the Power of Ordination, it could not make those that had it Apostles ; for Presbyters were then vested with it ; and by the Practice of the Establish'd Church they are still supposed to be so.

For Confirmation, if he means admitting those baptized in Infancy to the Communion of adult Members, upon their solemn Recognition of their Baptismal Engagements, at Years of Discretion ; it should in all reason belong to those particular Pastors who personally know them, and can best judge of the Credibility of their Profession. And any other Confirmation Mr. Drury will hardly prove from the Holy Scriptures, as a standing Ordinance in the Christian Church ; [See Daille de Confirm.] For Supreme Jurisdiction, Mr. Drury should explain what he means by it, before we can tell what to make of it. If he means only the Power of censuring Offenders, it belongs to those Presbyters to whom particular Churches were committed, who are not thereby constituted Apostles. If he means by it any proper Legislative Power, the Apostles themselves had it not, having no more in their Commission from Christ, than to deliver his Laws, and teach what he had commanded. And therefore 'tis a great Mistake in Dr. Scot, to make such a Legislative Power a Branch of Episcopal Authority. If he only means a Power of delivering the Doctrines and Laws of Christ to his Universal Church, as his inspired Messengers ; this was peculiar to the Apostolical Office, which (as I have shewn from Dr. Barrow) they could no more communicate or devolve to any Successors, than they could communicate their immediate Mission, their unerring Assistance, and their Credentials of Miracles themselves : For on these that peculiar Authority (as he observes) was founded. See Postscript, pag. 84, 85. And to add no more, if by Supreme Jurisdiction he means the Power of Exercising all such Ministerial Acts (as belonged to Pastors and Teachers with respect to their particular Flocks) wherever they came ; and censuring all Male-Administrations, whether in Pastors or People, in whatever Church they found them : This Power was peculiar to the Apostles, and to those Evangelists, whom (as Dr. Barrow speaks) they assumed as their Assistants and Fellow-Labourers in the Work of Preaching and Governance : And the Latter did only act therein as directed and appointed by the Former ; and pursuant to the Instructions they received from them, (of which I shall have occasion to speak more in answer to his Arguments from Timothy and Titus.)

Again, What Mr. Drury suggests, " That St. Paul confin'd himself to the Gentiles, and St. Peter to the Jews, is by no means true ; since we read so often of St. Paul's Preaching to the Jews, and St. Peter to the Gentiles. And therefore, all that can be intended by the Gospel of the Uncircumcision being committed to Paul, and that of the Circumcision to Peter ; is only this, that the one was more specially directed by the Spirit of God, to labour for the Conversion of the Gentiles, the other of the Jews : But neither was their Authority nor their Labours confin'd to either, and much less to the Care of a particular Church ; as Mr. Drury in effect confines that of St. James, by making him Bishop of Jerusalem. That Bishops are Bishops of the whole Church (as Mr. Drury affirms) may admit of a double Sense, viz. either that his Office does empower him to Teach and Rule in any part of the Christian Church (occasionally or statedly) where he is regularly called thereto ;

or that every Bishop has as truly the whole Church for his Province and Charge, as the Apostles had ; and their Authority is, wherever they come, as extensive and unlimited, as that of the Apostles was. If Mr. Drury means only the Former, what he saith is not to the purpose : If he means the Latter, we must desire him to prove, That the Commission of Discipling all Nations, and preaching the Gospel to every Creature, &c. was given in the same Extent and Latitude to every Bishop, as it was to every Apostle. If it were so, we might justly expect the same special Assistance and Credentials to assure and execute their unlimited Authority. But St. Chrysostome (as Dr. Barrow has told him) thought quite otherwise of the Bishop's Charge, as ordinarily affixed to one Place. And so did St. Cyprian, when he supposes " every particular Bishop to have only a Part or Portion of the Universal Church committed to him as his Flock and Charge *.

For the Passages wherein some of the Fathers speak of St. James as Bishop of Jerusalem, they will appear to be of no greater Weight than those in which others of them speak of St. Peter as Bishop of Rome. They often speak of the Apostolical Times in a Conformity to the Dialect of their own : And therefore spake as improperly in calling the Apostles Bishops, as (Dr. Barrow has observed they did) in calling the Bishops the Successors of the Apostles. Thus they call'd St. James Bishop of Jerusalem, rather with regard to his usual Residence in that City, than to the real Extent of his Apostolical Commission. And so they call'd St. Peter Bishop of Rome, because they suppos'd that to be the last Place he resided in. 'Tis a just Observation of the learned Dr. Whitaker (Regius Professor at Oxford) to this Purpose. " When the Fathers call James or Peter Bishops, they take not the Name of Bishop properly, but they call'd them Bishops of those Churches where they staid for a Time. And he adds, 'tis absurd to say, that the Apostles were Bishops, since he that is properly a Bishop cannot be an Apostle ; the Bishop being set over one Church, and the Apostles Founders and Overseers of many Churches : And that it differs very little from Madness to say, That Peter or any other Apostles were Bishops †". [A Censure that bears something hard upon Mr. Drury's Judgment in this Point.]

Mr. Drury's second Instance is that of Timothy, who, as he tells us, was certainly left by St. Paul at Ephesus, (in his last Journey he made to visit the Churches) as their fix'd and settl'd Bishop, with a Preheminence, and Episcopal or Apostolical Authority over the Elders of the Church of Ephesus, which was not common to the Body of Presbyters. This he endeavours to prove by several Arguments, which I shall in the Sequel exactly recite and consider. And he concludes, " So that let Timothy be an Evangelist, or extraordinary Officer, when he was St. Paul's Companion and Assistant, or whatever else Mr. Boyse and the Presbyterians will please to have him ; this we are sure of, that the Elders or Presbyters of Ephesus could not ordain Elders, nor exercise this Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction of themselves ; and therefore was Timothy left among them as their fix'd and settl'd Bishop for the Time to come ; which is sufficient for our Purpose to shew, that mere Presbyters were not endued with the whole Plenitude of Ecclesiastical Power.

And Page 22 and 39, he refers us to Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Cave, and Millius's Prolegomina, who (he saith) prove, " That Timothy was made Bishop of Ephesus several Years after St. Paul's Discourse to the Elders from Ephesus at Miletus.

And to the same Purpose Mr. French more fully tells us, " That St. Paul made Timothy and Titus Bishops after all their Travels : Particularly that whereas the History of the Acts ends with St. Paul's first

* Cyr. Ep. 69. pag. 136.

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† De Pont. 2. c. 15. and c. 3. Sect. 9.

"Arrival at Rome, in the Year 61 — Timothy and Titus were made Bishops in the Year 64, viz. three Years after". And therefore blames me for supposing, that they make Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, when Paul sent for the Elders of Ephesus. And he adds, "That St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy was wrote in the Year 67, i.e. three Years after Timothy was made Bishop of Ephesus."

Ans. To shew the Invalidity of this Argument for proving the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, I shall,

First, Consider the Office of those Evangelists, or Itinerant Teachers, whom the Apostles employ'd as their Fellow-Labourers and Assistants in the Planting and Settling of Churches.

Secondly, I shall shew, That there is no tolerable Evidence of the Apostles having constituted any of them the fix'd Bishops of any Churches.

Thirdly, I shall shew, That their Office was Temporary, and that *de facto* they had no Successors in it, or in any peculiar Power that belong'd to it.

First, I shall consider the Office of those Evangelists, or Itinerant Teachers, whom the Apostles employ'd as their Fellow-Labourers, and Assistants in the Planting and Settling of Churches.

That the Apostles had such Companions of their Travels and Labours who assisted them in Founding and Settling, in Planting and Watering of particular Churches, is granted on all hands. These were sometimes present with them, and sometimes sent by them, where the Apostles had not the present Opportunity of going themselves; and accordingly they receiv'd their Instructions from them, about the constituting Elders in such Churches as wanted them; and delivering to those Churches such Orders as were requisite for their future Government, and taking Care while they staid among them to see those Orders put in Execution, and correcting any Irregularities or Disorders which they found among them. Thus of Philip, who is the first that is called an Evangelist, Grotius (on Acts xx. 8.) saith, "That having been formerly one of the Deacons, he was made a travelling Presbyter, affix'd to no Church, such being call'd Evangelists. These are the Officers whom Dr. Barrow tells us, the Apostles assum'd as their Assistants, and Fellow-Labourers in the Work of Teaching and Governance. Of these Eusebius speaks, lib. 3. c. 33. (or as some Editions have it, c. 37.) "That being sent abroad, they performed the Work of Evangelists. And what their Work was he shews, viz. Preaching the Gospel, planting the Faith in strange Places, and ordaining other Pastors, committing to them [*γεωργίαν*] the Cultivation of them who were newly brought in; and then adds, That they themselves went to other Countries and People". [See also lib. 5. c. 9.—] St. Austin calls them, *Suppares Apostolorum*, De Temp. Sermon. 146.

Their Authority or Power was by no means the same with the Apostolical. For they neither had their unerring Assistance, nor their extraordinary Gifts, and much less their immediate Commission. Nay, they acted in Subordination to them, and received their Instructions from them. Thus when Titus was left in Crete by St. Paul, to set in order the Things that were left undone, and to ordain Elders in every City, 'tis added, as I have appointed thee, Tit. i. 3. Thus Timothy receiv'd his Charge from St. Paul; he is instructed by him how he should behave himself in the Church, which is the House of the living God, as a Pillar and Ground of Truth; 1 Tim. i. 18. iii. 15. And particularly concerning the Qualifications of Bishops and Deacons: He is required to hold fast the Form of sound Words that he had heard of St. Paul, to continue in the Things which he had learn'd and been assur'd of, knowing of whom he learn'd them; and to add no more, to do the Work of an Evangelist, and to make full Proof of (or to fulfil) his Ministry.

All this clearly shews, that their Office was on the one hand distinct from, and inferior to the Apostolical; and yet on the other hand, that it was entirely subservient to it, and design'd to ease the Apostles themselves of some part of that heavy Burthen and Care of all the Churches that lay upon them, by doing what the Apostles themselves were wont to do, for bringing such Churches into a regular Order and Settlement; and this as deputed and commissioned thereto by the Apostles themselves. And for this they were eminently qualify'd by their long personal Converse with the Apostles themselves, and being thereby fully acquainted with the Order they observ'd in the Constitution of Churches. And when they had executed their Commission in any particular Province assign'd them, they went elsewhere to do the same in other Churches that needed the like Regulation.

This being the brief Summary of what the Holy Scriptures mention, relating to these Assistants and Fellow-Labourers of the Apostles, I proceed,

Secondly, To shew, that there is no probable Evidence of the Apostles having ever constituted these their Assistants and Fellow-Labourers, as the fixed Bishops or Overseers of any particular Churches (whether Congregational or City Churches, or Diocesan ones.)

I shall here begin with the Instance of Timothy, and then conclude that of Titus.

I. That Timothy was ever constituted by St. Paul, as the fixed or settled Bishop of Ephesus, is an Assertion which my Answerers are both concerned to bring us clear and solid Proof of, from the Holy Scriptures themselves, if they pretend to found the divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy upon it: For the bare Expressions of this or that antient Writer that call him Bishop of Ephesus, will no more prove his having a fixed Relation to that Church, than the like Expressions will prove St. Peter to have been himself Bishop of Rome. But here I find both my Answerers so wise as to take it for granted; and expect we should, upon their bare Affirmation, yield what is the chief Point in Debate: For I do not find one Argument they have offer'd from the Bible to prove it. For the Passages they mention concerning Timothy's Preheminence and Authority, signify nothing to determine the Point of his fixed Relation to the Church of Ephesus, as the Bishop of it, in the Modern Sense: Nor do those Words of the Apostle, *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia*, 1 Tim. i. 3. imply any such Thing. 'Tis manifest that those Expressions of Timothy's abiding still (*περμεναι*) at Ephesus, import no such Matter as a continued Settlement there for Term of Life. For the like Expression is used concerning Timothy's Abode at Berea †, which was so far from being a fix'd Abode, that we quickly read of his Removal thence to Athens, Acts xvii. 15. They might therefore as reasonably argue for his being made Bishop of Berea from his Abode there, as Bishop of Ephesus from St. Paul's beseeching him to abide there. Nay, that Epistle it self intimates, that it was only a temporary Abode that the Apostle design'd, since he only desires him to stay at Ephesus till he came to him ‖. Nay, he supposes his Absence from him would be but short. *These Things I write unto thee, hoping to come to thee shortly*. And in the second Epistle, which was wrote not long after the first, the Apostle calls him away to Rome; so that if he was then at Ephesus, he is immediately removed. But Dr. Whitby justly concludes he was not then at Ephesus, his pretended See, at all; because the Apostle there tells him, he had sent Tychicus to Ephesus, (2 Tim. iv. 12.) "From whence (saith the Doctor) 'tis evident, that Timothy, at the writing of this Epistle, was not at Ephesus; for if so, why should the Apostle advertise him that he had sent Tychicus thither? And is the bare Supposition of such a Matter of Fact, viz. the Apostle's having left Timothy the fixed and settled Bishop

* 1 Cor. iii. 6. † Acts xvii. 14. ‖ 1 Tim. iii. 14. & iv. 13.

of *Ephesus*, (in the modern Sense) a solid Foundation of the Claim of a divine Right, when the Scriptures never mention any such Matter of Fact? when the Expressions from which they would infer it, import no such Thing? Nay, when compared with other Expressions in the same Epistle, they intimate the quite contrary? And when in certain Matter of Fact, we read of several Removals of *Timothy's*, that appear inconsistent with such a fixed Settlement?

But since my Answerers build much on Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account of St. Paul's Travels; and think they have done much towards proving *Timothy* the fixed Bishop of *Ephesus*, from what they alledge from Bishop Pearson, viz. That the first Epistle to him was written in the Year 64, and the second Epistle three Years after; and both long after St. Paul's Valedictory Speech to the Elders from *Ephesus*: I shall, in order to convince them how insufficient and invalid this Plea is,

First, Shew them, That there is no manner of Certainty in Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account, but rather much greater Probability in the contrary common Account of our best Chronologers.

Secondly, Shew, that Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account signifies nothing at all to the proving the Point in Debate, viz. *Timothy's* being constituted the fixed and settled Bishop of *Ephesus* in the modern Sense.

First, I shall shew them, That there is no manner of Certainty in Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account; but rather far greater Probability in the contrary common Account of our best Chronologers.

And here I must premise, that though the Cause I plead is no way concern'd in this Chronological Account, nor will suffer the least Prejudice, whether way soever it be determined; yet if that Chronological Account of Bishop Pearson's fail, the Cause of my Answerers is utterly lost. For then, after the Time that they suppose this Epistle written to *Timothy*, to constitute him their Bishop; the Apostle taking his last Leave of the Elders of *Ephesus*, is so far from committing them and the Church to *Timothy's* continued Government, as their fixed Bishop, that he commits the Government of it to these Elders; and that in such Expressions as plainly imply, that the Holy Ghost had made them the Overseers and Bishops of it, which is very inconsistent with one of a superior Order to themselves, claiming supreme Jurisdiction over both that Church and the Elders of it, by a Divine Right.

The great Points of Chronology then to be debated are, Whether the Apostle's first Epistle to *Timothy* was written before his meeting with the Elders of *Ephesus* at *Miletus*? And whether his second Epistle was written in his first Imprisonment at *Rome*, or in his second, which so soon ended in his Martyrdom?

My Answerers refer me to Bishop Pearson and Millius's Prolegomena for the Negative, viz. That the first Epistle was written long after the Meeting at *Miletus*; and the Second in the Apostle's last Imprisonment, a little before his Death.

But I must tell them, that had they carefully read on both sides, they would have found Bishop Pearson's chief Arguments answered, and the contrary Chronological Account very solidly vindicated by the Author of the Defence of Scripture Ordination against the Exceptions of T. G. (who had used the Bishop's Arguments.)

That Author observes, that the contrary Chronological Account, that supposes St. Paul's first Epistle to *Timothy* to have been written before the Meeting at *Miletus*, was the common and prevailing Opinion of the greatest part of Chronologers, Ancient and Modern (the most learned Asserters of Episcopacy not excepted, such as Bishop Hall, Dr. Hammond) Grotius, Lud. Capellus, Dr. Lightfoot, Cary, &c. And Gothofredus cites *Athanasius* as of the same Opinion.

The *Rhemists*, on the other hand, assert this Epistle to be written after St. Paul's being set at Liberty from

his first Imprisonment at *Rome*; and are herein followed by Bishop Pearson and others.

And because that judicious Author [Mr. Owen; ὁ μακαριστός] has in a short Compass both fully answer'd the chief Arguments used by Bishop Pearson, and produced more probable ones on the other side; I shall be at the Pains to transcribe what he has offer'd on this Head.

Bishop Pearson's chief Argument is drawn from St. Paul's beseeching *Timothy* to abide at *Ephesus*, when he went into *Macedonia*, 1 Tim. i. 3. And then he endeavours to shew, that it could not be at any of the Times mentioned by St. Luke; and therefore must be some time after St. Paul's first Imprisonment at *Rome*.

To this the Author answers,

"I. Though Luke doth not mention (in Acts xx.) *Timothy's* being left at *Ephesus*, it is enough that Paul mentions it, 1 Tim. i. 3. In Acts xix. 21, 22. St. Paul sends *Timothy* into *Macedonia*, appointing him to call at *Corinth* by the Way, and intends himself to stay at *Ephesus* until he should come thither again to him, 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11. He chargeth the *Corinthians* to conduct him forth in Peace, that he might come to him, for he looked for him with the Brethren. It's most likely then, he return'd from *Macedonia* to *Ephesus* unto Paul. The Disturbance there occasion'd Paul's Departure before the time he had fix'd, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. And so he setteth out for *Macedonia*, as he intended, 1 Cor. xvi. 5. Acts xx. 1.

"At his Departure from *Ephesus*, he leaves *Timothy* there behind, not as a Resident, but in his Absence to supply the present Necessity, 1 Tim. i. 3, 4. until he return'd again, which he intended shortly to do, 1 Tim. iii. 14.

"II. Nothing can be concluded from Luke's Silence in this Point; for it is certain that he does not mention all the Journeys either of Paul or *Timothy*. In Acts xx. 1, 2. he saith, that Paul departed from *Ephesus* to go into *Macedonia*, but speaks nothing of his Stay at *Troas*, which though but short, was not without some Success: Yet this Omission of Luke, 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13. doth supply.

"Where doth Luke mention Paul's preaching the Gospel in *Illyricum*, which we are sure he did before his Imprisonment at *Rome*, Rom. xv. 19. Nor doth he mention his preaching in *Arabia*, which is spoken of in Gal. i. 17.

"Nor doth Luke mention *Timothy's* Journey to the *Thessalonians*, to confirm them in the Faith. In Acts xvii. 13, 14. we find him at *Berea* with Paul and Silas, who were driven from *Thessalonica* by Persecution. Paul expects him speedily at *Athens*, ver. 15. And we hear no more of him till Paul came to *Corinth*, Acts xviii. 15. But what's omitted by Luke, is mention'd by Paul, 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2. (viz.) That *Timothy* was sent to *Thessalonica*, while Paul staid at *Athens*.

"Now because I find *Timothy* in *Berea*, a Town of *Macedonia*, Acts xvii. 13, 14. and sometime after coming from *Macedonia* to *Corinth*, Acts xviii. 5. Shall I therefore conclude that he was in *Berea* all that time? When I find Paul expecting him in *Athens*, and sending him from thence to *Thessalonica*, between those times, as is mention'd by himself, 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2. With as much reason may the Reader conclude, that because he finds *Timothy* in *Macedonia*, Acts xix. 21, 22. And there again about half a Year after, Acts xx. 4. That therefore he was not out of *Macedonia* in all that time; tho' we find the Apostle expecting him at *Ephesus*, 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11. And leaving him there, 1 Tim. i. 3. when he went into *Macedonia*. He may as rationally affirm, That the first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* was written after Paul's Imprisonment at *Rome*, (which all acknowledge to be written before) because it mentions a Journey of *Timothy's* to *Thessalonica*, which Luke in the History of the Acts of the Apostles takes no notice of.

As the *Epistle to the Corinthians, Romans, and Thessalonians*, supply some Passages in the *Travels of Paul and Timothy*, omitted by *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, even so doth the *first Epistle to Timothy*, Chap. i. 3. supply what is omitted in *Acts xx.*

Another of *Bishop Pearson's* Arguments is, that mention'd by *Mr. Drury*, viz. That *St. Paul* in his *second Epistle to Timothy*, which was certainly wrote from *Rome* when he was in Bonds, tells him, *he had left Trophimus sick at Miletum*. But now it is plain, (saith he) that in his *first Journey to Rome* he did not leave *Trophimus* at *Miletum* at all, but carry'd him along with him. For we are told, that *Trophimus* was seen at *Jerusalem* with him, when he was on his Journey towards *Rome*.

To this Argument *Mr. Owen* answers, 'Tis most likely, that the Apostle touch'd at *Miletus* when he return'd from *Jerusalem* in Bonds to *Rome*; 'tis evident that they intended to sail by the *Coasts of Asia*, *Acts xxvii. 7.* and might touch at *Miletus*, (which was a Part of those *Asian Coasts*) tho' *Luke* doth not mention it. Or if *Miletum* were a City of *Crete*, as *Heylin* thinks, he might leave him there when he touch'd on those *Coasts*, as he sailed from *Rome*, *Acts xxvii. 7, 8.* But if this *Miletum* be *Malta*, (antiently *Melita*) as *Grotius* and *Beza* affirm, 'tis certain, that *Paul* was there in his Voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, *Acts xxviii. 1.* and might leave *Trophimus* sick behind him, as he saith he did, *2 Tim. iv. 20.*

Now as any of these *Suppositions* solve the *Objection*, so I take the *Second* of them to be the most probable; their *slow sailing under Crete* giving them sufficient Opportunity to set any sick Passenger on Shore on any Part of that *Coast*. And *Dr. Whitby*, on *2 Tim. iv. 20.* tho' he follows *Bishop Pearson's* Calculation, yet understands it of *Miletum*, a Town of *Crete*, not of *Miletus* on the *Coast of Asia*.

Mr. Owen having answered these *Objections*, proceeds to vindicate the common Account of *Chronologers*; and by several Arguments proves, that *St. Paul* left *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, and wrote his *first Epistle* to him before his *first Imprisonment at Rome*, and consequently before his Meeting with the *Ephesine Elders at Miletus*; and his *second Epistle*, during his *first Bonds at Rome*. As,

1. From his Journey to *Macedonia*, mention'd *1 Tim. i. 3.* which can be no other than that in *Acts xx.* as most of the Learned agree, and as is proved already.

2. From his *Excommunicating Alexander the Copper-smith*, *1 Tim. i. 20.* who is the same Person that is mention'd *Acts xix. 33.*

This *Excommunication* was not long after his *Apostacy*, as we may rationally suppose, and so is mention'd as a late Thing.

3. That Place in *1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.* where the Apostle saith, that he *hopes to come shortly unto Timothy*, agrees well with the Time of his Stay in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, mention'd in *Acts xx. 1, 2.* He design'd to stay in *Ephesus* until *Pentecost*, *1 Cor. xvi. 8.* but was driven away sooner by the Tumult there, *Acts xx. 1.* and spent very near a whole Year in *Macedonia, Greece, and those Parts*; and returned for *Asia* after *Easter* in the following Year, *Acts xx. 6.* having wintered in *Nicopolis*, *Tit. iii. 12.* Sometime this Year, while he was in *Macedonia*, or the Parts thereabouts, he writes his *first Epistle to Timothy*, telling him he design'd to be shortly with him, *1 Tim. iii. 14.* Accordingly, not long afterwards, he sailed for *Asia*, and came to *Miletus*; the Time being far spent, that he could not conveniently go to *Ephesus*, *Acts xx. 15, 16.*

Obje^t. But *Timothy* was with *Paul* in *Macedonia* when he set out for *Asia*, *Acts xx. 4.* How comes he to leave *Ephesus*, seeing the Apostle desired him to stay till he came?

Ans^w. The learned *Dr. Lightfoot* conceives it very probable, that *Paul* designing to have sail'd for *Syria*, *Acts xx. 3.* came near to *Timothy*; and there discovering the Danger that was laid in his Way by the *Jews*, which also might have involved *Timothy*, he brought him back again with him; and so both returned again into *Macedonia*; and when *Winter* was over, they set out for *Asia* again. *Lightfoot*, Vol. I. Pag. 312.

4. The *first Epistle to Timothy* must be written before *Paul's* first Imprisonment, because the *second Epistle* was written in his first Bonds, as the famous *Dr. Lightfoot* affirms, Vol. I. Pag. 324. And so doth the learned *Dr. Hammond**, a zealous Assertor of *Episcopacy*, to whose Opinion I subscribe for these Reasons.

1. When the *second Epistle to Timothy* was written, he was a young Man; therefore *Paul* bids him flee youthful Lusts, *2 Tim. ii. 22.* For the same Reason he saith, *1 Tim. iv. 12. Let no Man despise thy Youth.* See *1 Cor. xvi. 11.*

Suppose *Timothy* was about 24 or 25 Years old, when *Paul* took him into the Ministry, *Acts xvi. 34.* which was about the Year of Christ 51 †. From this Time to *Paul's* second Bonds and Martyrdom (which happen'd Anno Dom. 70. according to *Eusebius*, or 78. as *Lightfoot*) there passed near 20 Years: So that by the lowest Computation *Timothy* must be above 40, when the Apostle was under his second Confinement at *Rome*. It is not likely that the Apostle should caution him against youthful Lusts, *2 Tim. ii. 22.* at three or four and forty Years old, especially being a sickly Man, *1 Tim. i. 23.*

Therefore he wrote this *second Epistle to Timothy* many Years before his last Confinement, i. e. in his first Bonds, when *Timothy* was indeed a young Man, about 33 or 34, or perhaps younger; not much elder than when he wrote his *first Epistle* to him, in which he saith, *Let no Man despise thy Youth*, *1 Tim. iv. 12.* Or when he sent his *first Epistle to the Corinthians* (which all confess to be penn'd before his first Bonds) that chargeth them not to despise him for the same Reason, *1 Cor. xvi. 11.* Vid. *Pisc. & Grot.* in loc.

And I may here justly add, that whereas *Bishop Pearson* supposes the *first Epistle to Timothy* to be wrote in the Year 64, and *Timothy* (according to the lowest Computation) must be supposed at that Time near Forty Years old; there was no manner of Reason for the Apostle to caution them against despising his Youth, when he was so far advanced in Years: Whereas there was real Occasion for his doing so, if we suppose that *Epistle* wrote before *St. Paul's* meeting with the *Elders at Miletus*, when *Timothy* was, perhaps, under Thirty.

For the same Reason he calls him Son, *1 Tim. i. 2, 18. 2 Tim. ii. 1.*

2. *Paul* sends for *Timothy* to *Rome*, *2 Tim. iv. 9.* His Letter finds him somewhere near *Ephesus*, *2 Tim. iv. 19.* and *i. 16, 18.* and *iv. 13.* Accordingly *Timothy* came to *Rome*, and it doth not appear that he came thither before this Time that he was sent for. The last mention we have of him in the *Acts* is, that he accompanies *Paul* into *Asia*, *Acts xx. 4.* We read nothing of him in *Paul's* Voyage to *Rome*, therefore 'tis most likely he parted with *Paul* at *Miletus*, and staid among the *Asian Churches* until he was sent for by *Paul* to *Rome*. After his coming thither, the *Epistles to the Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon* were written; for his Name is prefix'd to them as well as *Paul's*. Now these *Epistles* were written in his first Bonds at *Rome*, *Phil. i. 26.* and *ii. 23, 24. Philemon 22.* This will not be deny'd: [For he there speaks of coming to them again: He trusts in the Lord that he should come to them shortly. He desires *Philemon* to prepare him a Lodging, trusting that through their Prayers he should be given to them. Now these Ex-

* *Hammond* in *2 Tim.*

† *Lightfoot*, Vol. I. Pag. 294.

petations of such a speedy Release and Return are no way applicable to his Circumstances in his second Bonds.]

Therefore the second Epistle to Timothy was written in his first Bonds, though sometime before these.

3. Timothy is desired to bring Mark with him to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 11. Accordingly he went to Rome, and was with Paul at Rome when he wrote his Epistles to the Colossians, and to Philemon, Col. iv. 10. Philemon 24. which Epistles were undoubtedly written in his first Bonds. It cannot be pretended that Mark went with Paul to Rome; there is not the least mention of him, either in Scripture or any other approved Author, as Paul's Companion to Rome: He was sent for in this second Epistle to Timothy, to come along with him to Rome; and it is certain he was with Paul in his first Bonds.

4. St. Paul mentions, in 2 Tim. iii. 11. his Sufferings which befel him at Iconium, at Lystra, and Antioch, of which we have an Account, Acts xiv. Now this Persecution happen'd about the Year of Christ 49 or 50*: Paul's second Imprisonment at Rome was in the Year of Christ 68, or (as others) 69; which was the Year in which he wrote this Epistle, according to this new Hypothesis: So that his Persecutions at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, were near 20 Years before his last Imprisonment at Rome. Now it is not likely that the Apostle would mention an Event so long past, when there were other later Sufferings of his that were much fresher in his Memory.

Therefore we may rather think, that he mentions his Sufferings at Antioch, &c. as a late thing, not many Years past: And if so, this second Epistle was written much earlier than is pretended.

5. The Epistle to the Ephesians was written in Paul's first Bonds (as Mr. G. confesseth) and was sent by Tychicus, Eph. vi. 21. who was also the Bearer of the Epistle to the Colossians, Col. iv. 7. which was written at the same time with that to Ephesus, as he observeth pag. 87. Tychicus had gone along with Paul for Rome, Acts xx. 5. This sending of Tychicus to Ephesus, is mention'd in 2 Tim. iv. 12. Therefore this second Epistle to Timothy, which mentions this Journey of Tychicus to Ephesus, was written about the same time.

6. It is agreed by all, that Paul was not set at Liberty in his last Imprisonment at Rome; but he was deliver'd from the Confinement mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy, Chap. iv. 17. Therefore that Epistle was not written in his last Bonds. He was deliver'd out of the Mouth of the Lyon, that all the Gentiles might hear the Gospel. That is, that he might go about, and preach the Gospel to many Nations.

This is agreeable to the Account that the Fathers give of his preaching the Gospel to several Nations after his Imprisonment. Hence it is evident, saith Eusebius, That this Epistle was not written in Paul's last Bonds.

7. It is undeniable that Luke accompany'd Paul to Rome, Acts xxvii. and xxviii. He includes himself all along in the Narrative he gives of their dangerous Voyage to Rome, and speaks in the first Person Plural, Chap. xxviii. 16. When we came to Rome. He was at Rome with Paul when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians, which was written in his first Bonds, as is confessed, Col. iv. 14. And so he was when Paul sent the second Epistle to Timothy, 2 Tim. iv. 11. Therefore this Epistle was penn'd during his first Bonds.

8. He mentions his Cloak which he left at Troas with Carpus, 2 Tim. iv. 13. This was left there, as it seems, as he was going among his Nation in Judea, Acts xx. 16. where he had no occasion for his Roman Habit, which might have proved inconvenient in Judea, among his own Countrymen, who were too much prejudiced against him already, Acts xxi. 21.

and to whom he was desirous to render himself acceptable by all lawful Compliances, Acts xxi. 26. But now he was at Rome, he had need of his Roman Garb, which was the Pallium, or Cloak. There is no Evidence of his passing by Troas to Rome in his last Journey thither, nor can any Reason be given why he should leave his Cloak there as he went to Rome and Roman Colonies; but it looks rational enough that he should do so when he was going into Judea, and that he should send for it in his first Imprisonment at Rome, whither he was carry'd Prisoner from Judea: And therefore this second Epistle was written in his first Bonds.

9. It should seem he was under a favourable Confinement when he writ the second Epistle to Timothy; for he mentions only one Chain, 2 Tim. i. 16. and so does Luke in Acts xxviii. 20. which speaks of his first and favourable Confinement, Eph. vi. 20. In his second Imprisonment he was more severely handled, as all agree. Now such as were in strict Custody, were bound with two Chains, Acts xii. 6. Hence it should seem to follow, that this second Epistle to Timothy, which speaks but of one Chain, was written in Paul's first Imprisonment, which was more favourable than the second.

10. Demas was with Paul at Rome in his first Imprisonment, Col. iv. 14. but the Tedioufness of Paul's Confinement, and the Love of this present World, which is inconsistent with patient Suffering, tempted him to forsake the Apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 10. We read nothing of his being there in his second Imprisonment; but we are sure he was there in his first Imprisonment, and that he left him in his Bonds, 2 Tim. iv. 10. which we may rationally conclude were his first Bonds.

I will not mention Paul's leaving Trophimus at Miletus sick, 2 Tim. iv. 20. who might be well when he went in Bonds from Judea to Rome, as we observed before.

Nor will I insist upon Erastus abiding at Corinth, 2 Tim. iv. 20. Rom. xvi. 23. Acts xix. 22. when Paul sent for Mark from thence unto him. That he was at Corinth when Paul wrote his second Epistle thither, may be gather'd from 2 Cor. viii. 19 †. who was chosen of the Churches to travel.—Mark was chosen by the Church of Jerusalem, Acts xii. 25. and by the Church of Antioch, Acts xiii. 5. It's true, Paul had taken some Distaste at Mark, Acts xv. 39. but was reconcil'd to him again, as appears from 2 Tim. iv. 20. We have prov'd already, that Mark was sent for in Paul's first Imprisonment; therefore his Reason that Erastus abode at Corinth to supply Mark's Absence, refers to the same time.

These Reasons put together may be sufficient to satisfy any unbiass'd Man (for nothing will convince prejudic'd and interested Persons) that the second Epistle to Timothy was written in Paul's first Bonds, and therefore his first Epistle must be written before his first Bonds, when he was in Macedonia, or thereabouts, 1 Tim. i. 3. Acts xx. 1, 2. Unless any will say that his second Epistle was written before the first.

It is remarkable that this Epistle has more Characters, and all concurring of the Time in which it was written, than any one of Paul's Epistles, the Holy Ghost so ordering the Matter, for the Conviction of such as are willing to receive the Truth.

There is one Passage in this Epistle, which hath occasion'd some Doubt about the Time of it, viz. 2 Tim. iv. 6. I am now ready to be offer'd, and the time of my Departure is at hand. Which some have understood of his approaching Martyrdom. Εγώ γάρ ἔσθην σπένδον, I am prepar'd or ready for Death, as the Sacrifices were for Offering: This seems to respect his Martyrdom as near at hand. But if we compare this

* Lightfoot, Vol. I. pag. 291.

† Vid. Lightfoot, Vol. I. pag. 317.

with other Scriptures, it will be evident that he speaks not of an approaching Martyrdom, but that he was grown old, and worn with Travels and Hard-Labour, and could not now last long: And besides all this, in Bonds at present, and so in continual Danger.

Thus Lightfoot, Hammond, and others, understand the Place, and that this is the Meaning of it, will further appear.

i. He useth the same Words in the Epistle to the Philippians, which was written in his first Bonds, Phil. ii. 17. ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ σπένδομαι, If I be offer'd upon the Sacrifice of your Faith.

2. He speaks the same Thing in different Expressions some Years before, Acts xxi. 13. I am ready to dye at Jerusalem, 1 Cor. iv. 9. God has set us forth to be, as it were, ἐπιθανάτιος, appointed to Death. 1 Cor. xv. 31. I dye daily. So in 2 Cor. iv. 11. ἀεὶ ἐς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα, we are always deliver'd unto Death.

3. That a sudden Martyrdom is not intended in 2 Tim. iv. 6. appears from Verse 17, 18. I was delivered—and the Lord shall deliver me. Much like that in 2 Cor. i. 10. Who delivered us from so great a Death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us.

4. Suppose the Words should imply some Apprehensions of his approaching Death; that he had long before, 2 Cor. i. 8, 9. We despaired even of Life, but had the Sentence of Death in our selves.

5. The Apostle was now grown aged, as is evident in the Epistle to Philemon, written in his first Bonds, Philemon, ver. 9, 22. and a Prisoner, not knowing how God would dispose of him, Phil. ii. 23. As he was aged, he lived in constant Expectations of Death; as he was a Prisoner, in Danger of being made a Sacrifice, he could not but think his Dissolution was approaching, 2 Cor. v. 2, 3, 4. Acts xx. 23.

Being stricken in Years, and wasted with indefatigable Labours, and hard Sufferings, and in expectation of the fiery Tryal, he might well say, he had finish'd his Course, 2 Tim. iv. 7.

But yet he did not expect to dye very suddenly, for he sends a Letter from Rome to Timothy, at, or near Ephesus, to desire him to come to him before Winter, 2 Tim. iv. 21. It would require a considerable time to send a Letter from Rome to Ephesus, and for Timothy to return from Ephesus to Rome, and to take Mark with him, who, it should seem, was at Corinth; all this could not be done under three or four Months, and perhaps a longer time, considering the several Winds that were necessary for such a Voyage.

Had Paul been under a Sentence of Death at that time, he could not have made an Appointment for Timothy to come unto him at a distant Time. Prisoners in constant Expectations of Death, do not use to make Appointments for a remote Time to come.

Thus we have vindicated the antient and received Opinion, That the first Epistle to Timothy was written before Paul's first Imprisonment at Rome, and have also prov'd that the second Epistle to him was written in his first Bonds; and therefore the Journey to Macedonia, mention'd in 1 Tim. i. 3. must be that in Acts xx. 1, 3.

Having offer'd these Arguments from Mr. Owen, I now add, that 'tis with me an Argument of great Weight, for the Confirmation of this Chronological Account, That 'tis fully consistent with the Truth of St. Paul's positive Prediction, That the Elders of Ephesus should see his Face no more, Acts xx. 25. Whereas, according to Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account, they did actually see him again there once or twice; nay, in his first Epistle, if it was directed to Timothy at Ephesus at all (which Dr. Whitby questions) he expressly mentions his Design of coming to him shortly there. Now tho' I know, that the Apostles might fail of doing many Things which they purpos'd, the Spirit of God, or

some unforeseen Providence otherwise directing their Motions, yet I think, 'tis a Matter of dangerous Consequence to suppose the Apostle mistaken in so positive a Prediction, delivered with such an unusual Assurance of the Truth of it. And now behold, I know that ye all, &c. shall see my Face no more, Acts xx. 25.

And 'tis observable, That Dr. Whitby in his Preface to the first Epistle to Timothy, having weigh'd the opposite Arguments of Bishop Pearson, and Dr. Lightfoot, and being press'd with the Argument I last mentioned, to avoid the Force of it, he advances a Conjecture of his own, viz. That Timothy was not at Ephesus when this first Epistle was wrote to him. For he thinks the Words at 1 Tim. i. 3. should be read thus, As I exhorted thee to abide (sometime) at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, so I did it, that thou mightest admonish some to teach no other Doctrine. To support this Conjecture, he argues from the Directions which the Apostle gives in his first Epistle to Timothy, about the Qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, which there was no occasion for, in reference to the Church of Ephesus, if this Epistle was written after the meeting at Miletus. Because the Church of Ephesus had Bishops already, and the Apostle had given them their Instructions, in reference to the Flock committed to them. And therefore he supposes these Directions given to Timothy in reference to some other Churches where he then was, not that of Ephesus. And then he adds, 'If this Conjecture take Place, the Difficulty is fully answer'd: If not, I must confess my self unable to return any satisfactory Answer to it, and so leave the Reader to his Choice, whether he will follow Dr. Lightfoot, or Bishop Pearson in this Matter. But if Timothy was not then at Ephesus, the Foundation of their Argument from this Epistle is overturn'd; and there is no more Ground to suppose him Bishop of Ephesus, than of any other Place in which he assisted the Apostles in planting and watering Churches. On the other hand, if we suppose St. Paul's first Epistle to Timothy wrote sometime before the meeting at Miletus, then this Objection of Dr. Whitby against its being sent to him at Ephesus is much better solv'd, by supposing that the Apostle Paul, when driven from Ephesus by the Up-roar mention'd Acts xix. had not time to bring those Churches to that Settlement he intended. And therefore when he went into Macedonia, Acts xx. 2. he then left Timothy at Ephesus to ordain Bishops and Deacons among them, according to those Instructions given him, 1 Tim. iii. And accordingly the Apostle finds such Presbyter-Bishops fix'd among them, when he came to Miletus, Acts xx. 17.

I shall only here add, under this Head, That if the common Chronological Account be good, this Pretension of Timothy's being the fixed Bishop of Ephesus must be given up. Because, after this pretended Settlement of Timothy, the Apostle designing to take his last Farewell of the Elders of that Church, commits it entirely to their Care, without taking the least Notice of their pretended Bishop, tho' then present (or at no great Distance from them.) Nay, he assures them, that the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers or Bishops thereof: Whereby he plainly intimates this Settlement of that Church to be truly divine, and design'd for perpetual Use, and that as the best Remedy against Schisms. Compare Ver. 28, with Ver. 29, 30. But,

Secondly, I proceed to shew, that tho' we should allow Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account; yet it signifies nothing to prove, that St. Paul constituted Timothy the fix'd and settled Bishop of Ephesus.

I have already shewn, that there is nothing in the Apostle's Expressions in his Epistle to Timothy, that import any such Thing as his constituting him their fixed Bishop: He urges him to no more than a temporary Abode till he should come to him, which he hoped to do shortly. And this, sure, does not look like fixing him in that Church, as his constant Charge during Life. And he was so far from being fixed here, that 'tis highly probable, that the second Epistle was directed to him, not

as residing at Ephesus, but either at Troas, or some other City in those Parts: For if he were then at Ephesus, 'tis not probable that the Apostle, when he requires him to do his Diligence to come to him at Rome before Winter, 2 Tim. iv. 9. would desire him, to go so far quite out of his Way as Troas was, if he designed to go from Ephesus to Rome, in order to the bringing his Cloak, and the Books and Parchments with him, 2 Tim. iv. 13. And in that second Epistle, the Apostle is so far from urging him to a stated Residence at Ephesus; or any other Place, as his See, that he requires him to come to him at Rome. There he was Fellow-Prisoner with the Apostle; and when set at Liberty proposes, not to return to Ephesus, but to go to those Hebrews to whom St. Paul directs his Epistle. See Hebrews xiii. 23. And that he ever returned to Ephesus again, we have no Evidence from the Holy Scriptures, and have nothing but bare uncertain Tradition to depend upon. The History of his Martyrdom (deliver'd by Photius and Simeon Metaphrastes, whom Dr. Stillingfleet numbers among those whom he calls Historical Tinkers, *Irenicum*, pag. 296.) at Ephesus, and the Occasion of it, smelling too strong of the Fable, to gain any Credit with the truly Judicious; as the learned Mr. Witzius has justly observ'd in his *Miscellanea Sacra, de Vita Timothei*, pag. 580, 581. Besides, should we allow Timothy to have actually dy'd at Ephesus, what signifies this to prove his dying under the Character of a fixed Bishop? when his whole Life is a Series of continued Travels from Place to Place, suitable to the Character given him of an Evangelist, even in the second Epistle it self, 2 Tim. iv. 5. And since he must dye in some Place or other, what Ground can there be from his meer dying in such a particular Place, that he must be the fixed Bishop of it, when (if you take the whole of his Life from his Entrance on his ministerial Labours) it plainly appears, that his Ministry was unfixed; and that he spent as much of his Time in several other Places, as in that where he is supposed to put an End to his Ministry and Life together. This is the very same Argument used by the Popish Writers, to prove St. Peter to have been Bishop of Rome, because he is said to have suffer'd Martyrdom there. Nay, if there be any thing in the Argument, 'tis altogether as significant to prove that St. Paul was Bishop there too: And if the Apostles or Evangelists must have Bishops to succeed them wherever they dye, Rome should have two Bishops instead of one. By the same Argument they might have prov'd Timothy to be Bishop of Philippi, of Athens, of Rome, of Thessalonica, &c. had he happen'd to dye in any of those Cities: And indeed, if there had been any Ground to imagine Timothy constituted the fixed Bishop of any Place, Philippi would bid the fairest for being his See, since the Apostle in his Epistle to the Saints there, with the Bishops and Deacons, represents Timothy as naturally caring for their State, Phil. ii. 20. Which is a better Argument to prove Philippi his fixed See (if he had any) than the Apostle's bare Intreaty, that he would stay a while at Ephesus, is to prove him the Bishop of that City.

What I have already said concerning Timothy, will render it the less needful that I should enlarge on the Argument from Titus.

Concerning him, Mr. Drury tells us, "That he was left at Crete as their fixed and ordinary Bishop and Ruler, to set in Order the Things that are wanting, and to ordain Elders in every City: By which (saith he) it appears he had some Power conferr'd on him; and particularly that of ordaining Elders, punishing obstinate Offenders with the Censure of the Church, which the Presbyters that were there before had not."

Mr. French tells us, "That Titus was appointed Bishop of Crete in the Year 64, after the scriptural Account of his Travels was ended". And here he is pleas'd to entertain his Reader with a long Story of my transcribing the Abstract of Titus's Travels from Sme'tymnus; and yet being so unkind or unjust as to say Sme'tymnus affirm'd what he never did affirm,

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That all agree that Titus staid but one Year. See *Ans.* pag. 33. (Whereas, in Truth I never saw Sme'tymnus at all; and took that Abstract, not from Sme'tymnus, but from Mr. Corbet's Remains in his Treatise concerning Episcopacy: For I can see no Probability at all of Titus having been ever six Years in Crete.)

Ans. To shew how invalid the Plea for the divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, drawn from this Instance of Titus, is, I need only suggest the following Considerations.

I. Here is no Proof at all offer'd, that Titus was appointed the fixed or settled Bishop of Crete.

His being left there to set in Order the Things that are wanting, and to ordain Elders in every City, does imply no such Thing as his being constituted their fixed Bishop, and having the Christians of that Island committed to him as his stated Charge. This was no more than what he might do as an Itinerant Evangelist, or one of those Assistants and Fellow-Labourers whom the Apostles employ'd in their unfixed Ministry. He might have done the same Work in any other Churches where the Apostle sent him; and have receiv'd the like Instructions for doing it, without taking those Churches for his Episcopal Charge and Care. Nay, the Epistle it self plainly intimates, that he was only design'd for a temporary Service there, since the Apostle requires him to come to him to Nicopolis, where he design'd to winter, Tit. iii. 12. After this we find him at Corinth, in Macedonia, at Rome, and last in Dalmatia.

Against this both my Answerers alledge;

"That according to Bishop Pearson's Chronological Account, St. Paul never saw Crete till after his first Imprisonment at Rome; and that Titus was not appointed Bishop there till the Year 64."

But to this I have two Things to reply.

1. This Account of Bishop Pearson's is contradicted by the Stream of our best Chronologers.

Dr. Lightfoot assigns another time for St. Paul's visiting Crete, viz. When he return'd from Macedonia to Greece, Acts xx. 2. and then he left Titus there, Tit. i. 5. thinking that he should presently, after a little Stay in Greece, have set forward towards Jerusalem. As he was about to sail into Syria, the Jews laid wait for him; which made him return thro' Macedonia. About that time, as Dr. Lightfoot conceives, he wrote the Epistle to Titus, in which he calls him to Nicopolis, where he intended to winter, Tit. iii. 12. It is certain he winter'd in those Parts, for the Spring following he sails into Asia, Acts xx. 6. He had some Thoughts of wintering at Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 6. but it seems altering his Resolution, he determin'd to winter in Nicopolis, a City of Epirus, not far from Corinth. Titus, according to Appointment, came to him; and was sent by him to Corinth, to hasten the Collection for the Saints in Judea, 2 Cor. viii. 16, 17. The Apostle, in his Epistle to Titus, promises to send Tychicus or Artemas to him. The former of these two was with Paul in Macedonia, and afterwards accompany'd him into Asia, Acts xx. 4. All these Evidences render it every way most probable, that this Epistle was wrote before St. Paul's first Imprisonment at Rome; and if this Chronological Account be true, all Pretence of Titus's being the fixed Bishop of Crete is overthrown: For he did not stay there a Year, being removed to Nicopolis, and thence sent to several other Churches, and at last to Dalmatia; and we hear no more of him: And it cannot be made appear, that ever he return'd any more to Crete.

2. Should Bishop Pearson's Account be allow'd, it signifies nothing to prove Titus the fixed Bishop of Crete.

Because (as I observ'd before) there is nothing in the Epistle that carries any such Intimation with it: Whereas those that found a divine Right upon it, are oblig'd to produce us clear and positive Proof of the Matter of Fact, viz. his fixed Settlement there, when they make it the Foundation of so vast a Superstructure.

Nay, the Epistle it self insinuates the quite contrary, that Titus was only requir'd to perform a

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temporary Service in that Island, since the Apostle calls him to leave it the same Year, and to come to him to Nicopolis. And sure this does not look like fixing him in Crete, as his Chair and See for Term of Life? For his dying at Crete, we have only uncertain Tradition for it: And were it true, that he return'd to Crete, and ended his Life there; it would no more prove his being the fixed Bishop of that Island, than it would have prov'd him Bishop of Nicopolis, of Corinth, or Metropolitan of Macedonia, or of Dalmatia, had he ended his Life and Labours there. But the Author of *Biographia Ecclesiastica*, in the Life of Titus, mentioning the Reports of some that tell us he died in Italy, and of others that he was buried in Crete, owns, *That these Accounts are no way to be depended on*, p. 31, 32. So that my Answerers set the Divine Right of Episcopacy on a very lame Foundation, when they make it depend on such utterly uncertain Reports as these.

II. The Occasion of Titus's being left at Crete carries a strong Presumption with it, that it was only to do the transient Work of an *Itinerant Evangelist*, not that of a fixed Bishop.

It is clear, that though the Apostle had made many Converts in several Cities or Towns of that Island, yet he had not time to bring those Converts into regular Church-Order; and therefore left Titus to ordain Elders or Bishops, to take the future Charge and Care of them; and to give such further Orders as were necessary for their more perfect Settlement: And when he has done this, he was to use all Diligence to come to the Apostle to Nicopolis, where he intended to winter. Let then any unprejudiced Reader judge, whether the appointing him this Occasional Work looks like the fixing him in that Island as his Episcopal See, and in a stated Relation to the Christian Inhabitants of it as his ordinary Flock?

III. This Instance of Titus is so far from being serviceable to the Cause of *Diocesan Bishops*, that it overturns it.

For if Titus had all the Christians of that Island committed to his Care, he must be a *Metropolitan*, not a *Diocesan*: And if the Directions to him do imply, that none but such as he could ordain Elders, or inflict Church-Censures; then these Privileges and Powers must be reserved to *Metropolitans*, and meer *Diocesan Bishops* can no more claim any share in them, than those Presbyters whom Titus was to ordain in every City (or Town.)

That Island had afterwards several Arch-Bishops, with Bishops under them.

And by the way, when Mr. Drury tells us, "That the Apostle's Directions to Titus, suppose him endued with some Power which the Presbyters that were there before had not; he seems to forget the Work that Titus was sent for; for if there had been Presbyters there before, what need was there for his being left to ordain them in every City? And if there were none before, no wonder they could not ordain or inflict Censures before they were themselves constituted in their Office. But Mr. Drury should have offer'd us some Arguments (if he had any) to prove, that these Elders could not afterwards ordain others (when there was occasion for them) nor inflict Church-Censures on obstinate Offenders, after Titus left them, (and as far as appears, without ever returning to them :) Or else, That Titus ever appointed some single Person as his Successor, to take the Ecclesiastical Government of the whole Island upon him. But this leads me,

Thirdly, To shew, that the Office of such *Itinerant Teachers* as Timothy and Titus, and others whom the Apostles employ'd as their *Fellow-Labourers*, was but temporary, and that *de facto*: They had no Successors in it, or any peculiar Power that belong'd to it.

I shall here only premise, that 'tis a very common thing in the first Settlement of any Form of Civil Government, to authorize some special Commissioners, and to give them an extraordinary Power for a Time, till Things be brought into a regular Order, design'd

by those that laid the first Plan of it. This was actually the Case with reference to the Christian Church. The Apostolical Office was (as Dr. Barrow observes) in all respects extraordinary, conferr'd in a special Manner, design'd for special Purposes, discharg'd by special Aids, endow'd with special Privileges, as was needful for the Propagation of Christianity, and the Founding of Churches.

Now since the Office of such *Itinerant Preachers* as Timothy and Titus was wholly subservient to the Apostolical Office, these Evangelists being the Assistants and Fellow-Labourers of the Apostles, in the Execution of their unlimited Commission of *Discipling all Nations*; if the Apostolical Office did (as Dr. Barrow has solidly prov'd) expire with their Persons, and could not be communicated to any Successors; the same must be said of that of these their Assistants, that it expir'd with theirs. As when a Dictator at Rome laid down his extraordinary Power, that of other inferior Officers expir'd with it that were dependent upon it, and entirely subservient to the Execution of it. The Evangelists were chiefly employ'd by the Apostles in the Conversion of Infidels to the Christian Faith, and in the Settlement of those Churches that were planted, but yet not Organiz'd, or brought into regular Order. Thus Titus was sent to Crete, where there was a great Number of Converts in several Cities thereof; yet there were no Presbyters constituted to rule those Churches: And no wonder then that the Work of Ordaining such Presbyters was assign'd to him, when (as far as appears) there were none else to perform it. And if the first Epistle to Timothy was wrote when St. Paul, upon the Uprore at Ephesus, went to Macedonia; 'tis highly probable that Timothy was left to perform the same Service there, for doing which he has so full Instructions in that Epistle, 1 Tim. iii. No Argument therefore can be drawn from what these *Itinerant Preachers* did, in order to the Settlement of Churches newly planted, to prove that Churches already constituted, must have such Officers continued for the perpetual Government of them. And since the Holy Scriptures no where intimate that these *Fellow-Labourers* of the Apostles were ever fixed in any Pastoral Relation to any Churches; but the quite contrary, (as I have shewn in reference to Timothy and Titus in particular) 'tis evident, that those who assert *Diocesan Bishops* to be by Divine Right the Successors of such as Timothy and Titus were; should in all Reason prove, that such Bishops have the same extensive and unlimited Commission that these Evangelists had, and do succeed them in this their general and unfixed Ministry. But this they do not pretend to; and therefore, *de facto*, these *Itinerant Preachers* had no Successors in their Office, no Bishops having ever pretended to any more than a Power of governing the particular Churches committed to their Care, without claiming any such Privilege as the Evangelists had of reforming any Irregularities and Disorders that they found in any Church whatever which they visited, even though they neither had nor claim'd any fixed Relation to them. No Bishop of Ephesus ever pretended to such a Privilege as Timothy's Successor: And for Titus, I believe my Answerers will never be able to shew us, that any single Bishop pretended to take that whole spacious Island for his Episcopal Charge, and much less to extend his Power to other Churches, in other Parts of the Christian World, as far as that of Titus was; who could lay as much Claim to Dalmatia as his Bishoprick, as these Gentlemen suppose he did to Crete: Whereas in Truth he had no fixed Relation to either; and only perform'd in each that Temporary Service of Settling those Churches which the Apostles had already planted there.

And therefore, when my Answerers challenge me to shew any Instance in the Holy Scriptures where Presbyters alone ordained without some Apostle, or such Evangelist as Timothy and Titus joining with them; the Challenge is easily retorted, viz. to shew us, where a *Diocesan Bishop* is mentioned in Scripture at all, as concern'd in any Act of Ordination, or of Church-

Government. For if neither Apostles or Evangelists were fixed Diocesan Bishops at all, either the Power of Ordination and of Church-Government must, after the Decease of the Apostles and Evangelists, be left in the Hands of those Presbyter-Bishops which the Apostles and Evangelists ordain'd in every Church and City, or it must entirely cease; there being not the least Evidence in Scripture of any Diocesan Bishops to whom it was committed. And for those Primitive Bishops that afterwards claim'd the chief Hand in it, I shall shew them, that some of their best Writers have own'd them to be no more than Parish Bishops; and therefore in Mr. Drury's modern Dialect no more than Presbyters. So that to deny the Validity of Ordination by Senior Presbyters, is to unchurch the Primitive Churches themselves for two or three Centuries.

But here Mr. Drury tells me, "If these Persons were but Temporary, and not design'd for the fixed Governors of the Church, or Examples for the Government of the Church in future Ages; it looks very strange, that all Antiquity should be so much mistaken as to give a particular Account who succeeded them in their several Churches. It is very strange we should find in Eusebius, and many other Ecclesiastical Writers such an exact Catalogue of those particular Persons who succeeded Timothy and Titus, if they never had any such Successors. See pag. 38.

Ans. 'Tis much more strange, that when Mr. Drury might have seen a full Confutation of this confident Pretension in Dr. Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, he should not offer one Syllable in answer to it. He will there find, that that learned Divine shews the Incompetency of this Testimony from Antiquity, for the *Jus Divinum* of any particular Form of Government (and more especially of the Diocesan Form) from the Defectiveness, from the Ambiguity, from the Partiality of the Testimony, and from its Repugnancy to it self.

As to the Defectiveness of it, he observes, their Testimony is defective.

1. As to Places. See p. 295, 296.
2. As to Times, and particularly the Time immediately after the Apostles, which must have been most helpful to us in this Enquiry, "For who (saith he) dare with Confidence believe the Conjectures of Eusebius at three hundred Years distance from Apostolical Times, when he has no other Testimony to vouch but the Hypotypes of an uncertain Clement (certainly not he of Alexandria, if Joseph Scaliger may be credited) and the Commentaries of Hegeippus, whose Relations and Authority are as questionable as those of Eusebius himself are in Reference to those elder Times: For which I need no other Testimony but Eusebius, in a Place enough of it self to blast the whole Credit of Antiquity, as to the Matter now in Debate. For speaking of Paul and Peter, and the Churches by them planted; and coming to enquire after their Successors, he makes this very ingenuous Confession: "Ὅσοι δὲ τέτων καὶ τίνες γνήσιοι ζήλωται γεγονότες τὰς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἰδρυθείσας ἐκκλησίας ἐδοκίμασαν ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ῥάδιον εἶπεν, μὴ ὅτι γὰρ ὅσους αὐτὸς ἐξ ἡμῶν Πάυλος συνῶν ἀνελέξοιτο. Say you so? Is it so hard a Matter to find out who succeeded the Apostles in the Churches planted by them, unless it be those mentioned in the Writings of Paul? What becomes then of our questionable Line of Succession of the Bishops of several Churches, and the large Diagrams made of the Apostolical Churches, with every one's Name set down in his Order, as if the Writer had been Clarenceaux to the Apostles themselves? Is it come to this at last, that we have nothing certain but what we have in the Scriptures? And must then the Tradition of the Church be our Rule to interpret Scriptures by? An excellent way to find out the Truth, doubtless, to bend the Rule to the crooked Stick; to make the Judge stand to the Opinion of his Lacquey, what Sentence he shall pass upon the Cause in Question; to make Scripture

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"stand Cap in Hand to Tradition, whether it may have leave to speak or no. Are all the great Outcries of Apostolical Tradition, of Personal Succession, of Unquestionable Records, resolv'd at last into Scripture it self, by him from whom all these long Pedigrees are fetch'd? Then let Succession know its Place, and learn to vail Bonnet to the Scriptures. And withal, let Men take heed of over-reaching themselves, when they would bring down so large a Catalogue of single Bishops from the first and purest Times of the Church: For it will be hard for others to believe them, when Eusebius professes it is so hard to find them. Well then might Scaliger complain, that the Interval from the last Chapter of the Acts, till the middle of Trajan (in which time Quadratus and Ignatius began to flourish) was Tempus, Edulon (as Varro speaks) a meer Chaos of Time fill'd up with the rude Conceptions of Papias, Hermas, and others, who (like Hannibal) when they could not find a Way through, would make one either by Force or Fraud. See *Iren.* pag. 296, 297, 298.

The like Defectiveness he observes as to Persons, p. 298. He then proceeds to shew the Ambiguity of this Testimony, and here he shews the Controversy is, Whether any in a Superior Order to Presbyters were instituted by the Apostles themselves, for the Regulating the Churches by them planted?

And whereas, for the Proof of the Affirmative, three Things are most insisted on: First, The Personal Succession of some Persons to the Apostles, in Churches by them planted. Secondly, The appropriating the Name ἐπίσκοπος to Bishops in a Superior Order to Presbyters, after the Apostles Decease. Thirdly, The Churches owning the Order of Episcopacy as a Divine Institution. To invalidate this pretended Testimony of Antiquity, the Doctor undertakes these three Things:

First, To shew, that Personal Succession might be without any such Superiority of Order.

Secondly, That the Names of Presbyters and Bishops were common after the Distinction between them was introduced. And,

Thirdly, That the Church did not own Episcopacy as a Divine Institution, but Ecclesiastical; and those who seem to speak most of it mean no more. See *Iren.* pag. 299.

On the first of these Heads, viz. Succession in Apostolical Churches, he shews,

1. That the Succession might be only as to a different Degree, and not as to a different Order: For 'tis not the Succession of Persons, but of Power, that is enquir'd after. And after having illustrated this by several Parallel Instances, he concludes, "From hence we may evidently see, that meer Succession of some Persons nam'd above the rest, in the Succession of Apostolical Churches, cannot enforce any Superiority of Power in the Persons so named above others, suppos'd to be as Joyn-Governors of the Churches with them. See pag. 300, 301.

2. That this Succession is not so evident and convincing in all Places as it ought to be, to demonstrate the Thing intended.

And here in particular, Mr. Drury will find the Credit of Leontius's Testimony concerning the Succession of twenty seven Bishops to Timothy, in the See of Ephesus, entirely blasted. See pag. 301, 302, 303.

3. He shews, "That the Succession so much pleaded for by the Writers of the Primitive Church, was not a Succession of Persons in Apostolical Power, but a Succession in Apostolical Doctrine. See from pag. 303, to 306. And,

4. That this Personal Succession so much spoken of, is sometimes attributed to Presbyters, even after the Distinction came into Use between Bishops and them. See from pag. 306, to 310.

He then proves the Names of Bishop and Presbyter to be common, after the Distinction between them was introduced. See pag. 310, 311, 312.

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And to conclude his Arguments from the *Ambiguity* of the *Testimony* of the *Ancients*, he shews from *Jerome*, *Hilary*, and the *Second Council of Sevil* in *Spain*, that those who acknowledg'd the *Superiority* of *Bishops* over *Presbyters*, imputed it to an *Act* of the *Church*, and did not ascribe it to any *Divine Institution*. See from pag. 312, to 316.

He then proceeds to shew "the *Incompetency* of this *Testimony* from *Antiquity*, from the *Partiality* and *Confusion* of it; which he proves from their apparent judging of the *Practice* of the first *Primitive Church* from the *Customs* of their own; and from the *contrariety* of several *Traditions* for which they pleaded *Apostolical Authority*. See from pag. 316, to pag. 322.

And having particularly shewn the utter *Uncertainty* of the pretended *Succession* at *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Rome*, he thus concludes the whole: "If the *Line of Succession* fail us here when we most need it, we have little Cause to pin our Faith upon it, as to the *Certainty* of any particular *Form* of *Church-Government* settled in the *Apostles Times*, which can be drawn from the *Help* of the *Records* of the *Primitive Church*, which must be first clear'd of all *Defectiveness*, *Ambiguity*, *Partiality*, and *Confusion*, before the Thing we enquire for can be extracted out of them, pag. 322.

I have the more willingly given this *Abstract* of *Dr. Stillingfleet's Discourse* on this Head, partly to put *Mr. Drury* out of Countenance with his excessive Confidence, when he tells us, "That it is certainly a very strange and unaccountable Thing, that such a grand *Mistake* and *Imposition* should pass for Truth for so many Ages, and not be discovered for the Space of 1500 Years. And it is still more strange, that any reasonable Creature should believe it to be a *Mistake* on the bare Assertion of a few Men, who, in these two latter Ages of the Church, have started so strange a Notion to countenance them in their *Schism*: A Notion so contradictory to all Matter of Fact, without the least colour or shadow of Proof for it. [He'll find, by perusing what *Dr. Stillingfleet*, whom I suppose he will not rank among *Schismatics*, has there said to invalidate this confident Pretension of his, that the Character of *easy Credulity* in this Point belongs only to such as himself:] And partly to invite himself and others to the reading of that valuable *Book*, in which the Reader will find another Strain of *Charity* and *Moderation*, as well as *Learning* and *Judgment*, than appears in the later Writings of such as *Mr. Dodwell*, *Mr. Lefly*, or *Dr. Maurice* himself.

But since I have made this Use of the Judgment of that excellent Writer, I think my self oblig'd to take Notice of a *Passage* of his, that seems to be of a quite different Strain: 'Tis pag. 37. cited by *Mr. Drury* from the *Bishop of Worcester's Duties and Rights of the Parochial Clergy*, pag. 111. "They who go about to *Unbishop Timothy* and *Titus*, may as well *Unscripture* the *Epistles* that were written to them, and make them only some *Occasional Writings*, as they make *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been particular and occasional Officers. But the *Christian Church* preserving these *Epistles* as of constant and perpetual Use, did thereby suppose the same kind of Officers to continue, for the Sake whereof these excellent *Epistles* were written. And we have no greater Assurance that these *Epistles* were written by *St. Paul*, than we have that there were *Bishops* to succeed the *Apostles* in the Care and Government of the Churches.

Now though I have a great Veneration for that learned Author; yet there are several Expressions in this *Passage* very liable to Exception, and some of dangerous Import: And I think whatever may seem of Weight in them, in Opposition to the Cause I defend, will be sufficiently taken off by the two following Remarks upon it.

I. These *Epistles* may be of perpetual Use to the *Christian Church*, without supposing *Timothy* and *Titus* to have been constituted *Diocesan Bishops* themselves, or to have such for their Successors.

Because, whatever they are required to do, *pro tempore*, as they were the *Apostles Assistants* and *Fellow-Labourers*, may (so far as the constant Necessities of the Church requires) be now done by those *Presbyters* or *Scriptural Bishops* to whom the *Apostles* left the Government of particular Churches, (as particularly the *Apostle Paul* that of *Ephesus*.) 'Tis manifestly absurd to say, that whatever *Timothy* and *Titus* are enjoyn'd to do in those Churches, no *Presbyters* are empower'd to do; for then *Presbyters* would have no Power to preach, to be instant in Season and out of Season, to reprove, to rebuke, exhort with all Long-suffering and Doctrine, 2 Tim. iv. 2. To speak, to exhort and rebuke with all Authority, Tit. ii. 15. But this is apparently false, since the *Presbyters* or *Bishops* whom *Titus* was to ordain in every Town in *Crete*, were authorized and obliged by sound Doctrine to exhort and to convince Gainsayers, and to stop the Mouths of unruly and vain Talkers and Deceivers, Tit. i. 9, 10, 11. These Directions therefore given to *Timothy* and *Titus*, are in effect given to all ordinary Pastors and Teachers; and they are every way capable of doing that in reference to the particular Churches over which they preside, that *Timothy* and *Titus* did, wherever they were occasionally sent to settle those Churches that were newly planted. Thus the same Directions given to *Timothy* as an extraordinary and occasional Officer, in reference to Ordination it self, are as practicable by these ordinary Pastors and Teachers. They have the same Qualifications of an Elder (or *Scriptural Bishop*) and Deacon set before them to direct them, whom they are to ordain. They are, if they be able Ministers of the New Testament themselves, very capable Judges of such as are thus qualify'd. And I have already shewn, that the Power of Ordination belongs to them as a Branch of their Authority, which they accordingly exercis'd in the Ordination of *Timothy* himself; and my Answerers themselves suppose them vested with it. And there is nothing in the Holy Scriptures that should oblige them never to exert that Power, but in Concurrence with, and Subordination to a *Diocesan Bishop*; not in these *Epistles* themselves: For it will not follow, that because *Titus* is required to ordain Elders in every City where there were none before; that those Elders were never to ordain any others after he had left them, unless they had a *Diocesan Bishop* to preside in the Action, when there is not one Syllable of his leaving any such Bishop in the Island to supply his Place in his Absence. And the Direction to *Timothy*, to lay Hands suddenly on no Man, can never be supposed to lay this Restraint upon *Presbyters*, when himself was invested in his higher Office, by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery. And all such *Presbyters* are obliged to the same Caution, in laying on of Hands, that is here recommended to *Timothy*. So the same Directions that are given to *Timothy*, not to receive an Accusation against an Elder under two or three Witnesses, are very applicable to, and may be follow'd by the Presbytery, when any Member of their Body is charged with any particular Crime. The same may be said concerning the Direction of his rebuking those that sin before all, that others may fear; whether we understand it of censuring any private Christian, or even an offending Elder himself. And in such Judgment they are oblig'd to use the same Impartiality that is here enjoyn'd to *Timothy*. These Directions to *Timothy* do not necessarily imply, that if there were *Presbyters* there, he was to do all this by his single Authority; and an honorary Presidency in such Ministerial Actions might be allow'd him as an Evangelist, who might well be suppos'd more fully acquainted with the *Apostle's Doctrine* and Practice, than those *Presbyters* that were most of them later Converts to the *Christian Faith*. But there is nothing in that Epistle that carries the least Intimation with

with it, as if all Acts of Ordination and Church Government should cease in the Church of Ephesus, when Timothy was call'd away from it, till his Return; or till his constituting an Officer of an Order superior to Presbyters to succeed him. The same may be said in reference to the Apostle's requiring him to charge some *παρρησιασμένον*, not to teach any other Doctrine; and requiring Titus to avoid or reject an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition. These Duties may be performed by a Presbytery, with respect to any Member of their Body that is grossly Erroneous or Heretical, without supposing any Distinction of Order in those that deliver this Charge, or pass this Censure. And the Apostle's requiring Timothy and Titus to do these Things, no way implies that it belong'd not to Presbyters to do them: The utmost it can import, is, that where there were no Presbyters constituted (as there were not in Crete, and probably not in Ephesus, at the Writing of the first Epistle to Timothy) Timothy and Titus were to do it themselves: And where there were, yet they should preside in the Action on the Account of their more perfect Knowledge of the Apostles Doctrine, and the Character they bore of Evangelists and Fellow-Labourers with the Apostles themselves. But there is not the least hint of their leaving any single Person behind them, when they went from those Churches, of a superior Order to Presbyters, to assume the sole Government of them; or so much as to claim a Negative Voice in all Acts of Church-Government. This is what we never yet saw prov'd: Nay, if St. Paul's first Epistle to Timothy was wrote before the Meeting at Miletus, we have plain Evidence of the contrary, That he committed that Church entirely to the Government of its Presbyter-Bishops, without subjecting them to any single Person of a superior Order.

2. When the Bishop of Worcester saith, "That we have no greater Assurance that these Epistles were written by St. Paul, than we have that there were Bishops to succeed the Apostles in the Care and Government of Churches. If he means such Bishops as those of Ephesus, to whom the Apostle in his Valedictory Speech commits the Care and Government of that Church, I shall not oppose the Truth of what he says, because the Scriptures themselves are so clear in that Point: But if he means Diocesan Bishops, I take it to be, not only a precarious, but a very unwary and dangerous Assertion. I have shewn from Dr. Barrow, that the Apostles have no Successors in that general Superintendency over all the Churches that belong'd to them; and the Bishop has in the Passages I have now cited out of his *Irenicum*, clearly demonstrated the utter Uncertainty of the Apostles being any way succeeded by Men of an Order distinct from, and superior to that of Presbyters; nor has any one Author, that I know of, produced us one clear Instance of any such thing as a Diocesan Church (consisting of many Congregations that had each of them their distinct Communion-Table) or a Diocesan Bishop as the Governor of it in the two first Centuries (of which more anon;) and I should be sorry if we had no better Evidence, that these Epistles were written by St. Paul. These are at the best very incautious Expressions; and Mr. Drury would have better consulted the Honour of that truly excellent Writer, to have passed them over in silence: I am sure what I have now referr'd to in his *Irenicum*, carries another Force and Weight with it; nor do I know that he ever retracted that excellent Book: But I am sure he never refuted the argumentative Part of it; and his Judgment at the Writing of it, appears to have been then very impartial and unbiass'd, and becoming the noble Character he then assum'd of a Peace-maker.

I now proceed to the Argument that both my Answerers draw from the Angels of the Seven Churches in Asia, to whom our Saviour's Epistles are directed.

Mr. Drury tells us, "That 'tis clear beyond all Contradiction, that these Angels were particular Per-

sons: And that though there were many Presbyters in those Churches, there was but one Angel: And that the Name of Angel is never given to any College of Presbyters.

And then he adds, "That these single Persons were invested with the Power and Authority that is now call'd Episcopal; for they are particularly call'd to an Account for not exercising their Authority and Apostolical Jurisdiction, not only over the Laity, but the Clergy also, &c.

The same Argument is barely propos'd by Mr. French, *Answ.* pag. 7.

Answ. All the Force of this Argument to prove the divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, will be sufficiently invalidated by these two general Considerations.

I. These Authors have offer'd us no satisfactory Evidence, that the Angels of these Churches are to be understood of single Persons.

II. That they have offer'd us far less to prove them to have been Diocesan Bishops.

I. These Authors have offer'd us no satisfactory Evidence, to prove these Angels to have been single Persons.

Mr. Drury indeed tells us, "That 'tis clear beyond all Contradiction". But Men of far greater Learning and Judgment than he can pretend to, have thought it not only uncertain, but improbable.

'Tis manifest, that Angel is here us'd as a Metaphorical Term; and all know, that nothing is more common in Prophetical Writings, than to put the Singular Number for the Plural, and to intend a Multitude where One is express'd. Thus in this very Book the Word Angel is to be taken collectively, and not personally, Rev. xiv. 6, 7, 8, 9. For the whole Body of those faithful Pastors that adhere to the Purity of the Christian Religion, in opposition to the Pagano-papal Idolatry. Nay, elsewhere the heavenly Hosts are represented in the Singular Number, in that Passage of the Psalmist, *The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them*, Psal. xxxiv. 7. In which Passage there is probably some Allusion to that Host of Angels that met Jacob in his Return from Padan-aram, and which gave Name to the Place Mahanaim, i. e. Two Hosts or Camps (as the Margin of our Bibles have it) Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. So is the Word Star to be taken collectively, Rev. viii. 10. Rev. ix. 1. And the like we may observe in other Prophetical Books. Thus the Ram mention'd Dan. viii. 3. is explain'd of the Kings of Media and Persia, at ver. 20. The Virgin-Daughter of Sion is put for the whole Body of that People. The Antichrist, the Man of Sin, &c. are by the Generality of Expositors understood not of a single Person, but a Succession of such. 'Tis therefore so far from being clear beyond Contradiction, that the Word Angel is to be taken for a single Person, that I believe 'tis far oftner taken in this very Prophetical Book collectively, than personally: And therefore it will be no way unreasonable to understand it so here.

And accordingly, those that take Angel collectively, have taken two different Ways to explain it.

1. Some, by the Angel, understand the whole Church it self, including both Pastors and People.

This was the Exposition of Tyconius, which St. Austin himself mentions and seems to approve, lib. 3. cap. 30. *de Doctr. Christ.* And this Exposition it self is very much countenanced from what is so particularly subjoin'd at the Close of these Epistles, *He that hath an Ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.* 'Tis further observable, that the Number is often changed in the same Verse. So Rev. ii. 10. *Fear none of these Things which thou shalt suffer, Behold the Devil shall cast some of you into Prison that ye may be tried, and ye shall have Tribulation ten Days: Be thou faithful to the Death, and I will give thee a Crown of Life.* So when our Saviour begins his Epistle to Thyatira, *I know thy Works*, Rev. ii. 19. he presently changes the Number, and saith, *To you and to the rest in Thyatira.* And whereas it may be objected, that the Angels are distinguish'd

tinguish'd from the Churches, Rev. i. 20. 'Tis reply'd, That as *Angels* are represented as the Guardians of the Churches; so the Epistles, by being directed to them, are, in Effect, directed to both *Pastors* and *People*, the Commendations and Censures being intended for both: And therefore, as the Epistles begin with, *To the Angel*; so they end with, *To the Churches*. But,

2. Others chuse rather to understand the Word *Angel* of all the *Pastors* and *Teachers* that were placed in those several Churches.

And for this Exposition, there are several Arguments offer'd that carry great Weight with them.

As,

1. All do agree, that there were more *Presbyters* or *Teachers* in each of these Churches than one. This is manifest in particular, with reference to the Church of *Ephesus*, the Care and Government whereof was committed by St. Paul to several *Presbyters*, as the *Bishops* or *Overseers* thereof, Acts xx. 28. And Mr. Drury himself supposes that there were many *Presbyters* in those Churches. Now these *Presbyter-Bishops* in each Church must either be included under the *Angel* and *Star* of that Church, or under the *Candlestick* and Church it self. They cannot be comprehended under the *Candlestick*; for 'tis their Office by teaching, to give Light to others, and not receive it from those they are to instruct: They must therefore be comprehended under the *Angel* or *Star*. As therefore the *Candlestick* is taken collectively for the whole Body of People that are taught, so must the *Angel* or *Star* be taken collectively for all that were their authorized Teachers; for otherwise we must suppose these Teachers excluded from any Share, either in the *Advices* given, or the *Commendations* and *Censures* that are pass'd in those Epistles; which I presume no unbiass'd Person will judge any way credible.

2. There are several Things spoken to the *Angels* of those Churches, that cannot be reasonably understood of single Persons.

Thus the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus* is charg'd with leaving his first Love, and is, on that Account, call'd to repent; and threaten'd if he do not, that his *Candlestick* should be remov'd. But where would be the Reason and Justice of so terrible a Sentence against that Church, as the *Unchurching* them, if only the Bishop was faulty, but the rest of the *Presbyters* and the *People* free. Nay, it falls out very unhappily for those that make *Timothy* the Bishop of *Ephesus* at the writing these Epistles; that they do, in effect, (as Dr. Stillingfleet has justly observed) charge *Timothy* with this Crime. Nor have they any way to solve *Timothy's* Reputation, but by giving up the Foundation of their Argument, and pretending that this was the Guilt of the whole Church, not of their Bishop. For as that excellent Author adds, "First, it seems strange that the whole diffusive Body of the Church should be charged with a Crime by the Name of the *Angel*, and he that is particularly meant by that Name should be free from it. As if the Prince should charge the Mayor of a Corporation as guilty of Rebellion; and by it should only mean, that the Corporation was guilty, but the Mayor was innocent himself. Secondly, If many Things in the Epistles be directed to the *Angel*, but yet so as to concern the whole Body; then of necessity the *Angel* must be taken as Representative of the Body. And then, Why may not the Word *Angel* be taken by way of Representation of the Body it self, either of the whole Church, or what is far more probable, of the *Concessus*, or Order of *Presbyters* in that Church? Again, 'tis no way probable, that the Charge of having a Name to live while he was dead; of being lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, should be the Fault only of a single Person in the Church of *Sardis*, and that of *Laodicea*.

3. The same *Angel* is spoken to, both in the Singular and Plural Number. So is the *Angel* of the Church of *Smyrna*, Rev. ii. 10. So is the *Angel* of the Church of *Thyatira*: The Epistle begins with, *I know thy Works*, Rev. ii. 19.—But at ver. 24. it runs thus, *To you I say*,

and to the rest in *Thyatira*, &c. The Evasion us'd by those that tell us it is left out in some Copies, is justly rejected by the Generality of our learned Criticks, who vouch the general Consent of the most authentick Copies.

And accordingly St. *Austin* thus understands it, Hom. 1. in Apoc. Quod autem dicit Angelo Thyatira habeo adversum te pauca, dicit prepositis Ecclesiarum. To the same Purpose, *Greg. Primasius*, *Haymo*, *Bede*, and others, expound the Word *Angel*, of the Teachers of those several Churches.

I may here add, that as several Divines of great Learning have suppos'd, that under the Names of those seven Churches, we are to understand the Catholic Church in seven successive Periods of Time: So they must of Course, by the *Angel*, understand all the Pastors of the Church in each of those successive Periods, and not any single Persons. But,

II. Tho' we should understand the *Angel* of each Church of a single Person, it will by no means prove him to have been a *Diocesan Bishop*.

Because we have just reason to suppose, that the Apostle borrows the Term from the Jewish Synagogue; and accordingly those that are the best vers'd in the Jewish Learning, tell us, That he who was the *Preses* in the Bench of Elders in each Synagogue, was call'd, the *Angel* of the Assembly, and that in Conformity to the Language of the Old Testament, Job xxxiii. 23. Hagai i. 13. Malachi ii. 7. where the Priest, whose Lips were to preserve Knowledge, is call'd the Messenger or *Angel* of the Lord of Hosts. The same Person was also called the Bishop or Inspector of the Congregation. This is the Opinion of *Monf. Basnage*, who tells us, "That the Jews had a Bishop or Inspector, who is call'd the *Angel* of the Assembly, who took care to see that the Service of God was not neglected: He presided over the Reading and the Performing all other Ceremonies. For this Reason St. John, in his Revelation, censures the *Angel* of *Thyatira*, and the *Angel* of *Smyrna*, because those Bishops had neglected their Duty. The Conjecture of a Divine, who believes that St. Paul alluded to that Pastor of the Church, when he order'd the Women to be cover'd because of the *Angels*, seems to be just: For that Title was in use both among the Jews and Christians. This appears by the Revelation of St. John. And why might not St. Paul have us'd it in the same Sense? And this Bishop or *Angel* of the Assembly, the Author, in the same Page, shews to have been of the same Order with the other Doctors or Elders of it. See *Basnage's History of the Jews*, Book v. pag. 408.

Dr. *Lightfoot* delivers his Sentiments to the same Purpose, Vol. II. pag. 133.

To the same Purpose Dr. *Stillingfleet* from that Passage of *Maimonides* (which I have recited from him, *Postscript*, pag. 94.) observes, "That besides the College of *Presbyters* in every Synagogue, there was a public Minister of the Synagogue, the *Chasan Hacensetib* the Bishop or Superintendant over the Congregation; whose peculiar Office it was to pray for and bless the People. We are here further to take Notice of the Form of their sitting in the Synagogue. The *Presbyters* sat together upon a Bench by themselves, with their Faces towards the People, which was in an Hemicycle, the Form wherein all the Courts among them sat, which is fully describ'd by Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Thorndyke* in the Places above cited. *Seld. de Synedr.* l. 2. c. 6. f. 2. *Thornd. Rel. Assemb.* c. 3. This was afterwards the Form wherein the Bishop and *Presbyters* us'd to sit in the Primitive Church, as the last nam'd learned Author largely observes and proves. And of this Ruler of the Synagogue the Doctor there shews, "That tho' he was first in Order, yet he had no Power over or above the Bench of Elders, of which he was a Member, much as the *Nasi*, or Prince of the Sanhedrim, whose Place imported no Power peculiar to himself, but only a Priority of Dignity. See *Iren.* pag. 250, 251.

And

And this Notion he applies to these *Angels of the Churches* mention'd by St. John in the Revelations, and thus reasons upon it: "If the Name *Angel* imports "no Incongruity, tho' taken only for the publick "Minister of the Synagogue, call'd the *Angel of the Congregation*, what Power can be inferr'd thence any more "than such an Officer was invested with? Again, "if the *Presbyters* or President of the Assembly of *Presbyters* might be so called, what Superiority can be "deduced thence, any more than such an one enjoys? See *Iren.* pag. 289.

The main Doubt here is concerning these *seven Asian Churches*, whether they were *single Congregations*; or each of these Cities of *Ephesus, Smyrna, &c.* had several *Congregations* in them under one common Government?

For my own Part, I could never yet see any solid Evidence offer'd to prove them to be any more than *single*, tho' numerous and large *Congregations*: And I believe it will be hard for any Man to prove, that they were larger than the *Reformed Church of Paris* that us'd to meet at *Charenton*; or so large as some *Parishes* in *London*, such a *Stepney, Cripplegate, St. Martins in the Fields, &c.* And if the *Angels* of those Churches were no more than the *Rectors* of those *Congregations* with their *Assistant-Presbyters*, among whom they had only an *honorary Presidency*, this will be no Proof of *Diocesan Episcopacy*.

But tho' we should grant more *Congregations* in these Cities under the Government of a *Presbytery*, and allow the *Angel* to be the *Præses* and *Moderator* of it (which is the utmost that can be made of it) this will by no means prove this *Moderator* to be of a *distinct Order* from his *Brethren*, or to have that kind of *Superiority* over his *Fellow-Presbyters* that *Diocesan Bishops* now claim.

'Tis true, indeed, Mr. Drury pretends to prove, "That these *Angels* are call'd to an Account for not "exercising their Authority and Apostolical Jurisdiction not only over the *Laity*, but over the *Clergy* also. "Thus is the *Angel of the Church of Pergamus* censur'd "for suffering the Doctrine of *Balaam* and the *Nicolaitans* to be held there. But now, if every *Presbyter* had "an independent Authority, how could the *Angel* of "this Church be blam'd in particular for not censuring "and punishing those over whom he had no Power, "or for not preventing the Heretical Opinion of "those of whom he had no Cognizance? And as for "the *Angel of Ephesus*, he is particularly commended "for searching and examining those that pretended to "be Apostles, and to have Power and Authority to "preach without a Commission: Which Commendation plainly denotes a supreme Power of Trial and Conviction.

Ans. But how does Mr. Drury prove, that any of the *Presbyters* of those Churches were concern'd in these *Heretical Opinions* at all? for I see no tolerable Evidence of it. We read indeed of some in the Church of *Pergamus*, that held the Doctrine of *Balaam*, and of others that held the Doctrine of the *Nicolaitans**; but not one Syllable of any *Teachers* in those Churches that were concern'd in the Propagation of them. We read indeed of the *Woman Jezebel* in the Church of *Thyatira*, that call'd her self a *Prophetess*, and both taught and seduced others to commit *Fornication*†: But I hope Mr. Drury will not rank her among the *Clergy* of that Church: And for the *false Apostles* which the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus* is commended for trying, and discovering the Falshood of their Pretensions||. This is so far from arguing any such supreme Power of Trial and Conviction in him above the rest of the *Elders*, that this is no more than what the *Laity* themselves are required, and therefore authoriz'd to do: For St. John commands them elsewhere not to believe every Spirit; but to try the Spirits, whether they are of God, be-

cause many false Prophets were gone out into the World. And accordingly delivers to them proper Characters whereby to distinguish them. See 1 John iv. 1, 2, &c. And if private Christians might do it, much more are all Teachers in the Church requir'd and authoriz'd to examine such confident Pretenders to *Prophetical Inspiration* and *Apostolical Power*, who have no sufficient Credentials to produce. Besides, Mr. Drury is mistaken in imagining, that because we suppose all *Presbyters* to be equal in Point of Office, that we suppose every one of them to be independent and unaccountable: For we own the Spirits of the Prophets to be (in this Sense) subject to the Prophets [to allude to 1 Cor. xiv. 32.] and every Member of a *Confessus* of *Presbyters* accountable to the rest of his Brethren for his Doctrine as well as his Behaviour; and justly censurable by them for any *Maladministration*, without their pretending to any Superiority of Office.

Upon the whole, we see, that Mr. Drury and Mr. French are as unsuccessful in proving the divine Right of *Diocesan Episcopacy* from these *Angels*, as they were proving it from the *Apostles* and *Evangelists*.

Having examin'd their Arguments from the Holy Scriptures, and shewn the Invalidity of them; there is one Argument remaining, drawn from Antiquity, which both my Answerers lay great Stress upon, and on all Occasions triumph in.

Thus Mr. Drury desires his dissenting Brethren to consider, "Whether it is probable or likely; nay, "whether it is possible, that this Form of Church-Government, by Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, should gain such early Footing in the Church of Christ, as the Dissenting Ministers own it did, and spread universally over the whole Christian World in less than Forty Years after the Apostles, without any one Complaint of its Usurpation, if it were not of an heavenly Extraction? Or at least, supposing Presbytery to have been establish'd, as they say it was, whether it must not have been an intolerable sort of Government, which was by the Joint-Consent of the whole World laid down in so short a Time? And then I would have every one of our Dissenting Brethren seriously to lay it to their Consciences, and ask themselves, how they can justify a Separation from the Church Establish'd, which is grounded on so absurd a Foundation as the Presbyterian Equality? How they can answer it to God, or to themselves, to reject that Form of Church-Government, which (as I hope I have prov'd) was establish'd by Christ, and put in Practice by the Apostles, which they themselves confess was planted in the Church of Christ UNIVERSALLY very soon after the Apostles, and so continued for 1500 Years: To reject, I say, such a Government, only to gratify the Humour of some perverse and obstinate Men, whose Interest it is to keep up the Division." Disc. pag. 47. See to the like Purpose, pag. 44, 45. And this is Mr. French's second sort of Arguments which he prosecutes from pag. 7. to pag. 16.

Ans. I design not to launch out at present into this boasted Argument from Antiquity: That would carry me far beyond the Bounds of a Postscript, and require a large Volume to go thro' it. I shall therefore at present content my self with suggesting a few Considerations that, I think, will to all unprejudic'd Readers break the Force of it, and shew how weak and inconclusive it is in this Cause.

1. I must desire Mr. Drury to consider with what Conscience he can so confidently tell the World, "That the Dissenting Ministers own that Form of Church-Government that he pleads for, to have spread UNIVERSALLY over the whole Christian World in less than Forty Years after the Apostles, without any one Complaint of its Usurpation, &c. and so continued for 1500 Years. If he can produce one

* Rev. ii. 14, 15.

† Rev. ii. 20.

|| Rev. ii. 2.

Dissenting Minister that ever confess'd any such Matter, he will do what, to this Day, I never read or heard of: And if he cannot, may we not (to use his own Words) desire him to lay it to his own Conscience, how he can answer it to God and to us, to publish in our Name, what, unless he be an absolute Stranger to our Writings, he cannot but know to be a notorious Untruth. If he refers us to my own Expressions, I must desire him to review them, and see, whether he can extort any such Confession as this from them: They are these, "I know, indeed, that some Superiority of a Bishop over Presbyters begun early after the Apostles Days, and did universally diffuse it self thro' the Christian Church: But 'tis a great Mistake to think it was always the same that is now claim'd. Bishops, as distinguish'd from Presbyters, were for some time no more than the senior Pastors of a single Congregation, that claim'd only a Primacy of Order in the Council of Presbyters, by whose common Advice all Church-Affairs were manag'd. The Bishops of the Churches planted in great Cities, first began to extend their Authority over those lesser Assemblies which the Increase of Converts occasion'd the Erection of, as so many Chapels of Ease under the Bishop's Church as the Mother-Church; so that our large Parish-Towns, with the Chapels of Ease belonging to them, seem a true Emblem of their small Dioceses. But when the Advancement of Constantine, &c.

Now this Account is perfectly contradictory to what Mr. Drury supposes the Dissenting Ministers to confess, unless he thinks every Rector of a Parish-Church, that has Assistant Curates of the same Order and Office with himself, to be a Diocesan Bishop, that claims the Government over many Scores or Hundreds of such Churches, and over the Rectors of them, as Persons of an Order and Office inferior to his own.

2. It greatly weakens the Force of this Argument from Antiquity, to find so many of those that are best vers'd in the Judgment of the Ancients (those of the Establish'd Church not excepted) concurring with us in this Opinion, that the Primitive Bishop was no more, for at least a Century or two, than the Pastor of a single Congregation, with his Assistant Presbyters; or in some few large Cities the Præses or Moderator of a City Presbytery, who (though he had some Superiority of Degree) did not pretend to any Superiority of Order or Office among his Fellow Presbyters.

This Mr. Drury knows to be the Judgment of such learned Antiquaries as Salmasius, Blondell, Daille, L'Arroque, and other Lights of the Reformation in France, with whom few can compare for their vast Reading and Judgment in Ecclesiastical History. Grotius has deliver'd his Judgment fully to this Purpose, in his excellent Treatise *De Imper. Sum. Potest.*

The Author of *Biographia Ecclesiastica*, giving an Account of the State of Religion in the first Ages of Christianity, and treating of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, tells us: "We dispute not whether Episcopacy was by Divine Right, a superior Order to Presbytery: 'Tis sufficient for us to observe, that 'tis granted by the Generality of learned Men, that Bishops were distinct from, and superior to Presbyters in the second Century, or the next Age to that of the Apostles. The Holy Scriptures, as likewise Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, seem to speak of more than one Bishop in some Churches: But Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the following Fathers affirm, there was and ought to be but one in each Church. And as there was only one Bishop in a Church, so in the first Ages each Bishop had the Charge but of one Congregation, wherein all under his Care met together on Sunday to hear him preach, and to receive the Lord's Supper from him, as Justin Martyr tells us in his Apolog. So that as the Bishop's Province is often, in Eusebius, and other ancient Writers, call'd by the Name of [*παροικία*] Parish; so it seems to have been

then but answerable to any of our ordinary Parishes in extent. This farther appears in that Tertullian tells us, *The Christians receiv'd the Sacrament from the Hands of the Bishops only.* Who also informs us, in his *Discourse of Prayer*, that *was usually given by him three times a Week:* Which had been impossible, had he had the Charge of more than one Congregation. And hence we find Bishops seated not only in Cities, but Country Villages also, viz. Wherever there was a sufficient number of Christians to form a competent Congregation. And therefore Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, saith, *That the Apostles going forth, and preaching both in City and Country, constituted Bishops and Deacons among them.*

He then describes the Bishop's Function, "That it consisted in preaching the Word, and praying with his People; in administering the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; in ordaining Officers; in governing his Flock; in excommunicating Offenders with the Consent and Approbation of his People; (and the Author should have added, with the Advice and Consent of his Assistant Presbyters) in absolving of Penitents, and also in taking Care of the Poor.

But tho' a Bishop at first presided over no more than one Congregation; yet after the Number of Christians came to be greatly increas'd, and especially when Constantine had establish'd Christianity as the Religion of the Empire, the Extent of Episcopal Authority was much enlarged: And as the Bishops of great Cities had then the Government of several Congregations, so in each Metropolis or Mother-City, as the Romans call'd those wherein they had their Courts of Civil Judicature, there was an Archbishop, or Metropolitan, &c.

Next to the Office of Bishops, was that of Presbyters, between whom at first there seems to have been only this Difference, that whereas the former had a distinct Charge of particular Churches committed to them, the latter (tho' of the same inherent Power) had no peculiar Flocks of their own, but were Curates and Assistants to the Bishops in their's. Hence, not only in Scripture, but also by several of the Primitive Fathers, these two are frequently spoken of as one and the same Office, &c.

The Author of the *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, &c. of the Primitive Church*, suppos'd to be the Lord K. (than whom I know of none that have manag'd their Enquiries with a greater Appearance of Candor and Impartiality) has at large demonstrated, by Variety of Arguments, "That the Primitive Bishops had but one Church or Congregation; and that the Bishop's Dioceses did not exceed the Bounds of an ordinary Parish. See Chap. 2. Nay, he supposes the Swelling of their Dioceses into several Congregations, not to have happen'd within his prescribed Time (the three first Centuries) except in the Church of Alexandria.

And concerning the Presbyters, he undertakes to prove these two Things.

1. That they were the Bishop's Curates and Assistants (in the Care of that single Congregation over which he presided) and so inferior to them in the actual Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Commission.

2. That yet notwithstanding they had the same inherent Right or Power with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct specifick Order from them.

The Bishop was the Rector of the Parish, and the Presbyters his Assistants therein. See Chap. 3.

Mr. Mede (whom all must own to be a Man well read in Antiquity) in his *Discourse of Churches*, saith, "Nay, more than this, it should seem that in these first Times, before Dioceses were divided into those lesser and subordinate Churches which we now call Parishes, and Presbyters assign'd to them, they had only one Altar to a Church or Dominicum, taking the Church for the Corporation, or Company of the Faithful, united under one Bishop or Pastor; and that was in the City

"or Place where the Bishop had his See or Residence. — *Die solis* (saith *Justin Martyr*) *omnium qui vel in oppidis vel ruri degunt in eundem locum conventus fit*. Namely, as he there tells us, to celebrate and participate the Holy Eucharist". Why was this? but because they had not many Places to celebrate it in. And unless this were so, whence came it else that a schismatical Bishop was said, *Constituere* or *collocare aliud Altare*? And that a Bishop and Altar are made Correlatives? See *St. Cypr. Epist.* 40. 72, 73. *De Unit. Eccl.*

And the same learned Writer proceeds to shew, that *Ignatius's* Bishop was no more than the Bishop of a single Congregation, according to that known Passage in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*: *There is to every Church one Altar and one Bishop, with the Presbytery and the Deacons my Fellow-Servants*.

And for that Evasion of Mr. *Dodwell's* and Dr. *Maurice's*, mention'd by Mr. *Drury*, pag. 29, 30. that the one Altar, mention'd by *Ignatius*, is the one Cathedral Altar; which is as consistent with many Communion Tables, as one Cathedral is with many Churches. The Vanity of it has been already so fully expos'd by Mr. *Tongue* in his *Defence of Mr. H—'s* Notion of Schism; by Mr. *Owen*, in his *Defence of Scripture-Ordination*; and by Mr. *Jameson*, in his *Nazianzenian Querela & Votum*; that I need only at present refer the Reader to them. And if I see occasion to enter on the particular Consideration of this Argument from Antiquity, I doubt not to satisfy any unprejudic'd Persons, that those two Authors foremention'd offer the greatest Violence imaginable to *Ignatius's* Words, and may as reasonably understand the one Bishop of the Pope of Rome, as the one Altar of the Cathedral-Altar that had many Communion-Tables subordinate thereto.

Dr. *Burnet* (late Bishop of Sarum) in his *Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, tells us, at pag. 51. "That by the Strain of *Ignatius's* Epistles, especially that to *Smyrna*, it would appear that there was but one Church, at least but one Place, where there was one Altar and Communion in each of those Parishes, which was the Bishop's whole Charge.

"And pag. 56. The enlarging of Dioceses has alter'd the whole Figure of Primitive Episcopacy.

"And p. 306. At first every Bishop had but one Parish; yet afterwards, when the Number of Christians increas'd, that they could not meet conveniently in one Place, and when, thro' the Violence of Persecution, they durst not assemble in great Multitudes, the Bishops divided their Charges in lesser Parishes, and gave Assignments to the Presbyters of particular Flocks, which was done first in Rome in the beginning of the second Century. And Things continued thus in a Parochial Government till towards the End of the second Century, the Bishop being chiefly entrusted with the Cure of Souls, a Share whereof was also committed to the Presbyters, who were subject to him, and particularly to be ordained by him. Nor could any Ordination be without the Bishop, who, in ordaining, was to carry along with him the Concurrence of the Presbyters, as in every other Act of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

And here, by the way, whereas some later Canons restrained Presbyters from concurring in Ordinations, it were most unreasonable from thence to infer, that they had by divine Right no Power to ordain. If Ecclesiastical Canons of as great Antiquity were the Standard of divine Right, they would nullify all the Bishops thro' the Christian World that are chosen by the Civil Magistrate, or that are chosen without the Approbation of Presbyters, and Suffrages of the People; or that engage in secular Offices, or that commit Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Management of Laymen. And it would therefore argue gross Partiality for those to lay so great a Stress on some of these Canons, who lay none at all upon the rest that have the same Authority to plead for their Continuance.

For Dr. *Stillingfleet*, I have referr'd the Reader to what he has said, to invalidate this Testimony from

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Antiquity, and shall only subjoyn one Passage more: 'Tis *Iren.* pag. 309. where he tells us, "That in all those thirty five Testimonies produced out of *Ignatius's* his Epistles for Episcopacy, I can meet with but one which is brought to prove the least Semblance of an Institution of Christ for Episcopacy; and if I be not much deceiv'd, the Sense of that Place is clearly mistaken too, &c.

Now if the Primitive Bishop for the two first Centuries was no more than the Rector of a Parish-Church, with Presbyters as his Assistants, as these learned Antiquaries own; then 'tis manifest, that such Pastors of particular Congregations, who have such Assistants under them (tho' of no Order or Office distinct from them) are the Primitive Bishops; and that the Ordinations perform'd by such Pastors of particular Congregations are in the Sense and Language of Antiquity, Episcopal Ordinations: And that to declare such Ordinations null and void for want of the Concurrence of a Diocesan Bishop, is really to null all the Ordinations of the Primitive Church for at least two Centuries; nay, I may add the third too. The Cyprianick Bishop being clearly prov'd to be no more than a Parochial Bishop, both by Dr. *Rule* in his Cyprianick Bishop examin'd, and by Mr. *Lauder* in his Discourse, entituled, *The Antient Bishops consider'd*, &c. in Answer to Mr. *Chillingworth*, and others.

3. 'Tis strange that these Gentlemen should make such Boast of the Consent of all Christians for 1500 Years, when they cannot be ignorant, that in the fourth Century, when the Authority of Bishops begun first to swell by the greater Extent of their Charge, the most celebrated Writers of that very Age have given the clearest Attestation to the Truth I am pleading for, viz. That the scriptural Bishop and Presbyter were the same.

My Answerers, especially Mr. *French*, make a great Noise about the fam'd Heresy of *Aerius*, viz. That there ought to be no Difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter. And by the way, if they will, upon *Epiphanius's* Authority, make his Opinion an Heresy; they must, upon the same Authority, make it an Heresy, to deny the Warrantableness of Prayers for the Dead: For that is also a Part of the formidable Charge of Heresy that *Epiphanius* advances against *Aerius*. But let us hear Dr. *Stillingfleet's* mature Sentiments about this Matter, *Iren.* pag. 276. "I believe (saith he) upon the strictest Enquiry, *Medina's* Judgment will prove true, that *Jerome*, *Austin*, *Ambrose*, *Sedulius*, *Primasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, were all of *Aerius's* Judgment, as to the Identity of both Name and Order of Bishops and Presbyters in the Primitive Church: But here lay the Difference, that *Aerius* proceeded to separate from Bishops and their Churches, because they were Bishops.—And from pag. 277, to pag. 283. the Author fully demonstrates, "That *Jerome* never founded the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters on any divine Right. And yet I must add, that Diocesan Episcopacy was far from being come in that Age to its present Height, either with respect to the Extent of Dioceses, or with respect to the Power that Bishops claim'd over Presbyters. But this is sufficient to shew, that the most celebrated Writers of that Age were very sensible of a considerable Difference in this Point between the Apostolical Age and their own.

4. I may here retort the Argument upon both my Answerers, by desiring them to produce us some solid Evidence from the two or three first Centuries, of the following Particulars.

1. That the Generality of the Bishops of those Ages had several Congregations (in each of which all Parts of the ordinary Worship of God, such as Prayer, Praise, Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were celebrated) under their Government and Care.

2. That the Bishops of those Ages claim'd a Negative Voice in all Acts of Church-Government.

3. That particularly with respect to the highest Censures of the Church, the Sentence of Excommunication

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was decreed by the *Bishop* alone, without any Consent or Concurrence of his *Presbyters*.

4. That the Decreeing this Sentence was ever committed by those *Bishops* to *Civilians* as their *Delegates*.

And unless these Particulars be made good, nothing can be more groundless than to amuse the World with the vain Boasts of this present Form of Diocesan Government, being of 1500 Years standing, when, for the best Part of that Time, there is so apparent a *Disconformity* in these important essential Points, between the Practice of the *Antient Church*, and that of *Diocesan Churches* for several Ages past.

5. The Change from the Apostolical and Primitive to the present Diocesan Frame, being brought on by several gradual Steps that were almost insensible and imperceptible, 'tis no wonder at all, that it met not with that open *Opposition* that might reasonably have been expected, if it had been made all at once. Bare *Disparity* of *Abilities* and *Gifts* would naturally give those endued with them some *Superiority* of Respect above others in the same Office. The Apostle himself supposes, that among the *Elders* in a Church some were chiefly qualify'd for, and employ'd in the Work of *Ruling*, others of *Teaching*, and accordingly determines, that a peculiar *Degree* of Honour should be paid to such as labour'd in *Word and Doctrine* *. And accordingly, when the Bishop was first distinguish'd from the *Presbyter*, it was most probably his being the ordinary *Teacher* of his Flock that gave him the first Preheminence. (The *Presbyters* of the Primitive Church, after the Distinction between them and *Bishops* begun, being seldom comparatively employ'd in publick *Preaching*, tho' it was one *Branch* of their Office. (This brought on a fixed Presidency in all other Affairs of Government with respect to the Congregation. A Succession in this Presidency was first the Privilege of those that had a *πρωτοκλησία*, or *Seniority* of Ordination. It was afterwards given by *Election* to those that had the best Claim on the Account of *Merit*. When more Congregations came to be erected in a City, and in the Country round about it, the *Bishop* claim'd the same Presidency over the *Presbyters* as now constituting the *Ecclesiastical Senate* of that *City-Church*, and was the fixed *Moderator* thereof: And when Christianity became the predominant Religion in the Empire, the Humour of moulding the *Ecclesiastical Constitution* to the *Civil*, brought on the Additional Degrees of *Archbishops*, *Metropolitans*, *Primates*, and *Patriarchs*; and these at last laid the Foundation of the Papal Power. Any one that will read *Salmasius de Primatu Papæ* and his *Apparatus*, or *Blondel de la Primauté de l'Eglise*, may see these Things set in a clear Light. And therefore Mr. *Chillingworth's* Argument, which Mr. *French* refers us to, stands upon a lame Foot, when it supposes the *Primitive Form* of Episcopal Government to be the same with the *Modern*; as if a *Rector* of a single *Parish-Church*, or of a *Parish-Church* that has a few *Chapels of Ease* belonging to it, with his *Assistant-Presbyters*, who are of the same Office with himself, were the same Thing with a modern *Diocesan Bishop*. But that Argument is so fully refuted by Mr. *Lauder* in his *Antient Bishops consider'd*, &c. that I shall refer the Reader thereto.

6. For Mr. *Drury's* Insinuation, "That the Dissenters reject the Episcopal Form of Government only to gratify the Humour of a few perverse and obstinate Men, whose Interest it is to keep up the Division. I must desire Mr. *Drury*, when his Thoughts are calmer, to answer a few plain *Queries*.

1. Whether this Character of *obstinate perverse Men* belong to those, who at the *Savoy-Conference* (when there was an happy Prospect of healing our Differences) offer'd *Arch-Bishop Usher's Model* for the *Reduction of Episcopacy* (which gives Bishops far greater Power than they had in the fourth or fifth Centuries) as the Ground-work of an Accommodation: Nay,

that would have acquiesced in *King Charles the Second's Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs*; or those, that instead of yielding one Step towards Peace, made the *Terms of Ministerial Conformity* far narrower and stricter than they had been before?

The Author of the *Healing Attempt* has observ'd, that in an *Act of Parliament* in *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign †, a *Subscription to the Articles* was sufficient to qualify any for *Spiritual Promotion*, even though they had not been *Episcopally ordain'd*; whereas by the *Act of Uniformity* in *King Charles the Second's* Time, a *Declaration of Assent and Consent to all Things contained in, and prescribed by the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Form and Manner of making and consecrating Arch-Bishops, &c.* was requir'd of all that should enjoy any *Spiritual Promotion*; and all that had not been *Episcopally ordain'd* were oblig'd to submit to *Re-ordination*. And for the *Consecration Book*, there were several *Alterations* in it that seem'd to make the Office of a *Presbyter* very different from what it was before. Thus in the *Old Book* the *Presbyters* were charg'd to administer the *Doctrine and Sacraments, and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath receiv'd the same*. And accordingly *St. Paul's Exhortation* to the *Elders* of the Church of *Ephesus*, *Acts* xx. 27, 28. was read to them at their *Ordination*. But in the *New Book* this *Exhortation* is remov'd from the *Presbyter's Ordination* to the *Consecration of Bishops*, to shew that the *Pastoral Power* is taken from *Presbyters*, and seated with the *Bishops* only. And accordingly the Name *Pastor*, which was in the *Old Book* given to the *Presbyter*, is in the *New* omitted, and in several Places the Word *Curate* or *Priest* substituted in its stead; the *Bishops* only being now in the *New Book* call'd the *Pastors* of the Church. See *Healing Attempt, Notes on the first Article of Arch-Bishop Usher's Model*. And in the *Preface* of the *New Ordination-Book*, this Proposition is part of what we are to declare our *unfeign'd Assent* to, "That 'tis evident to all Men reading the Holy Scriptures and the Ancient Authors, that there have been always from the Apostles Time, in Christ's Church, these three Orders, Bishops, Priests and Deacons."

And since these *Terms of Ministerial Conformity* were such as the Judgment of the *Non-conformist Ministers* could not assent to, and about 2000 of them were excluded for refusing it, shall their quietly resigning their publick Livings, and contenting themselves with the Exercise of their Ministerial Office (to which they had been solemnly set apart) in private Assemblies, among those of their own Judgment in these Matters, be interpreted *Obstinacy* and *Perverseness*? And shall the *Inflexibleness* of those that rejected all their Offers with Scorn; and us'd all their Interest to get the present *Act of Uniformity* past in order to their effectual Exclusion, be thought the Height of *Mildness* and *Candour*? No, sure, the excluded Ministers may in this case safely appeal to the unerring Judgment of God, and to that of all wise and good Men, concerning the *Injustice* and *Unreasonableness* of this Charge of Mr. *Drury's*, who does but rashly usurp the Prerogative of the great Searcher of Hearts, when he imputes our conscientious and peaceable Dissent to *Obstinacy* and *Perverseness*.

2. Whose Interest is most concern'd in keeping up the Division?

Is it theirs, who (as Mr. *Bisse* in his Sermon at *St. Mary's, Oxford, 1708.* more ingenuously upbraids them) "take up with trivial Wages of their Iniquity [i. e. their Non-conformity] compos'd only of some narrow Subscriptions and purloyn'd Gratuities, with Pieces of Bread and Handfuls of Barley? Or their's who have the rich Revenues annex'd to *Deanries* and *Bishopricks*, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments in their View? I question whether there be ten *Non-conformist Ministers* in the Kingdom that

* 1 Tim. v. 17.

† 13 Eliz. c. 12.

ever got 100 l. per Annum from their Congregations: And does he think that they might not reasonably expect to better their worldly Interest by complying with the *Legal Establishment*, if they could do it without counteracting their Judgment? Where then is the *Charity*; nay, where is the *common Sense* of such an invidious Suggestion, as if the Dissenting Ministers were acted by *Interest* in their Dissent, when 'tis so apparent that the tempting Advantages of both *Wealth* and *Honour* lie on the other side?

Having thus gone through Mr. Drury's Scheme, and consider'd all the Arguments my Answerers have offer'd in Defence of the Cause they plead, (and this much more largely than I at first design'd) I may for the present leave the few plain Scriptural Arguments I have us'd in that Sermon, to prove the Scriptural Bishop and Elder to be the same, to defend themselves; since I have fully shewn the Invalidity of those Grounds that my Antagonists build their Answers upon. And I have the rather chosen to confute their Pretensions by Reasons borrow'd from the most celebrated Writers of the *Establish'd Church*, that the World may see, 'tis not the Cause of any Party that I plead (as my Answerers on all Occasions groundlessly suggest) but a Truth that the most judicious Protestant Writers of all Denominations agree with us in, and in which the Popish Authors are our warmest Adversaries.

When I had almost finish'd this Postscript, there came to my Hands a Third Answer to my Sermon, Intituled, *Remarks on some Passages, &c.* 'Tis some Argument that the Author had not quite abandon'd all Remains of *Modesty* and *Discretion*, that he has thought fit to conceal his Name. Whether he be the same with the Author of the *Tale of a Tub* (as some would conclude from the great Harmony between the Style and Notions of that Book and of this Pamphlet) or only borrow his irreligious Scurrility from that Author, I shall not be solicitous to enquire: But whoever he be, he is very safe from any Answer to a Writing of that Stamp and Character. He that is under no Restraint of *Conscience* or *Honour* from venting downright Lies by Wholesale; and who, to render them the more palatable, makes as bold with the Bible as with the Plays, to furnish himself with *Jests* and *Banter*, has Talents for this way of Writing that I pretend not to, and God forbid that I should vie with him for. 'Tis a just Observation of an ingenious Author, that when Clergymen turn Jack-Puddings and Buffoons, they are of all Writers of that Sort the most nauseous and unentertaining. And therefore if this Gentleman thinks fit to prostitute his Character and Profession, I shall have so much Regard to mine (though he takes me for a meer Layman) as to observe the Caution of the Wise Man, Answer not a Fool according to his Folly, lest thou be like to him, Prov. xxvi. 4. Besides, there is so much of the Clowen Foot that appears in the Malice, as well as Falshood, of what he writes, as may sufficiently scare a Man from entering the Lists with him. For the little that I can find of Reasoning and Argument in his Remarks, 'tis already answer'd in this Postscript, before I saw them: And for the rest of his Book, I shall make no other Reply to it, than to recommend to his serious Thoughts (if he ever entertain any such at all) a Passage I have read with Pleasure in the Sermons of that Excellent Preacher Arch-Bishop Tillotson: 'Tis in that on the Ministry of Angels, wherein he takes notice of that Passage in St. Jude, ver. 9. concerning Michael the Arch-Angel's contending with the Devil about the Body of Moses; upon which the Arch-

Bishop saith, "I cannot but take Notice of one memorable Circumstance in this Contest mention'd likewise by St. Jude, in these Words: Yet Michael the Arch-Angel, when contending with the Devil, he disputed about the Body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing Accusation. His Duty restrain'd him from it, and probably his Discretion too. As he durst not offend God by doing a thing so much beneath the Dignity and Perfection of his Nature; so he could not but think that the Devil would have been too hard for him at Railing; a thing to which, as the Angels have no Disposition [and the Angels of the Churches should herein be like them] so I believe they have no Talent, no Faculty at it. The cool Consideration whereof should make all Men, especially those who call themselves Divines, and especially in Controversies about Religion, ashamed and afraid of this manner of Disputing, since Michael the Arch-Angel, even when he disputed with the Devil, durst not bring against him a railing Accusation. Arch-Bishop Tillotson's Sermons, Vol. II. pag. 177, 178. But though I dare not for his unjust Calumnies, return even just Recriminations; yet I hope I may be allow'd to say as the Arch-Angel, The Lord rebuke thee, Jude ix.

I hear that there is another Pamphlet against me printed, though not yet publish'd (the Author whereof knows his own Name) containing a Collection of several Passages out of some Discourses of mine, printed many Years ago. For what end the Author has made that Collection, he best knows. It would argue a Man's great Distrust of his own Cause, to betake himself to such Methods of answering his Opponent as these. But those Writings of mine have many Years ago pass'd through more Critical Eyes than his: And as they were wrote by way of Self-defence, so it would be hard Measure indeed, if (besides all the other Disadvantages we suffer) we should be incessantly reproach'd and condemn'd for our Dissent; and yet it should be thought a Crime to offer any Reasons for our Justification. I am sure the Author can find nothing in those Writings that reflects in the least upon our Civil Constitution: And for our Ecclesiastical Constitution, all the harm I wish it is, that it were made the firmer by the Terms of Conformity being made more large and comprehensive. And in this I believe the Wishes of some of the best Members of the Establish'd Church (some of the Bishops and Clergy not excepted) do entirely concur with mine: I am sure, it was once the Desire and the Aim of two as Great Men in their several Professions, as the last Age produced, viz. Bishop Wilkins and Judge Hales, (as Dr. Burnet has acquainted us in the Life of the latter.) We are also told in the Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, that such a Project of Union was carry'd on by Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet, and how it came to miscarry. See pag. 605. And perhaps I should do no Injury to the late King WILLIAM and Queen MART, of Immortal Memory, if I ascrib'd the same Sentiments to them. Her late MAJESTY has happily effected an Union of another kind, that seem'd once as improbable as this. But if such a comprehensive Union be too great an Happiness to be expected under the Ferment that some Men's intemperate Zeal has rais'd; yet we can entirely rely on her MAJESTY's repeated Assurances of Her Gracious Protection in our peaceable Dissent, while we continue steddy in our inviolable Duty and Affection to Her Person and Government: And in this I am well assur'd all Protestant Dissenters are entirely united.



A C L E A R
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
A N C I E N T E P I S C O P A C Y,
P R O V I N G

It to have been P A R O C H I A L, and
therefore inconsistent with the present Model of D I O C E S A N
E P I S C O P A C Y.

W H E R E I N T H E
Several Pretensions for the *Divine Right* of the Latter are
fully examin'd.

A N D

Mr. B O T S E's *Sermon* concerning the S C R I P T U R A L B I S H O P,
and the Postscript to it are defended against Mr. D R U R Y's *Vindication of his*
Answer to it.

To which are added,

Some Reflections on Mr. *Whiston's* Citation of *Clemens's* Epistle, in Favour of the
[pretended] *Constitutions of the Apostles*; shewing that from their Disagreement upon this Head of
Episcopacy, those *Constitutions* plainly appear spurious.



T H E P R E F A C E.

MR. B. has already in the Postscript to the Sermon concerning the Scriptural Bishop, given an Account of the Reason of its being publish'd among several other Miscellaneous Discourses. 'Tis the Scriptural Episcopacy describ'd in that Sermon of his, and further vindicated in his Postscript that I have undertaken the Defence of, against those that allow of no other Episcopacy but the Diocesan, and who fix that on no lower a Claim than that of a positive Divine Right. The Controversy does not therefore lie with those moderate and judicious Divines of the Establish'd Church, who ascribe Diocesan Episcopacy to no higher Original than Humane Institution. For their Principles no Way oblige 'em to nullify the Ministry of those Reformed Churches either at Home or Abroad, that have not the Diocesan Form of Government, nor obstruct their Desires and Endeavours after a nearer Coalition with 'em. The Antagonists I have to deal with in this Cause, are only such as assert the present Episcopal Form of Government, (which is no other than Diocesan) to be of Divine Institution, and who plead a positive Divine Authority for appropriating the Powers of Excommunication and Ordination to Diocesan Bishops, to the Exclusion of all others from 'em. And no Man that is conversant in the Writings of the late Defenders of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, can doubt of the unhappy Tendency of their Principles, to cool their Charity towards many of the Reformed Churches Abroad, and to extinguish it towards the Protestant Dissenters at Home, and even towards the whole Church of North Britain, where a different Form of Church Government has a Legal Establishment. Concerning the last of these, viz. The Church of North Britain, the Expressions of Dr. Hicks are very remarkable: "Such a Church (saith he) I think altogether as unworthy of the Name of a Church, as a Band of Rebels in any Country who have overthrown the Civil Constitution of it, wou'd be of the Name of a Kingdom, State, or Republick. Because such a pretended Church is not only a Variation from the Catholick Apostolick Church, but a sworn destructive Confederacy against it. Even the Abomination of Desolation in the House or Kingdom of God. Of which their Pastors are not Ministers, but by Principle most malicious Enemies, not Pastors, but Wolves of the Flock." A Censure that argues as little Respect to the Laws by which the Union is establish'd, as it does of Charity towards that Church, whose present Form of Government is thereby ratify'd in North Britain. And therefore to refute such Principles as lead Men to such uncharitable Censures, is so far from having any Tendency to widen our unhappy Differences; that 'tis rather a necessary Step towards promoting that mutual Charity and Union of Affection, that shou'd be found among all that agree in the great Principles of the Reformed Religion, though under different Terms of Ecclesiastical Government. But what Charity can we expect from those that declare all Ordinations that are not perform'd by Diocesan Bishops null and void, and all the sacred Ministrations of such Pastors utterly invalid? Nay, what Charity can we expect from those late Bigots, whose flaming Zeal prompts 'em not only to consign all Protestant Dissenters as damnable Schismatics, to the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, with the Devil and his Angels, but to send all those of their own Communion, to the same Place and Company, who have more charitable Thoughts of 'em, and are desirous of a more near and comprehensive Union with 'em?

And when we come to enquire into the Reason of this strange Uncharitableness, we find, 'tis not founded on any Difference in the Doctrinal Articles of Religion (unless that of unlimited Non-resistance must pass for one :) Nor on meer Disagreement in the external Modes of Worship; (for distinct Churches may have their different Rites.) But 'tis chiefly founded on this groundless Opinion, that Diocesan Episcopacy is of positive Divine Right, and so necessary to the Being of a Church, that there can be no valid Ordinations, and consequently no valid Ministry without it.

And since this is the Opinion I have undertaken to shew the Weakness of, I must desire the Reader once for all to observe, that this Dispute is no Way concern'd with Diocesan Episcopacy, as it is any Part of our Legal Constitution, nor with those Laws by which it is Establish'd among us. I have not once meddled with the Debate, how far the Civil Powers may model the External Government of a National Church, or confine the Powers of Excommunication and Ordination to any particular Order of Men in it? But only, Whether God himself has by his own Authority confin'd these Powers to Diocesan Bishops, and thereby not only barr'd all Civil Powers from Establishing any other Form of Ecclesiastical Government, but rendered any other Form utterly unlawful; nay, null and void? 'Tis certain, That if

* See Preface to his Answer to the Rights of the Christian Church, p. 200. Publish'd since the Union.

we may in this Point rely on the Judgment of Dr. Stillingfleet, our Legislature had no regard to the Affirmative of this latter Question in the Establishment of Diocesan Episcopacy. "I doubt not (saith he) Irenic. p. 385.) to make it evident, That the main Ground for settling Episcopal Government in this Nation, was not accounted any Pretence of Divine Right, but the Convenience of that Form of Church-Government, to the State and Condition of the Church at the Time of its Reformation." As far as I can pretend to understand our Laws, they are so far from supposing the Diocesan Form of Church Government to be of Divine Right, that they rather suppose the Spiritual Jurisdiction of our Diocesans considered as such, to be derived from the Crown. Mr. B. had to this Purpose in the Postscript, alledg'd that Clause passed in the First of Edward the Sixth, that affirms all Authority and Jurisdiction Spiritual, to be derived and deduced from the King's Majesty, as Supream Head of these Churches of England and Ireland. This Clause is every Way conformable to what is more largely inserted in the 37th of Henry VIII. c. 17. And though this Act of Edward VI. was repealed by 1 Mary, c. 2. yet it was revived by 1 Jac. I. c. 25. This indeed Mr. Dr— tells Mr. B—, "If it refer to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops Courts, is no more to the Purpose or Business in Debate, viz. Whether Bishops or Priests were distinct Officers by Divine Appointment, than if Mr. B— had formally and gravely told him a Story out of Reynard the Fox, or the Seven Wise Masters." For the Wit of this Comparison, I shall not meddle with it, being little acquainted with the Learned Treatises Mr. Dr— mentions: But for the Reason of it, 'tis what I am less able to comprehend. Mr. B— had shewn him from a Paper published in the Reign of Henry VIII, with the Stamp of Royal Authority (intituled, The Erudition of a Christian Man) that it was affirmed, "That the Scriptures only make expresse mention of Two Orders, Priests and Deacons." This was conformable to a Declaration made in the same Reign, by the King's Vicar-General, and several Bishops and Doctors, wherein they assert, "That in the New Testament there is no mention made of any Degrees or Distinction of Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests or Bishops." The Reader will find the genuine and obvious Sense of those Passages vindicated in the following Remarks. And to these Priests and Bishops, those Two Papers suppose the Powers of Excommunication and Ordination committed by the Apostles. What then can be more naturally inferred from those Acts of Parliament, that affirm all Spiritual Jurisdiction in the National Church to be derived from the Crown, than that the appropriating these Powers of Excommunication and Ordination to Diocesan Bishops, distinguished from Priests, and the confining this Spiritual Jurisdiction to the Latter in the National Church, was owing to the Regal Authority (to which they reckon'd it did belong, to model the National Form of Church Government) and not to any Divine Institution, (the New Testament having mentioned no such Distinction of Orders.) And as this renders these Clauses in our Acts of Parliament fully consistent with what those Two forementioned Papers assert, and justifies the Remark that Dr. Heylyn makes on that particular Clause, 1 Edward VI. So if this be the genuine Sense of 'em, let the Reader judge, Whether Mr. Dr—'s putting off the Argument with so trifling an Answer, looks not much more like telling a formal and grave Story out of the Authors he is pleas'd to refer to?

And that some of the greatest Divines that ever flourished in the Established Church ascribed this Diocesan Episcopacy to no higher Original than Ecclesiastical Custom, and were far from condemning those Churches that wanted it, as guilty of violating any Divine Institution, I have in the following Remarks made good against Mr. Dr—'s Exceptions.

And whereas there's no Topick that the late Assertors of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, more plausibly insist on for the Defence of it, than that of its being the ancient Government of the Church from the Apostles Time, I thought it the more necessary (since Mr. Dr— insisted so much on it) to give a clear and satisfactory Account of the Primitive Episcopacy.

That some such Distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter did early obtain in the Christian Church, as is now found among us between the Rector of a Parochial Church and his Assistant-Curates, I shall freely grant. And no Wonder, that as the Ancients did early make Two Degrees of the Deacon's Order or Office, viz. the Deacons and Subdeacons; so they made Two such Degrees of the Pastoral or Priestly Order or Office, viz. Bishops and Presbyters, the Bishop being in his Congregation or Church the First or Chief Presbyter, that was principally entrusted with the Pastoral Oversight of it, his Fellow-Presbyters being his Collegues and Assistants therein. And if the Episcopacy that obtained in the Second and Third Centuries, was no other than this I have now described; if any Argument for a Divine Right, were to be drawn from the early Practice of the Ancient Churches, it must be only to prove, that some Superiority of a Parish-Rector above his Assistant-Curates, is of Divine Institution. But, who does not at first View see, how utterly insufficient this is to prove the Divine Right of the present Diocesan Episcopacy? The Matter of Fact stands thus; every Church or Congregation that had its Communion-Table had its Bishop and Presbyters, i. e. its Rector and Assistant-Curates.) This Bishop did chiefly (tho' not solely, but in Conjunction with his Assistant-Presbyters) exercise the Powers that are now called Episcopal, viz. Those of Excommunication, and Absolution, and Ordination. Let us for once suppose the Argument good from Matter of Fact to Matter of Right, and allow this as a Matter of Divine Right; Will it hence follow, That 'tis a Matter of Divine Right, that many Scores or Hundreds of these Congregational-Bishops or Parochial-Rectors, together with their Assistant-Presbyters, should be deprived of these Episcopal Powers, and they should be now entirely engrossed in the Hands of a single Diocesan for a whole Province? And that the Government of many of these ancient Episcopal Churches, should be put down to erect the Plan of a Diocesan One?

How strange and unaccountable is it then, to find the Generality of those that write on this Subject, so constantly confounding this Parochial with Diocesan Episcopacy, as if they were the same Thing, when the Latter (as I have shewn in these Remarks,) is so utterly inconsistent with the Former, and so utterly subversive of it! And if this Primitive Parochial Episcopacy be all that's contended for, I think the Dispute about the Divine Right of it may be laid aside. For even those who think the Primitive Church had as little of any Divine Authority to plead for subdividing the Deacons, as the Priestly or Pastoral Office; would yet be so far from opposing, as to rejoyce in the Restoration of this Ancient Parochial

or Congregational Episcopacy. And perhaps there could be no better Expedient for accommodating these Differences, than the restoring these Parochial Bishops to their ancient Rights, and such a due Limitation of the Superintendency of Diocesan ones (who seem to answer the Metropolitans of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries) as may render it cumulative to, and not destructive of the ancient Powers of these Parochial Bishops. This the Learned Archbishop Usher made some Attempt towards, in his Excellent Model for the Reduction of Episcopacy. And perhaps a few Strokes added thereto from Primitive Antiquity, would render that Model more beautiful, as well as more practicable.

And I am not out of all Hope, That Mr. Dr—— himself will fall in with it, if he will stand to his own Concession, That the Extent of the Bishop's Charge, is no Way essential to his Office. For then I am sure it would be no Way destructive of Episcopacy, to reduce it to its ancient Parochial or Congregational Bounds. Whereas the Appropriation of what he calls Episcopal Power to a Diocesan, does manifestly overthrow the whole Scheme of that Primitive Parochial Episcopacy, on which this Gentleman founds his Argument for the Divine Right of that which now obtains. So just is the Bishop of Sarum's Observation, That the enlarging of Dioceses, (i. e. of the Extent of the Bishop's Charge) has quite altered the Figure (he might as properly have said the very Species and Kind) of the Primitive Episcopacy. The Platform of the Diocesan being raised on the Ruins of the ancient Parochial Episcopacy.

Till therefore the Evidence I have produc'd for the Ancient Episcopacy's being only Parochial, and of the Parochial Bishop's having tho' the Chief, yet not the Sole Hand in the Exercise of what are now called Episcopal Powers, be clearly disproved, I hope this formidable Argument from Antiquity will be dropp'd. For it now bears hardest on those that have so long, and with so unusual an Air of Triumph made their Boast of it.

And indeed the clearing this Point casts so great a Light on the whole of this Controversy, as has render'd the Answer to all the rest of Mr. Dr——'s Book an easy Task, the main Strength thereof relying on this imaginary Conformity between the ancient and the present Episcopacy. And if the Reader meets with too frequent a Repetition of this in the following Remarks, he must blame Mr. Dr—— that has render'd it so necessary to distinguish these two inconsistent Things which he at every Turn confounds.

I shall detain the Reader no longer from 'em than to acquaint him, That as I have been impartial in my Search after Truth in this controverted Subject, So I have endeavour'd to defend it with that Candor and Calmness that are suitable to it. If I have run into any considerable Mistakes that affect the main Cause I plead for, I am willing to receive better Information from any charitable Hand. But if I meet with Antagonists that instead of a solid and distinct Answer, only employ their Critical Talent to carp, or their Passions to rail at these Papers, I shall not think myself concern'd to take Notice of 'em.

'Tis probable, That Mr. French, Mr. B——'s other Antagonist, may expect that I should give a particular Reply to his Defence of the Answer to the Sermon. But I must desire to be excus'd, for Reasons which tho' they may not appear satisfactory to him, will I hope appear so to all impartial Readers. I am not willing after the Treatment Mr. B—— met with from him (so unbecoming the Character of a Clergyman) to furnish him with a new Set of Collections, when he has made no Acknowledgment of the Insincerity and gross Prevarication he was so fully convicted of in those which he published, and which were so industriously dispers'd at the Parliament Doors in Ireland. Nor am I desirous of encountering a Man that has shew'd such an extraordinary Skill in criticizing upon Mr. B——'s poor harmless Expressions, as he has done in his Elaborate Pamphlet, entituled (for what Reason he I suppose knows, for no one else can guess) Partiality detected. Besides, tho' I might plead the Proverb on my Side, of, Ne Hercules quidem contra duos; yet I believe the Reader will find little of any Moment in Mr. Fr——'s Defence, that is not answer'd in the Remarks on Mr. Dr——. And I believe it will be readily own'd by all impartial Judges, that in entering the Lists with the Latter, I have not in this Cause declin'd the stronger Antagonist to grapple with the Weaker. I take Mr. Dr—— to have said the most that the Cause will bear. Of what Weight it is, I must leave the Reader to judge, when he has perus'd the following Remarks.

An Appendix is added in Relation to some Things in Mr. Whiston's late Performance: Which was thought the rather advisable; both for the Sake of the Argument, since the Sentiments of Clemens Romanus, and the Apostolical Constitutions are largely insisted on in the Body of this Book; and also on Mr. Whiston's own Account, who 'tis hoped on Second Thoughts will lower his Opinion of those Constitutions, when he considers the manifest Inconsistency between Clemens and them in this Particular.

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A CLEAR
ACCOUNT
OF THE
ANCIENT EPISCOPACY;
IN

Defence of Mr. BOYSE's Sermon, concerning the Scriptural Bishop,
against Mr. DRURY's Vindication of his Answer to it.

Remarks on Mr. Drury's First Chapter.

MR. Drury's First Chapter is taken up in endeavouring to prove, That our First Reformers did believe the Superiority of Bishops as a distinct Order from Presbyters to be of Divine Right.

Now tho' their Opinion itself will not determine the Cause, (their Authority being no Way decisive in this Matter) yet since it may be justly suppos'd, That if the chief Instruments of our Reformation did entertain the contrary Opinion, even tho' they were for continuing the present Episcopal Government, it was owing to the clear Evidence in which the contrary Truth apper'd to them from the Holy Scriptures, I shall offer something to vindicate the clear Instances Mr. B. had alledg'd for the Proof of it.

I shall only premise, That if any of the Authors Mr. B. had cited, appear at different Times to speak inconsistently with themselves, I am not accountable for that. 'Tis sufficient, That I prove what was their Opinion, when they expressly and publicly declar'd their Judgment in this Point in Dispute.

Mr. B. had cited to this Purpose, *The Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*, subscrib'd by Thomas Cromwell (then Vicar-General) the Two Archbishops, Eleven Bishops, and many other Doctors and Civilians.

In this Declaration they describe the Spiritual Power (as contra-distinguished from the Civil) as inclusive of the distinct Powers of Preaching, Administering the Sacraments, Censuring or Absolving Offenders, and Ordination. And then tell us, "That this Office, this Power and Authority was committed by Christ and his Apostles to certain Persons only; that is to say, to Bishops and

" Priests, &c. And they close their Declaration with these remarkable Words, " That tho' the Fathers of the Church had instituted other inferior Orders and Degrees, as Janitors, Lectors, &c. Yet the Truth is, That in the New Testament there is no Mention made of any Degrees or Distinctions in Orders, but only of DEACONS or MINISTERS and of PRIESTS or BISHOPS.

To this Mr. Drury replies, That this Clause can do Mr. B. no Service; because the Offices of Bishops and Priests were so manifestly distinguished before.

Answer. I utterly deny, That in this Declaration, the Office of Priests and Bishops are manifestly distinguished before. Nor has Mr. Drury brought us any tolerable Evidence of it. On the contrary, the Spiritual Power (inclusive of the fore-mention'd Powers of Teaching, Ministering the Sacraments, Censures and Ordination) is evidently describ'd as one and the same Office, and not as two distinct Offices. And 'tis said to be committed to Priests and Bishops. There being not the least Intimation of this Office being by Divine Appointment parcell'd into Two distinct Offices, and of Priests being only invested with one Half of the Spiritual Power, and the Bishops with the Whole. And the Passage Mr. Drury cites, wherein they tell us, *The Apostles commanded this Sacrament of Orders should be ministered by the Bishop to such as had the Qualities described*, III. Tim. does by no Means imply, that they thought the Bishops by Divine Right distinguish'd from Priests. For that wou'd be a flat Contradiction to what they Assert in the Close of the Declaration, That in the New Testament there is no mention made of any Degree or Distinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests or Bishops. Now if Deacons or Ministers be there one and the same Office, (both these

these Names signifying the same Persons vested with the same Office) then *Priests* or *Bishops* must signify Persons vested with the same Office too, and both those Names are indifferently us'd to signify it. Had they suppos'd distinct Offices mention'd in the New Testament, they must have said, there is no mention there made of any Degrees or Distinctions in Orders, but *Deacons* or *Ministers*, *Priests*, and *Bishops*. And as Mr. B. observ'd before, in describing the Spiritual Power, they shou'd have distinguish'd the Superior and more Extensive Power of the *Bishops*, from the inferior lesser Power of the *Priests*, whereas they speak of it as one Office indifferently committed to *Priests* and *Bishops*. And therefore by the Way, Mr. Dr. has no Occasion to make such a Noise about the Mistake of the Transcriber or Printer, in putting in [*Priests or Bishops*] instead of [*Priests and Bishops*] when the Argument no way depends upon it; when the Penners of that Declaration have in the Clause where the Stress of the Argument lies, not only us'd the Phrase *Priests or Bishops*, but us'd it when they undertook to give an Account of all the Distinctions of Orders or Degrees that are mention'd in the New Testament. And for what Mr. Dr. adds, "That they do hereby no more intimate, that they are the same in Power and Authority, than our Church does when it saith, the *Priest* or *Bishop* shall pronounce the Absolution, &c. I can see nothing Parallel in the Two Cases. The Church looks on pronouncing the Absolution as common both to the *Bishop's* and the *Presbyter's* Office, and therefore saith, the *Priest* or *Bishop* may pronounce it. But here the Authors of this Declaration tell us, they can find no Distinction of Orders but that of *Deacons* or *Ministers*, (which is but one Order) and that of *Priests* or *Bishops*, (which therefore is but One Order more, and not Two as Mr. Dr. wou'd groundless assert.) And yet they may consistently herewith suppose, That the Church had appointed Ordination to be appropriated to one in that Order for the sake of Order and Unity. And that they suppose *Bishops* and *Priests* to be only one and the same Order, will be farther evident, when we compare what they here assert, with that Parallel Assertion in the *Erudition of a Christian Man*. Wherein having describ'd the same Spiritual Power (as inclusive of Preaching, Ministering the Sacraments, Absolution and Excommunication,) they positively affirm, "That of those Two Orders only, *Priests* and *Deacons*, the Scripture makes express mention."

To this Mr. Dr. replies, "That the Three Orders of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, had been manifestly distinguish'd in that Paper before: And therefore he conjectures, "That as those who were invested with the Episcopal Power, were in the Language of Scripture call'd *Apostles*; so the Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were us'd promiscuously. And so he supposes the Sense to be, That the Scripture makes mention only of Two Orders, viz. *Priests* and *Deacons*, as made the *Apostles* or *Bishops*. So that he supposes these two Orders of *Priests* and *Deacons*, to be mentioned in Opposition to the lower Degrees maintain'd by the Church of Rome, viz. *Sub-Deacons*, *Acolytes*, &c. and supposes *Bishops* put in the Place of the *Apostles*.

Ans. That this is but a meer Evasion, will appear if we consider these Two Things.

1. That in that Paper, as well as in the Declaration of the Function of *Bishops* and *Priests*, the *Apostles* are every where distinguish'd from *Bishops*, and never confounded with 'em as of the same Order and Office, as Mr. Dr. wou'd here pretend. "Thus the Declaration asserts the Spiritual Power they had describ'd, to be given by Christ and his *Apostles* to certain Persons only; that is to say,

"unto *Priests* and *Bishops*, whom they did elect, &c. And these *Bishops*, at the Close of the Declaration, they assert to be of the same Order and Office with *Priests*, telling us, "There is no Distinction of Orders in the New Testament but that of *Deacons* or *Ministers*, *Priests* or *Bishops*. Now according to Mr. Dr.'s Supposition, these *Priests* or *Bishops* must be only meant of an inferior Order, as distinguish'd from *Apostles*, and consequently from proper *Bishops* in the modern Sense. But this is apparently false, because Ordination and Excommunication are reckon'd as a Part of that Spiritual Power, committed by the *Apostles* to these *Priests* and *Bishops*, and those are the highest Branches of Spiritual Power, that *Bishops* now claim as a superior Order, and as the pretended Successors of the *Apostles* therein.

Thus in the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, we are told, "That as the *Apostles* in the Beginning of the Church did order *Priests* and *Bishops*, so they appointed and will'd other *Bishops* after 'em to do the like."

Now, the Penners of that Paper did either by *Bishops* intend the same Order of Men they call *Priests*; or a distinct Order, the same with the *Apostles*. If they intend Persons of the same Order with *Priests*, and therefore us'd the Name of *Bishop* and *Priest* promiscuously; then how come they to suppose these *Presbyter-Bishops* vested with the Power of Excommunication, and yet suppose at the same Time the Power of Excommunication reserv'd wholly to an higher Order, viz. the *Apostles* and their Successors in the *Apostolical* Office? This is a plain Contradiction. If on the other Hand, by *Bishops* they there intend an higher Order of Men that were properly *Apostles*, and vested with *Apostolical* Power, then the Sense must run thus: "That as the *Apostles* in the Beginning of the Church did order *Priests* and *Apostles*, so they appointed and will'd the other *Apostles* after 'em to do the like. And if this be their Meaning, how come they to mention *Priests* before *Apostles*? And what becomes of the Foundation of Mr. Dr.'s Evasion, That they suppos'd the Name of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* was then common and promiscuous, if *Bishops* signified an higher Order, viz. That of *Apostles*? And since they assert the Order of *Deacons* to be made by the *Apostles*, they must suppose the same of the Order of *Priests* and *Bishops*. But if by *Bishops* be meant *Apostles* themselves, how come they to be Makers of their own Order? I had thought they had ow'd their Order to the Immediate Institution of Christ, and not to their own, or to any meer Man's whatsoever? In a Word, Let but the Reader compare these Two Propositions together.

The Truth is, That in the New Testament there is no mention made of any Degrees or Distinction of Orders, but only of *Deacons* or *Ministers*, and of *Priests* or *Bishops*.

"Of these Two Orders, only *Priests*, and *Deacons*, the Scripture makes express mention."

And he will plainly see, they both distinguish *Bishops* from the *Apostles*, and confound 'em with *Priests*, as Persons of the same Office according to the New Testament.

And therefore Mr. Dr. had better have acquiesc'd in the Judgment of that excellent Historian (the *Bishop of Sarum*) in his ingenuous Confession, "That both in this Declaration and in the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, *BISHOPS* and *PRIESTS* are spoken of as one Office, than offer'd so lame a Defence of the contrary Opinion, with little other Evidence of it than the Air of Assurance wherewith he delivers it.

And if *Bishops* and *Priests* were according to the New Testament, Men of the same Order and Office;

it must follow of Course, that the present Authority of Bishops over Priests or Presbyters, is only of Human Institution.

And for Mr. Dr--'s Objection, "That if the Stream of our First Reformers had run for Presbytery, how come they to establish Episcopacy?" 'Twill appear to be of no Force to any that considers, That tho' they did not believe the present Episcopacy to be of Divine Right, yet they might think it a laudable Humane Constitution, of long continuance in the Church, and therefore fit to be retain'd.

But Mr. Dr-- tells Mr. B. "That tho' Dr. Burnet's Concession should be allow'd, yet their Declaration will do him no Service, because those very Men who were the Compilers of this Book, viz. the Erudition of a Christian Man, were of a quite different Opinion soon after, viz. the First Year of King Edward's Reign, when in the Preface to the Book of Ordination, they lay down this Position, That 'tis evident to all Men diligently reading Holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles Time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. But I have already shewn him from their own Writers, that this Assertion it self, does not necessarily suppose Bishops as an Order distinct from Presbyters to be of Divine Right. It only supposes such a Superiority of Bishops, to have sprung up in the Church soon after the Apostle's Days, and to have had some Countenance given to it by Apostolical Practice, as recorded in the New Testament. But the greatest Divines of the Establish'd Church, do not suppose a bare Apostolical Practice, to be a sufficient Proof of a Divine Right. And I may add, That that Primitive Episcopacy, was (as I shall shew afterwards) quite a distinct Thing from Diocesan Episcopacy, and absolutely inconsistent with it.

For Archbishop Cranmer, as his Opinion is full and clear, That Bishop and Priest, were all one in the Beginning of Christ's Religion; so Mr. Dr--'s Arguments to prove, that he retract-ed it, are of no Force. The Passage he cites in his Sermon, p. 26. does no way contradict it, since it no way asserts Priests and Bishops to be at the Beginning Two distinct Orders. His Subscription to Dr. Leighton's Opinion, depends on Mr. Durell's Testimony, (an Author as I shall shew afterwards of no manner of Credit.) And Dr. Leighton's Opinion it self, does not assert Priest and Bishop to be Two distinct Orders. And for the Clause in the Preface to the Book of Ordination, I have already shewn, it does not assert the Divine Right of Bishops as a distinct Order from Priests.

Mr. B. had said, "That he cannot imagine, Why that Declaration of the Episcopal Jurisdiction's being of Divine Right, could have been a more fatal Blow to the Papacy at the Council of Trent, than the Declaration of Bishops and Presbyters being the same Office according to the Scriptures would have been. For as he there shew'd, the Declaration of the latter (had it been practicable in such a Council of Bishops) would have struck more deeply at the Root of all the Papal Pretensions, and more clearly shewn the monstrous Absurdity and Arrogance of any one Man's claiming an universal Government over the Catholick Church, who could by Divine Right claim no more than the Government of a particular One. Whereas, the Episcopal Government of an Imperial City, (in the modern Sense) was at least a much larger Step towards the Government of the Universal Church, or at least of the Church within the Bounds of the Roman Empire.

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In Answer to this, Mr. Dr-- tells him, "That Father Paul's History shews, how the Italian Bishops labour'd against the Determination of the Divine Right of Episcopacy. And that in the Decretals collected by Pope Gregory the IXth, this is One, *Sacros Ordines dicimus Diaconatum & Episcopatum, hos scilicet solos primitiva Ecclesia legitur habuisse*. I confess I understand not by what Grammar, Mr. Dr-- comes to translate this Passage thus, *We call Deaconship and Presbytership Sacred Orders, for those only the Primitive Church is read to have had*. How comes Episcopacy to signify Presbytership? But to pass that Mistake, does Mr. Dr-- think, that Gregory the IXth, or that any other Pope of later Days believes, that the Scripture asserts no other Order than that of Presbyters and Deacons? What, do they not think St. Peter to be of an higher Order, and themselves as his Successors to be so? If not, how comes he to tell us, "We see here the Pope and the Presbyterians conspiring against the Sacred Order of Episcopacy as distinguish'd from Presbytery. One would rather conclude, by the Passage, that the Authors of it suppos'd only the Office of Bishops and Deacons to be of Divine Right, and that the Office of Presbyters is wholly of Human Institution. And this Mr. Dr-- knows is actually Dr. Hammond's Scheme; so that we might better say, we see here the Pope and the Patrons of Episcopacy, conspiring against the Sacred Order of Presbyters. But the Truth is, That the Divine Right of only Two standing Orders and Offices, to be continu'd in the Church according to the Scriptures, shone with so bright a Light, and was so fully attested by St. Jerome, that it could not be wholly obscur'd by the Darkness of Popery it self.

But Mr. Dr-- to support his Pretensions tells us, from Father Paul, "That the Italians strove against the Declaration of the Divine Right of Episcopacy in the Council of Trent: From Bishop Sanderson, That the Voting down of Episcopacy in England, occasion'd great Joy and Triumph among those of the Romish Party; And from Dr. Stillingfleet, "That Cardinal Barbarino said, *He could be contented, there were no Priests in England, so there were no Bishops*.

Ans. I would desire Mr. Dr-- to review all this, and tell me, what it signifies to the main Argument. I grant him, That the asserting of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, would not Favour the Papal Pretension of being by Divine Right the sole Universal Bishop. And so would the Declaration of all Pastors of the Church, being by Divine Right equal, much more overturn his Pretensions. And had the Council been of that Opinion, he would have found the Bishop of Rome as warm and violent in opposing it, and rather much more, because it would level his Authority with that of every Parish Pastor or Bishop, and not so much as leave him any Claim by Divine Right, to a sole Jurisdiction over the Clergy within the Bounds of that City, and much less the Ecclesiastical State itself, and least of all to an Universal Monarchy.

But Mr. Dr-- saith, "If the Papists could once bring it about, that the Parity of Bishops and Presbyters, should once be the current Doctrine of our Church, they wou'd not despair of making our People out of Love with the Reformed Religion, when they could shew, that the main Pillar of it had neither Scripture nor Antiquity to support it.

Ans. This Parity is (as I shall shew) the common Doctrine of both Lutheran and Calvinist Churches. And yet I find not, that it makes their People at all out of Love with the Reformed Religion. For making it a Pillar of their Religion,

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(i. e. an Essential Article of it) I know no Protestant Churches so void of Judgment and Charity, as to reckon the particular Form of Church-Government Essential to the Christian Church, (as some of our late High-Flyers have done in Conjunction with the Popish Writers): But if they only assert the Truth of that Doctrine, they will not want sufficient Evidence from Scripture to support it; and even from Antiquity it self, to overthrow all Pretension to the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy. And I do not see but that those Reformed Churches stand as firm against Popery, as any others that are expos'd to the same Opposition from the Romish Church.

But saith Mr. Dr-- "The Papists might entertain some Hopes, that a little Dominion over their Fellow-Presbyters, and large Revenues may reconcile them to his Holiness, since he pretends to the Disposal of such Pre-ferments: Whereas, if it be declared, That all Bishops are on a Level, and that the Pope by God's Law has no more Power than any other Bishop, there can be no Temptation to declare for the Papacy."

Ans^r. This Argument indeed may weigh much; but then 'tis only with Men of Ambitious and Worldly Minds. Dominion and Wealth are no doubt to such Men very powerful Motives in the Choice of their Party in Religion. But for such Protestant Clergymen, as would upon such Considerations as these be reconcil'd to his Holiness, and to all the Errors, Idolatries and Superstitions in the Romish Religion, they are no way fit to bear any Office in any Reformed Church at all; and their Defection to the Church of Rome would be no great Loss. And therefore all that can be made of Cardinal Barbarino's Saying, is, That he judg'd like a Man well skill'd in Worldly Policy, that so many of the English Clergy were so fond of their great Revenues and Dignities, that they would rather embrace the Romish Religion than part with them. But whether this Insinuation be for the Honour of the English Clergy, I must leave Mr. Dr-- at his Leisure to consider? But I must remind him, That the Bishops of England might pursuant to Archbishop Usher's Model have retain'd both, and yet made such Concessions, as would have heal'd the unhappy Breaches there.

For Queen Elizabeth's Reign, 'tis strange, That Mr. Dr-- should alledge Archbishop Whitgift as a Patron of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, when Mr. B. had shew'd him from Dr. Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, "That he thought no particular Form of Church Government of Divine Right. And it is yet stranger, that he should produce Bishop Morton's Authority for that Opinion, and never once consider the plain Testimony produc'd out of his *Cathol. Apol.* to the contray, wherein he tells the Papists, "That the Power of Order and Jurisdiction which they ascribed to Bishops, doth de Jure Divino belong to all other Presbyters, and particularly, That to Ordain is their ancient Right."

That Bishop Juell did suppose, there was by Ecclesiastical Custom, a Distinction between Bishops and Priests, I freely grant him: But that he founded it on Divine Right, is manifestly false from the large Passage Mr. B. cited out of him, wherein he does not merely censure Harding for condemning the Doctrine of the Parity of Bishops and Presbyters as Heretical, but plainly supposes that Opinion, to be both agreeable to Scripture, and to the Doctrine of St. Jerome, St. Austin, and St. Ambrose; and in the former Passage he cites with Approbation these known and remarkable Words of St. Jerome, "Let Bishops know, That they are in Authority over Priests more by Custom than by Order of God's Truth. And if such poor Evasions

as these be sufficient to invalidate such clear Testimonies, 'tis in vain to debate any such Matters of Fact.

For Dr. Willet, The Passages cited of him are so plain, and carry so bright and clear Evidence with them that Mr. Dr-- himself durst not attempt to look them in the Face: He therefore endeavours to confront them with some other Passages of Dr. Willet's, that he thinks more favourable to his Opinion. But 'tis evident to any that consider them, That if Dr. Willet be consistent with himself, there may be Order in the Church, and Diversity of Degrees and Ministration, without making Bishop and Presbyter to be by Divine Right of distinct Orders. Those that plead for their being the same Order, deny not the Superiority the Apostles had over the Scriptural Bishops or Presbyters: Nay they they do not oppose any such Superiority of Degree as belongs to Moderators, and is necessary for the Preservation of Order in all associated Bodies of Ministers; and this is all that Dr. Willet can be prov'd to assert there as of Divine Right. And Mr. B. had there shewn him, that Dr. Willet ascribes the Bishop's Powers of Confirmation, Ordination, Jurisdiction, giving License to Presbyters to preach, to belong only to Ecclesiastical Policy, as that is distinguish'd from Apostolical Institution; and these are the very Powers that we dispute about the Divine Rights of.

For Dr. Bancroft, I confess Mr. Dr-- has some Ground to cite him, as maintaining his Opinion of the Divine Right of Episcopacy: But I am surpriz'd that he should produce Dr. Reynolds as concurring with him therein, when he will find that learned Defender of the Protestant Cause so fully declaring his Sentiments to the contrary, in the Remarks he makes on a Sermon of Dr. Bancroft's: And because his Letter on that Occasion to Sir Francis Knolls, does fully contain not only his own particular Sentiments in that Point, but what he took to be then the common Doctrine of the English and other Protestant Churches; I shall recite it at large.

"ALTHO' (most Honoured,) I please myself more in the Pains I take in opening and overthrowing the Errors of Jesuits and Papists, (the Adversaries of Truth,) than those of the Ministers of Christ; yet because your Honour was pleas'd to require of me, that I should lay before you my Judgment concerning some Things, which some of the last Sort defend and maintain, I thought it my Duty (following the Example of Levi, Deut. ch. 33: who said to his Father and Mother, and to his Brethren, I know you not) to lay open the Truth without any Respect of Persons."

"Of the Two Opinions which your Honour mentions in the Sermon of Dr. Bancroft's: The First is, That which asserts the Superiority, which the Prelates have among us have over the Clergy, to be a Divine Institution. He does not indeed assert this in express Words, but he does it by necessary Consequence, in that he affirms the Opinion of those that oppose that Superiority to be an Heresy; in which in my Judgment, he committed an Oversight, and I believe he himself will acknowledge it, if duly admonish'd concerning it. For after he had said, First, That it was the Opinion of Aerius, That Priest and Bishop did not differ according to the Word of God, and that Martin and his Followers defended this Opinion of Aerius; he adds, that Aerius persisting in this Opinion, was condemn'd as an Heretick by the general Consent of the whole Church, and that the Opinion of Martin and his Followers was condemn'd as an Heresy."

“ *Heresy*. As for *Martin*, if any one behave
 “ himself contrary to the Rules of Prudence
 “ and Charity, let the Nocent be found Guilty;
 “ I undertake not his Cause: But if he intermix
 “ therewith something of Divine Truth, there
 “ is no Reason that what is Divine, should be
 “ condemned for the Mixture of Humane In-
 “ firmity; no more than that we should con-
 “ demn the Doctrine of the Resurrection, because
 “ the Pharisees maintain’d it. Wherefore, sepa-
 “ rating the odious Name of *Martin*, from what
 “ is now to be treated of in a sincere and
 “ friendly Manner, it appears from the before-
 “ cited Words of Dr. Bancroft, that he takes that
 “ Prebeminence which the Bishops have above the
 “ the Clergy, to be a Divine Institution. For they
 “ that oppose that Superiority, are reprov’d for
 “ judging with *Aerius*, that there is no Diffe-
 “ rence according to the Word of God between
 “ a Bishop and a Priest. But this Charge he (i. e.
 “ Dr. Bancroft) could not reasonably bring, un-
 “ less he suppos’d that Superiority of Bishops to
 “ be establish’d by the Word of God. And he
 “ adds, that the Opinion of those that dissent
 “ from him herein is *Heretical*; Whence it fol-
 “ lows, That he takes it to be contrary to the
 “ Word of God, since *Heresy* is an Error repug-
 “ nant to the Word of God, as the Church
 “ teaches us according to the Holy Scriptures:
 “ But the Arguments he brings to prove that
 “ Opinion *Heretical*, are partly weak and partly
 “ false. That Argument drawn from *Epiphanius*
 “ with which he begins, is weak. That which
 “ he adds concerning the Consent of the Universal
 “ Church, is false. For tho’ *Epiphanius* charges
 “ the Assertion of *Aerius* with Folly, yet he no
 “ way refutes that Argument from the Holy
 “ Scriptures that *Aerius* relied on: Nay, when
 “ he goes about to refute it, he manages it so,
 “ that *Bellarmino* tho’ (*Tom. I. Contr. 5. l. 1. c. 15.*)
 “ he defends his Opinion against the Protestants,
 “ is yet forc’d to confess, That *Epiphanius*’s An-
 “ swer is no way discreet nor agreeable to the
 “ Text. As to the general Consent of the Universal
 “ Church; by which Dr. Bancroft saith, that *Aeri-
 “ us*’s Opinion was condemn’d as *Heretical*, and
 “ himself as an *Heretic* for persisting in it, ’tis
 “ very largely spoken. But how will he prove
 “ this to have been done by the Church? He
 “ says it appears from *Epiphanius*. But it does
 “ not appear; Nay, the contrary appears from
 “ *Jerome* on the Epistle of *Titus*, and in his Epistle
 “ to *Evagrius*, and from some others that were
 “ *Epiphanius*’s Contemporaries, or flourished after
 “ him. Even from *Austin* himself, though Dr.
 “ Bancroft cites him as a Witness with *Epipha-
 “ nius* concerning the Universal Consent of the Church.
 “ I confess St. *Austin* in his Book of *Heresies*, does
 “ charge *Aerius* with *Heresy* for saying, *There ought
 “ to be no Difference between them* (which when
 “ *Aerius* affirm’d he condemn’d the Order of the
 “ Church, and was Author of a Schism) on which
 “ Account he is censur’d by *Austin*, who in rec-
 “ koning up *Heresies* follows *Epiphanius*, when he
 “ himself does not deny (in his Preface de *Hære-
 “ sibus ad Quodvultdeum*) that he knew not how far
 “ the Name of *Heresy* did extend. But ’tis another
 “ thing to say, That there is no Difference between
 “ them according to the Word, but only according to
 “ the Custom of the Church. The latter, *Austin* him-
 “ self does in Effect assert Ep. 19. so far is he
 “ from testifying that this Opinion was charge-
 “ able with *Heresy*, by the general Consent of
 “ the whole Church: But how groundlessly this
 “ erroneous Opinion is ascrib’d to *Austin* and
 “ *Epiphanius*, (the only Witnesses whom Dr. Ban-
 “ croft has produc’d, or as far as I know can
 “ produce) will hence appear, that our Country-
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“ man (*M. P.*) of pious Memory Bishop *Juell*,
 “ *Def. Apol. p. 2. c. 9. lib. 1.* after that *Harding*,
 “ citing the same Witnesses, had branded that
 “ Opinion as *Heresy*; and he (i. e. Bishop *Juell*)
 “ had cited *Chrysostome*, *Jerome*, *Austin*, *Ambrose* to
 “ the contrary, he concludes his Answer in these
 “ Words, *All these and other Holy Fathers with the
 “ Apostle Paul, if Harding may be Judge, will pass
 “ for Hereticks.*
 “ *Michael Medina*, a Man of chief Note in the
 “ Council of *Trent*, being more ingenuous in
 “ this Cause than other Papists, affirms not only
 “ the forementioned Authors whom Bishop *Juell*
 “ cites, but also *Theodoret*, *Sedulius*, *Primasius* and
 “ *Theophylact*, to have been of the same Opinion
 “ with *Aerius*. Moreover *Oecumenius* in *Tim. 3.*
 “ and *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in *Ep. ad
 “ Titum*. Another *Anselm* *Collect. Can. lib. 7. c. 87*
 “ & 127. and *Gregory Polit. l. 2. Tit. 19. 39.* and
 “ *Gratian Ca. Legimus Dist. 39.* and *Ca. olim Dist.*
 “ 95. and after them many others. This Opi-
 “ nion was once in the Body of the Canon-
 “ Law, and was accounted Sound and Catholick
 “ Doctrine, and which accordingly learned Men
 “ publickly taught. All which attest contrary
 “ to Dr. Bancroft, that this Opinion was not
 “ condemned as *Heretical* by the Consent of the
 “ whole Church. For if he reply, that these la-
 “ ter Witnesses liv’d a thousand Years after
 “ Christ, and therefore reach not him who as-
 “ serted, That it was reckoned an *Heresy* in
 “ the Times of *Austin* and *Epiphanius*, when the
 “ Church flourished most in Learning and Zeal
 “ (if we except the Apostolical Age). It is an-
 “ swered, That though those I have last named
 “ lived in later Times, yet they testify concern-
 “ ing former Ages. *Oecumenius* the Scholiast fol-
 “ lows the Steps of the most ancient Greek Fa-
 “ thers. Both the *Anselms*, together with *Gre-
 “ gory* and *Gratian*, express *Verbatim* the Judgment
 “ of *Jerome*. And it is not very likely, That
 “ *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* should be ca-
 “ nonized by the Roman Pope, and be made a
 “ Saint, and that the other *Anselm* and *Gratian*
 “ should find a Place in the Libraries of the Pa-
 “ pists, and be held in such Veneration as we
 “ now see them; and that *Gratian*’s Works should
 “ for so many Ages be esteemed by the Popes,
 “ as the Golden Foundation of their Canon Law, if
 “ they had taught any Thing for Catholick and
 “ Sound, which had been in the most flourishing
 “ Times since the Apostles Days, condemn’d by
 “ the general Consent of the whole Church.
 “ Especially when the Thing is of so great Mo-
 “ ment and Weight to establish that Supremacy,
 “ which the Popes claim over all Bishops by Di-
 “ vine Right; and therefore must acknowledge,
 “ That the same Superiority is due to Bishops
 “ over Presbyters by the same Right. And they
 “ saw this at last; which was the Reason, why
 “ this Opinion was decreed in the Council of
 “ *Trent*, and this Note inserted in the New Body
 “ of the Canon Law, [There has been always a Dif-
 “ ference, and still is between Bishops and Presbyters,
 “ in respect of Government, Prebeminence, Sacraments,
 “ but the Name and Title is common to both.] And
 “ this they would have to be hereafter reckon’d
 “ the Judgment of *Jerome*, at least this is the
 “ Sense of the Canon taken out of *Jerome*. Tho’
 “ the Words of *Jerome* (as *Bellarmino* confesses in
 “ the Place fore-cited) overturn this Gloss.
 “ To which it may be added, That all they
 “ who have for five hundred Years last past, en-
 “ deavoured the Reformation of the Church
 “ have taught, That all Pastors, whether they be
 “ call’d Bishops or Priests, are invested with equal Au-
 “ thority and Power. First, The Waldenses in *An.
 “ Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 35.* And Pigh. *Hierarch. Eccles.*
 “ D d 2 “ 1. 2.

“ l. 2. c. 10. Next *Marfil. Patav. in Defens. Pacis*,
 “ 2 *Par. c. 15.* Then *Wickliff in Thom. Wald. Doctr.*
 “ *sidei, Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 5. and Tom. 2. c. 7.* And
 “ his *Disciples* afterwards, *Husse* and the *Husites*,
 “ *En. Sylv. in the Place* above-cited. Lastly,
 “ *Luther Adversus falso nominatos Episcopos & ad-ver-*
 “ *sus Papatum Romanum.* *Calv. in Ep. ad Phil. 1.*
 “ and *Tit. 1. Brennius Apol. Confess. Wittemb. c. 2.*
 “ *Bullinger Decad. 5. Serm. 3. Musculus Loc. Com.*
 “ *Tit. de Ministerio Verbi*, and others who might be
 “ particularly named in great Number. Since
 “ not only our Bishops, as *Juell* in the Place
 “ fore-cited: but *Pilkington* in his *Treatise of the*
 “ *Burning of Paul's Church*, the *Regius Professors* of
 “ *Divinity*, *Humfrey*, and *Whitaker* against *Cam-*
 “ *pian* and *Duræus*, with other learned Men,
 “ *Bradford*, *Lambert*, *Fulk* do agree in this Mat-
 “ ter? And so do all Divines beyond Sea that
 “ I ever read, and doubtless many more whom
 “ I never read. Two only have (as far as I
 “ can learn) undertaken to examine the *Decrees*
 “ of the Council of *Trent*, one a *Divine*, the
 “ other a *Lawyer*, *Chemnitius* and *Gentileius*.
 “ Both condemn the contrary Doctrine (viz.
 “ that of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*) and rec-
 “ kon it among the other *Errors* of the Council
 “ of *Trent*. The one relying on the *Scriptures*,
 “ and the *Fathers*, the other on the *Canon Law*.
 “ But what need I make any farther Mention
 “ of particular Writers, This is the common
 “ Doctrine of the Churches of *Helvetia*, *Savoy*,
 “ *France*, *Scotland*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Bel-*
 “ *gium*, and lastly, of *England*, as the *Harmony* of
 “ *Confessions* witnesseth, *Sect. 2.* Wherefore, since
 “ *Dr. Bancroft* will certainly never pretend, that
 “ an *Heresy* condemned by the Consent of the
 “ whole Church in its most flourishing Times
 “ was yet accounted a *Sound* and *Christian* Doc-
 “ trine by all these I have mention'd, I hope
 “ he will confess himself mistaken when he as-
 “ serted, That the *Authority of Bishops over the Clergy*
 “ was founded on *Divine Institution*. And so much
 “ for the First Tenet of his *Sermon*.

He then proceeds to the Second Tenet of *Dr. Bancroft's* *Sermon*, viz. “ That *Jerome* and *Cal-*
 “ *vin* date this Superiority of Bishops from the
 “ Time of *Mark the Evangelist*. This Opinion
 “ he also at large confutes. But because it does
 “ not so directly concern the present Debate, I
 “ shall not trouble the Reader with reciting it at
 “ large; but only observe, that commenting on
 “ those Words of *St. Jerome*, wherein he saith,
 “ What does a Bishop perform that a *Presbyter* cannot do,
 “ except *Ordination*? He tells us, “ That *Jerome* ha-
 “ ving prov'd that the *Bishops* and *Priests* in the
 “ *Apostles* Time were one and the same Order, he
 “ grants, that afterwards, *Bishops* assum'd to
 “ themselves the sole Power of *Ordination* in some
 “ Places; and that was the only Power they ap-
 “ propriated to themselves.

And here *Mr. Dr--* may see, That that Learn-
 “ ed Defender of the *Protestant* Cause, not only
 “ censures this Opinion of the *Divine Right of Epi-*
 “ *scopacy* as a *Novel* Opinion, contrary to the Doc-
 “ trine of the *Scriptures* and the *Fathers*, but con-
 “ trary to that of all the *Reformed Churches*, that of
 “ *England* not excepted, and contrary to the Judg-
 “ ment of the most celebrated Writers the *English*
 “ Church then had. In a Word, he makes the
 “ contrary Opinion of the *Scriptural Bishop and Priest*
 “ being the same, the common Doctrine of all that for
 “ five hundred Years past, had made any Attempts
 “ towards a *Reformation*. Nay, he ranks the contrary
 “ Doctrine among the *Errors* of the Council of *Trent*,
 “ by which they had chang'd the formerly current
 “ Doctrine of their own Church, and he sup-

poses it very favourable to the Pretensions of the
 “ *Papal Supremacy*.

See also *Bishop Bedell's* Sentiments very con-
 “ formable to these of *Dr. Reynolds* in his *Life*
 “ wrote by the Bishop of *Sarum*, p. 453, and 464,
 “ 465. And I may add, That *Dr. Bancroft* himself
 “ allow'd the Validity of *Ordination* by *Presbyters*;
 “ for when a Commission was issued under the
 “ Great Seal of *England* to the Bishops of *London*,
 “ *Ely*, *Wells*, and *Rocheſter*, to consecrate *Mr. J.*
 “ *Spotswood*, *Mr. Gawen Hamilton*, and *Mr. Andrew*
 “ *Lamb*, Bishops, *Bishop Andrews* objected, That
 “ they could not be consecrated Bishops, because they
 “ had never been made *Presbyters*, but by *Presby-*
 “ *ters*: *Bishop Bancroft* reply'd, there was no Necessi-
 “ ty thereof, the *Ordination* of *Presbyters* by *Presby-*
 “ *ters* being valid, where *Bishops* could not be had.

Let the World then judge, what Pretence *Mr.*
 “ *Dr--* has to say, “ That *Mr. B.* argues from the
 “ private Sentiments of Three or Four Persons
 “ to the Publick Judgment of a National Church,
 “ and that this is as absurd, as if he should con-
 “ clude all the *Presbyterians* of *Dublin* are *Socinians*,
 “ because one of the most noted of them was so.
 “ He very well knows, That one *Socinian* never
 “ pretended his Doctrine to be the common Doc-
 “ trine of the *Presbyterian Churches*; that it was
 “ universally disown'd, and himself discarded for
 “ it. And will *Mr. Dr--* pretend any Parallel here-
 “ to in the Case of the *Authors* I have mentioned,
 “ who were among the most celebrated Writers of
 “ the *National Church*, and whose Writings were not
 “ only never disown'd, but on the contrary were
 “ entertain'd with general Esteem and Applause
 “ in the Age wherein they liv'd.

For *Archbishop Usher's* Judgment, though he
 “ might think *Ordination* by *Presbyters*, where there
 “ were *Bishops*, irregular; 'tis evident he did not
 “ think it null and void, as *Mr. Dr--* does. Nor
 “ does it appear that he thought it irregular,
 “ where *Bishops* impos'd such Terms of *Ordination* as
 “ appear'd sinful in the Judgment of such *Presby-*
 “ *ters*. And since this is the Case with Reference
 “ to the *Dissenters*, *Mr. Dr--* has no Ground to as-
 “ sert, That they were *Schismatics* in this Bishop's
 “ Opinion.

But that the *Archbishop* did neither think *Bi-*
 “ shops a distinct Order from *Presbyters*, nor that
 “ *Ordination* was by *Divine Right* appropriated to
 “ that Order, appears from his own Words pro-
 “ duced by *Dr. Parr* who wrote his *Life*. “ The
 “ intrinsic Power of *Ordaining* proceeds not
 “ from *Jurisdiction*, but only from Order. But a
 “ *Presbyter* hath the same Order in Specie with a
 “ Bishop. Ergo, A *Presbyter* hath equally an in-
 “ trinsic Power to give Orders, and is equal to
 “ him in the Power of Orders. The Bishop ha-
 “ ving no higher Degree in respect of the Inten-
 “ tion or Extension of the Character of Order, tho'
 “ he has an higher Degree (i.e. a more eminent
 “ Place) in respect of Authority and Jurisdiction
 “ in *Spiritual Regiment*. See *Appendix to his Life*,
 “ p. 6.

And for what *Mr. Dr--* adds, “ That all the
 “ *Reformed Churches* Abroad, condemn those
 “ whom he calls *Separatists* as inexcusable *Schif-*
 “ *matics*, he has produc'd no tolerable Proof of
 “ it. There is no such Thing asserted in the Let-
 “ ter of the Doctors of *Geneva* to those of *Oxford*.
 “ That all the *Reformed Churches* have done it, is
 “ a gross Untruth; for which he produces no
 “ Voucher but *Mr. Durell*, an Author too notorious
 “ for his many Falshoods and Mistakes of that Kind
 “ to deserve any Credit. His Quotation from *Cal-*
 “ *vin* does no way concern such Bishops as ours,
 “ as the Author of *Strictura breves*, and several others
 “ have observ'd. Nor have the *Dissenters* declar'd
 “ their Judgment against the Lawfulness of all *Epi-*
 “ *scopacy*.

scopacy, since they offer'd to submit to Archbishop Usher's Model of it. So that all the Passages Mr. Dr-- has cited, are either untrue or nothing to the Purpose of the present Debate. I am sure, they none of 'em assert the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*.

And 'tis as untrue, That any considerable Number of the foreign Reformed Churches have asserted the *Necessity of Diocesan Episcopacy*. Melancthon's Desire of the Restoration of it, did not escape the Censure of his Brethren, tho' he saith nothing of the *Necessity* of it. The Nonconformist Divines expressed as much Readiness to submit to a moderate Episcopacy, as the Prince of Hainault's Words amount to. And Mr. Dr-- is at a sad Loss for

Arguments when *Bogerian's Civil Complement* to the Bishop of Landaff at the Synod of Dort, *Non sumus adeo felices*, passes for one. But if Mr. Dr-- would offer any Thing to the Purpose, let him produce any celebrated Writer of the Reformed Churches Abroad, or any Number of 'em that ever asserted the *Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy*; and then his Authorities shall be consider'd. But that the Reformed Churches have inserted the contrary Opinion even in their *Publick Confessions*, has been already observ'd by Dr. Reynolds; and I shall have Occasion in the Sequel to give Mr. Dr-- such clear Evidence of it, as is sufficient to put an End to this Part of the Dispute.

REMARKS ON CHAP. II.

MR. Dr-- proposing in this Chapter to prove, That *Episcopacy* was believ'd to be of *Divine Right* by the First Fathers of the Church, premises Two Observations.

First, "He charges Mr. B. with this as one of his Mistakes, that he had ignorantly or wilfully run into, and obstinately persists in; viz. Of confining the Office of every particular Minister of the Gospel to a particular Congregation. In Opposition whereto, he tells us, "That the Office of every Bishop, yea of every Presbyter, reaches to the whole Church of Christ, and the Limitation of their Power to a particular District, is wholly owing to Compact and Agreement for the avoiding the Disorder that might otherwise happen, &c."

On this Observation of Mr. Dr--'s, I have the following Remarks to make.

I. That 'tis utterly untrue, That Mr. B. had confin'd the Office of every particular Minister of the Gospel to a particular Congregation.

Mr. B. had told him, "That his Assertion, viz. That Bishops are Bishops of the whole Church, may admit of a double Sense; viz. either that his Office does empower him to teach and rule in any Part of the Christian Church (occasionally or statedly) where he is regularly called there-to: Or that every Bishop has as truly the whole Church for his Province and Charge as the Apostles had, and their Authority is wherever they come as Extensive and Unlimited as that of the Apostles was. If Mr. Dr-- means the former, what he saith is nothing to his Purpose, &c."

Now 'tis at first View obvious, That the former of these Assertions which Mr. B. there declares his Assent to, is directly contrary to what Mr. Dr-- charges him with, and demonstrates his Charge to be absolutely groundless. And he himself cites these very Words of Mr. B. and professes his Want of Capacity to understand them. For his Understanding, 'tis not in my Power to help it: But I am sure if every Minister's Office empower him to teach and rule (occasionally or statedly) in any Part of the Christian Church wherever he is regularly call'd, it cannot be confin'd to One Congregation; for then he could not by Virtue of his Office, teach or perform any other Act belonging to his Ministerial Office in another Congregation. Nay should he be on any just Occasion remov'd from one Church to another, his Office would be dissolv'd when his Relation to the former Congregation ceas'd, and he would need a new Ordination to enable him to undertake a new Charge; all which is as remote from Mr. B's

Sentiments, as it can be from his. And therefore he need not send Mr. B. to Mr. Pool's *Quo Warranto* for better Instruction, Mr. Pool's Judgment in that Matter being the same with Mr. B's. And to talk of a Man's preaching as a Gifted Brother when he preaches by Virtue of his Office, is a Piece of contradictory Non-Sense that Mr. B. must desire Mr. Dr-- to keep to himself; for Mr. B's Words are utterly inconsistent with that Senseless Construction he would put upon them.

But to set this Matter in a clearer Light than Mr. Dr-- has done: I shall offer what follows to the Reader's Consideration.

The Office of every particular Minister of the Gospel may be consider'd as it respects the Infidel World, the Universal Church, or a particular Church.

As his Office respects the Infidel World, so it impowers him as he has Opportunity to endeavour the Conversion of Infidels by instructing them in the Christian Faith, and by Baptism to admit such Converts into the Catholick Visible Church.

As his Office respects the Universal Church, so it impowers him to perform such Ministerial Acts, as Teaching, Administering the Sacraments, &c. either Occasionally wherever he is regularly called to give temporary Assistance to any other settled Pastors in their Work, or statedly, where he is himself called to undertake the fixed Charge of a particular Church, either alone or in conjunction with others as his Colleagues. And it impowers him to act in his Sphere, for the general Edification and Good of the whole Church. And this is all that Mr. Dr--'s Citations from Origen, Chrysostom, and Eleutherius can amount to.

If he is call'd to take the Pastoral Care of any particular Church, that Relation does confine the Ordinary Exercise of his Ministry to that Church, tho' it does not bar him from performing any Ministerial Acts to other Churches where his occasional Assistance is desired. But the particular Church whose Pastor he has undertaken to be, may justly claim the chief Interest in his stated Labours and Care while that Relation continues. And 'tis in this Sense, that Mr. B. affirms with St. Chrysostome, "That a Bishop's Charge is ordinarily affixed to one Place; and with St. Cyprian, That only a Part or Portion of the Universal Church, is committed to every particular Bishop as his ordinary Charge and Care. And if Mr. Dr-- grants this (as he tells us he does, p. 35.) he grants all that Mr. B. pleads for, and what I shall now shew makes against himself.

For the Office of an Apostle could not be ordinarily so confin'd to any particular Church. They had not acted pursuant to their Instructions, if they had made any particular Church or Churches their Ordinary

dinary Charge and Care. For their principal Work was to preach the Gospel to the Infidel World, and to settle particular Churches wherever they had gain'd a sufficient Number of Converts, and to constitute such *Elders or Bishops*, as should become their ordinary *Teachers and Rulers*, and then to labour for the Conversion of Infidels in other Parts. And they had such a general Superintendency over all particular Churches and their Pastors, by Virtue of their *Apostolical Authority* (founded on the unerring Assistance of the Holy Spirit promised to them) that all particular Churches and their Pastors, were oblig'd to receive the Commands of Christ from them as his *inspired Messengers*; they were empower'd to *rectify Abuses*, and censure *Male-Administrations* wherever they found 'em, and no *humane Compacts or Agreements* could confine the Exercise of this *Universal Authority*, or limit it to *this or that particular District*. Nay, tho' the great Ends of their Apostolical Ministry, did oblige 'em as much as possible to *divide* their Labours, some of them travelling to some Parts of the Infidel World, others to other and remoter ones; yet wherever they came, tho' within the *Line or Precincts* where another Apostle had labour'd before, their Authority with respect to those Churches and their Pastors, was as *full and unlimited* as if they had been *converted or settled* by themselves. For their *unerring Assistance and Inspiration* empower'd them every where to *teach what Christ had commanded*, and consequently to *rectify whatever they found in Doctrine, Worship, or Practice* contrary to the *Orders* they had receiv'd from him. And if Mr. Dr-- will now prove every Bishop's Authority to be as *Extensive and Unlimited* as this, he will do something to the Purpose. But if any claim this *Unlimited Authority*, Mr. B. may still insist upon it, That they ought not only to pretend to the same *unerring Assistance* the Apostles had, but to produce *Miracles* as the *Credentials* of it. Otherwise I am apprehensive, that no considerate Man will much regard so bold a Claim. But of this I shall have Occasion to speak more, when he comes to prove, the *Bishops* to be the *Apostles Successors* in the *whole* of their *Apostolical Power*.

2. 'Tis by no Means true, That the *Limitation* of the Power either of *Bishops or Presbyters* (as to its *ordinary Exercise*) to a *particular Charge*, is wholly owing to voluntary *Compact and Agreement*.

For this *Limitation* of the *ordinary Exercise* of their Ministerial Office, is founded upon a more substantial Reason, *viz. The natural Incapacity* of any one Man to discharge the *ordinary Duties* of the *Pastoral Office* towards either the *whole Church* or any *extensive Part* of it: Thus no Man can at once be the *Ordinary Teacher* of many Congregations, or be their *Ordinary Guides in Publick Worship*. And should he rashly undertake such a Charge, while he performs his Duty to one, the rest must of Course be woefully neglected. Nor can any one Man ordinarily exercise the Discipline of Christ, towards any considerable Number of particular Churches, as *strictly* as either the *Rules of the Gospel*, or the ancient *Canons of the Church* require. And therefore the Apostles whose great Work was to convert Infidels and plant Churches, never took on them a *fixed Pastoral Relation* to any particular Churches, (as Mr. Dr-- groundlessly suggests) nor indeed could do it without neglecting the more important Service they were sent upon. For (as Mr. B. observed from Dr. Barrow) "The Offices of an Apostle and Bishop are not well consistent. For the

"them in common, entrusted with the whole
"World.) But Episcopacy is an ordinary stand-
"ing Charge, affix'd to one Place, and requiring
"a Special Attendance there. Bishops being Pa-
"stors, who (as St. Chrysostome saith) do sit and
"and are employ'd in one Place. Now he that
"hath such a general Care, can hardly discharge
"such a particular Office; and he that is fixed to
"a particular Attendance, can hardly look after
"so general a Charge. Either of those Offices
"alone would suffice to take up a whole Man, as
"those tell us who consider the Burthen incum-
"bent on the meanest of them. The which we
"may see describ'd in St. Chrysostome's *Discourses*
"concerning the Priesthood. What Mr. Dr-- objects
against this, shall be farther consider'd in its due Place.

3. If the *Division* of Churches into *Dioceses* and *Parishes* be not (as Mr. Dr-- owns) of *Divine Right*, then the Office of *Diocesan Bishops* cannot be of *Divine Right*. And if the Government of such a Number of Churches be not (as he saith) *essential* to the *Episcopal Office*, then every *Rector or Pastor* of a particular Church, that hath *Assistant Curates* or *Presbyters* may be as true a *Bishop*, as he that has a *Score* or an *Hundred* such Churches under his Government. And if in Fact, the *Primitive Bishops* were only the *Rectors* each of a particular Church or Congregation associated for *Personal Communion*, and having but *one Altar or Communion Table*, having *Presbyters* as their *Assistants*; the Proof of the *Divine Right* of such *Bishops* will be so far from justifying the *Divine Right* of our present *Diocesans*, that it utterly overturns it. For if the Power of *Excommunication, Confirmation and Ordination* belong to every such *Congregational Bishop* by *Divine Right*, then the Power of a *Diocesan Bishop* that divests all these *Congregational Bishops* within such a *District* of their *Essential Rights*, which they should enjoy by *Divine Institution*, and engrosses them into his own Hand, must on these Principles be an *Usurpation*. And therefore with respect to *Antiquity*, the Controversy does wholly turn upon the *Extent* of the *Bishop's Charge*; the Power of *Congregational Bishops* being wholly inconsistent with that of a *Diocesan* one, and entirely swallow'd up by it. A *Congregational* and a *Diocesan Church* are of *Two distinct Species*, the Members of the One are capable of *ordinary, local, præsential Communion*, the Members of the other are not. The Office of a *Congregational Bishop* is personally to *teach, guide, and rule* a particular Church as his *stated Charge and Care*; the Office of a *Diocesan Bishop*, is to send others as his *Curates* to the several particular Churches in his *District*, and to divest them of their *ruling Power*, monopolizing the *Censures* of the Church to himself and his own Court. Nay, if the *Smallness* or *Largeness* of the *Bishop's Charge* be not *essential* to the *Episcopal Office*, it would no way alter the *Episcopal Office*, if all our *Parish Rectors* were made the only *Bishops*, and the *Diocesans* turn'd out. And on the other Hand, if the *Pope* could turn all the Clergy through the *Romish Church* into meer *Curates* under him, it would no way destroy the *Episcopal Office*. Nay, that one *Romish Church* would be of the same *Species* with a *Congregational Church*; and the *Roman Bishop* one of the same *Order* as a *Congregational or Parish Bishop*. (See Mr. Baxter's *Treatise of Episcopacy*, Part II. chap. 9. p. 87, 88, 89, 90, &c.) Nay, if a Man may be a *Bishop* though he has but *one Congregation* under his Charge, all the *Reformed Churches Abroad*, and all the *Protestant Dissenting Churches at Home* have such *Bishops* already. If Mr. Dr-- say, they cannot be such, because they have not receiv'd the *Episcopal Order*; it is easily reply'd, they have received the *Episcopal Order* (including all the Powers of *Ruling, Ordaining*

Ordaining others as well as teaching and administering the Sacraments,) and that by the Investiture of such as were such Bishops themselves, and claim'd all these Branches of Episcopal Power. If he reply, that the Episcopal Authority can't be conferr'd by any Congregational Bishops, but only by such Diocesans, as have many Churches under their Government, then he makes the Government of a Multiplicity of Churches essential to the Episcopal Office, quite contrary to his own Concession; nay, then he entirely nullifies all or most of the Ordinations in the three First Centuries, which (as I shall hereafter shew) were only perform'd by Congregational Bishops, not Diocesan ones; so that Mr. Dr-- instead of defending the Cause of Diocesan Bishops, has by this one Concession given it up. And to convince him hereof, I would only propose one Question to him, Whether he think Episcopacy now abolish'd in Scotland? If it be not, Why is there such a Clamour rais'd against the Establish'd Church there on that Account? On the other Hand, How can he say, That they have abolish'd Episcopacy, when they have only reduc'd the Charge of every Bishop to a single Congregation; but still allow to every Pastor of such a Congregation all the Powers that can belong (by his Scheme) to the Episcopal Office? They have not therefore taken away the Office, but only narrow'd and confin'd the Charge of each Bishop, to the Limits to which it was ordinarily confin'd in the Three First Centuries. If he farther saith, That these Congregational Bishops have no Presbyters under them, 'tis again replied, That the having Presbyters under him is not essential to a Bishop's Office. For Mr. Dr. himself tells us, That where the Congregation was but small (as that of Gregory Thaumaturgus is said to be, consisting of no more than Seventeen Persons) a Bishop only was sufficient. And the Ancient Writers mention it as no uncommon Case for many Churches, to have Bishops without any Presbyters at all.

The Second Thing premis'd by Mr. Dr-- relates to the Distinction commonly us'd between a different Order and a different Degree in the same Order.

That there is such a Distinction to be made, is manifest from his own Case. He and another are Assistant Curates to the Reverend Dr. Travers. I presume if he be a Presbyter, he thinks himself of the same Order with the Doctor, and that no Spiritual Powers belong to the Doctor's Office that belong not to his. And yet I presume he will allow the Doctor some considerable Superiority above himself and his Fellow Curate, in managing the Affairs of that Parish Church, and that he has a much higher Degree of Authority in his Parish, than they can pretend to. But as to this Mr. B. need not have any farther Debate with Mr. Dr--, because he does appropriate such Acts as those of Confirmation, Excommunication, and Ordination to the Office of a Bishop, and asserts that no Presbyter is empower'd by his Office to perform them. And therefore he grants all that Mr. B. contends for, viz. That those who make Bishops a different Order from Presbyters, must suppose some Powers appropriated to them, which belong not to the Office of Presbyters. And 'tis this that he must produce us a Divine Institution for.

Mr. Dr-- having premis'd these Two Things, enters upon the main Business of this Chapter, viz. To prove, That Episcopacy was believ'd by the Fathers of the Church to be of Divine Right.

But before I enter on the Consideration of his Proofs, I must beg Leave to remind him what he is to prove, if he would give us any rational Satisfaction in this Point. And I shall name the following Particulars.

1. He must prove, That the Fathers thought it of Divine Right, that the Pastors of several Congregations (in each of which, all Parts of the Or-

dinary Worship of God, such as Prayer, Praise, Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper were administred) ought to be subject to One, as the Governor of those Pastors, and their several Congregations, to whom the Powers of Confirmation, Excommunication, and Ordination were appropriated.

2. That such Bishops claim'd a Negative Voice in all Acts of Church Government, and particularly decreed the Sentence of Excommunication by their sole Authority. And reckon'd this of Divine Right.

3. That the decreeing that Sentence, was committed by such Bishops to Civilians as their Delegates.

Without proving the First of these Propositions, he entirely drops the Diocesan Cause. For if the Superiority of such a Bishop over several such Congregations and their Pastors, be not of Divine Right, the present Diocesan Episcopacy is not. All the Presbyterian Churches Abroad and at Home have such Pastors as claim and exercise the forementioned Powers of Excommunication and Ordination in their several Congregations: And were invested with such Powers by those that ordained 'em. And if this be sufficient to constitute them Bishops, though they have only such a narrow Charge, then Mr. Dr-- may accuse some of them indeed for wanting such Presbyters as the Primitive Bishops commonly had (though not always) but he cannot charge them for wanting Bishops. And then all his Charge against them for rejecting Episcopal Government falls to the Ground.

And for the Two Latter Propositions, unless he proves them too, he must give up all Pretence of any Conformity of the present Episcopal Government to the Government of the Primitive Bishops, and drop his whole Argument from Antiquity.

And therefore his General Assertion, That the Fathers believ'd the Divine Right of Episcopacy, signifies nothing to the Decision of the Question in Debate, unless he had told us, What Kind of Episcopacy he meant, what was the Extent both of the Bishop's Charge and of his Power. For Congregational and Diocesan Episcopacy are so entirely distinct Things, that they are utterly inconsistent; the Power of the Diocesan being subversive of that of the several Congregational Bishops within his District.

But let us attend to the Testimonies from Antiquity, and see what they make for his Purpose.

He divides his Proof from Antiquity into Three Branches.

1. He undertakes to prove, That some of the First, the greatest and most learned Fathers of the Church do expressly say, That Bishops are by God's Appointment.

I must desire the Reader to remember, What Bishops he must mean, if he alledge their Testimony to any Purpose for the Divine Right of the present Sort of Episcopacy, and now let us hear his Witnesses.

His First Witness is Clemens Romanus in the celebrated Epistle, which he writes in the Name of the Church of Rome to that of Corinth.

I will freely allow Mr. Dr-- all the Encomiums he bestows both on the Writer of this Epistle, and on the Epistle itself, and all the Force and Weight he lays upon it. But I can by no Means allow the unfair Representation he has given us of the Contents of it. And that I may not impose on the Reader's easy Credulity in that gross and shameful Manner he has done, but give him a just View of the Sentiments of that excellent Writer, I will transcribe all the Passages in that Epistle, that have the least Relation to the Matter in Debate, and then make some necessary Animadversions on the use that Mr. Dr-- would make of Clemens's Testimony in this Cause, and shew that 'tis not

not only unserviceable to his Purpose, but that if it prove any Thing, 'tis the quite contrary to what he pretends to draw from it.

Clem. ad Corinth.

(a) "All Things were done by you without respect of Persons: And you walk'd in the Commands of God, being subject to your Guides, and paying due respect to the more aged among you. You commanded the young Men to follow Things moderate and honest. You warn'd the Wives, that they should do all Things with a blameless, holy, and chaste Conscience, loving their Husbands as their Duty requires, and taught them that keeping within the Rule of Obedience, they should manage their Household Affair with all Temperance.

(b) "Let us reverence our Guides, honour our Aged Men, instruct our young Men in the Fear of the Lord, make our Wives good, &c.

(c) "Let us carry on our Warfare with all Diligence in his blameless Commands. Let us consider the Soldiers who obey their Leaders in War, how orderly, readily, and with all Subjection they execute their Orders. All are not Prætors or Chiliarchs, nor Centurions, nor Commanders of Fifty, and so on. Every one performs in his Order and Station, what is commanded by the King and the Leaders. The Great cannot subsist without the Small, nor the Small without the Great, &c.

(d) "Let therefore the Body of Christ be preserved, and every one be subject to his Neighbour, according as he is plac'd by his Favour or Grace. Let not the Strong neglect the Weak, let the Weak reverence the Strong. Let the Rich give to the Poor. Let the Poor praise God that he has rais'd up others to supply their Wants. Let the Wiseman manifest his Wisdom not in Words, but in good Works. Let not the Humble be a Witness for himself, but give others leave to witness for him. He that is Chaste, &c.

(e) "Since these Things are manifest to us, we ought from a due Inspection into the Depths of Divine Knowledge to do all those Things orderly, which the Lord has commanded us to

perform, To perform Oblations and Religious Services at the appointed Seasons. Neither would he (*i. e.* the Lord) have those Things manag'd rashly or irregularly, but at determinate Times and Hours; and where and by whom he would have these Things managed, he himself has determin'd by his sovereign Will, that all Things being performed in an holy Manner according to his good Pleasure, might be acceptable to him, They therefore that make their Oblations at the Time fore-appointed, are accepted and blessed. For in following the Commandments of the Lord, they do not go astray. For there are proper Offices assigned to the High-Priest, there is a proper Place appointed for the Priests, and the Levites have their Services incumbent on them. The Layman is oblig'd to Lay Duties. Let every one of you Brethren abiding in his Order and Station, give Thanks to God with a good Conscience, and with all due Decorum [or Gravity] keep within the prescribed Bounds of his Ministry. Brethren, The daily and perpetual Sacrifices are not offer'd in every Place, whether Eucharistical or Propitiatory, but only at Jerusalem. Nor is the Oblation there made in every Place, but at the Altar in the Court of the Temple, the Sacrifice being diligently inspected by the High-Priest and the aforesaid Ministers. They that do any Thing besides what is agreeable to his Will are punished with Death. You see Brethren, the greater Knowledge we are priviledg'd with, we are liable to greater Danger.

The Apostles have preach'd the Gospel to us from Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ from God. For Christ was sent by God, the Apostles by Christ. And both were done orderly according to his Will. For the Apostles having received their Instructions [or Commands] and being rais'd to a full Assurance by the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and being entrusted with the Word of God, went out with a full Assurance of the Holy Ghost, declaring the glad Tidings of the coming of the Kingdom of God: And preaching through Countries, and Cities, they constituted the First-fruits of their Ministry, for Bishops and Deacons of those that should

(a) Ἀπερωπώλησιν πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑποτάσσασθε, ὑποτασσάμενοι τοῖς ἡγεμόνοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τὴν τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀποκρίσιν τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν προσκυλίετε. νέους τε μέτιστα καὶ σεμνὰ νοῦν ἐπετρέψετε. γυναῖκας τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε, σεργύσας καθυκόντως τοῦ ἀνδρός ἑαυτῶν. ἐν τῇ τῇ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας, τὰ κατὰ τὸν δίκον σεμνῶς οὐκ ἐκτρέφοντες ἐξιδάσκουσιν, πάντες σωφρονέσας. Clementis ad Corinthios Epist. I. cap. i. Edit. Joan. Clerici, inter Patres Apostolicos, fol. Antwerp. 1698. Vol. I.

(b) Τὸς προηγμένους ἡμῶν ἀδελφῶν, τοῦ προσκυλίετε ἡμῶν τιμῶν, τοῦ νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ. τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθώμεθα, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. cap. 21.

(c) Στερευνώμεθα, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, μετὰ πάσης ἐκτενείας ἐν τοῖς ἀμώμοις προστάγματι αὐτοῦ. Κατανόσωμεν τοῦ σεργύσας τοῖς ἡγεμόνοις ἡμῶν, πῶς ἀτάκτως, πῶς δικτικῶς, πῶς ὑποταγμένως ἐπιτελεῖται τὰ διατασσόμενα. Οὐ πάντες εἰσὶν ἑπαρχοί, ἔδῃ χιλιάρχοι, ἔδῃ ἐκατόνταρχοι, ἔδῃ πεντηκόνταρχοι, ἔδῃ τὸ καθεστὸς ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ τάσματι τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτελεῖ. Οἱ μεγάλοι δίχα τοῦ μικρῶν ἔδῃ δύνανται εἶναι, ἔδῃ οἱ μικροὶ δίχα τοῦ μεγάλων, Ibid. cap. 37.

(d) Σωζέμεθα ἡμῶν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ὑποτασσάμεθα ἑκάστῳ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τῇ χαρισμάτι αὐτοῦ. Ἰχμερὲς μὴ τιμωμεῖται [pro πλημμελείᾳ vel ἀτιμωλείᾳ] τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃς ἡ ἀδελφὴς ἐντρέπεται τὸν ἰχμερῶν, ὃ πλείονος ἐπιχορηγῆται τῇ πτωχείᾳ, ὃς πτωχὸς εὐχαριστῆται τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δι' ἡ ἀπαληρωθῆ αὐτοῦ πύρεγμα. ὃ σοφὸς ἐνδυναμῶται τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐν λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς. ὃ ταπεινός ἐνδυναμῶται μὴ αὐτῷ μέρτυρεται, ἀλλ' ἑατῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν μέρτυρεται. ὃ ἀγνός. κ. τ. λ. Ibid. cap. 38.

(e) Πειθαρχῶμεν ἡμῶν ὄντων ταῦτων, καὶ ἐκκεχυμένους ἐς τὰς ἐαυτῶν στήθεας γνώσεως, πάντα τὰς ποιῶν ὁρῶμεν, ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης

ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. Κατὰ καιρὸς τεταγμένως τὰς τιμὰς προσκρίνει, καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖται, καὶ οὐκ εἰκὴ ἡ ἀτάκτως ἐκτελεῖται γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀεσμένως καιρῶς καὶ ὥρας. Πῦτε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιτελεῖται, δέλει, αὐτὸς ὡρεῖται τῇ ὑποτάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἐκτελεῖται ὅσας πάντα γινόμενα ἐν ἐνδοκίᾳ, ἀπερὸς δὲ εἴη τῇ δειλματι αὐτοῦ. Οἱ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασι κατεστάτες ποιῶντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτοῦ, εὐπερὸς δὲ καὶ μακάριος τοῖς ἡγεμόνοις τοῖς δεσπότης ἀκολουθῶντες ἐξιδάσκουσιν. Τῷ δὲ ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδίᾳ λειτουργίᾳ δεδομένη ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέρῳ ἰδίᾳ ὁ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, καὶ λευταῖς ἰδίᾳ διακονίᾳ ἐπικεντῶν. ὁ λαὸς ἀθροπῶν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάσας δέδεικε.

Ἐκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ τάσματι ἐσχαριστῶν Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπαρχών, μὴ παρεκκλῖναι τὸν ὡρεμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα, ἐν σεμνότητι. Οὐ πάντα καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πλημμελίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱερουσαλὴμ μόνον καὶ οὐκ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσκρίνει, ἀλλ' ἐμπερὸς τῇ κατὰ τὸν δεσπότην, μαμοσκοπῆδεν τὴν προσφορῶν διὰ τὸ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρων λειτουργῶν. Οἱ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν δεσπότην, λήσεως αὐτοῦ ποιῶντες τι, δύνανται τὸ πρῶτον ἐκτελεῖν. Ὁσέτι, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα πλείονος κατεξιδάσκον γνώσεως, τοσούτω μάλιν ὑποκείμενα κινδύνῳ.

Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν εὐαγγελίσαντες ὑμᾶς τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃς Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐξέπεμψε δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῶν τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐγγίοντο ἐν ἀμώμοις ἐντάκτως ἐξιδάσκοντες Θεῷ. Παρεργασίας ἐν λαβόντες καὶ πληροορηθέντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφάνειας συνάμαθον ἀγνῶν, ἔχοντες ἐν ἀγγελιστοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλαντες ἐκτελεῖν. Κατὰ χάριτος ἐν καὶ πόλει κηρύσσοντες, καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῦ, δοκιμάσαντες τὸ πνεῦμα, εἰς ὁποῦτος καὶ διακίνας τοῦ μολύβου πιστεύειν καὶ τὸ τοῦ καίνως. ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν χρίτων ἐγγίοντο ἀπὸ ὁποῦτος καὶ διακίνας. Οὕτως τὸ πρῶτον ἀγνῶν καὶ καλίστως τοῦ ὁποῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸς διακίνας αὐτοῦ ἐν πίστι. Ibid. cap. 40, 41, 42.

" should afterwards believe, having by the Spirit
 " approved them. Nor is this any new Institution
 " (or any new Thing): For many Ages ago it was
 " written concerning Bishops and Deacons. For
 " so the Scripture somewhere speaks, I will ap-
 " point their Bishops in Righteousness, and their
 " Deacons in Faith (or Truth.) *

And having mention'd, Chap. 43. How the Tribe
 of Levi was chosen for the Priesthood by the bud-
 ding of Aaron's Rod, he adds, Chap. 44. (f) " And
 " our Apostles knew by Jesus Christ our Lord,
 " that a Contention would arise about the Name
 " (or on the Account) of Episcopacy, and for this
 " Cause being endued with certain Fore-know-
 " ledge constituted the foresaid Persons, (i. e. the
 " Bishops and Deacons) and moreover gave Or-
 " der that other approved Men might succeed in
 " the Place of the Dead, and execute their Of-
 " fice. Those therefore that were constituted by
 " them, or afterwards by other famous Men with
 " the Consent of the whole Church, and who
 " have in a blameless Manner served the Flock of
 " Christ, in an humble peaceable Manner with-
 " out any Stain or Blemish, and for a long Time
 " have had a good Report of all, such we think
 " cannot be cast out of their Office without In-
 " justice. For it will be no small Sin if we cast
 " those out of their Episcopal Office who have
 " offered their Gifts (or discharged their Duties)
 " in an holy and unblameable Manner. Blessed
 " are those Presbyters that are gone before, and
 " have obtained a fruitful and perfect Dissolution.
 " They are not afraid least any should remove
 " them from the (happy) Place in which they are
 " fixed. But we see that you have remov'd some
 " of excellent Conversation from the Ministry
 " with which they are dignified, and which they
 " discharge without Blame.

" Ye are contentious, Brethren, and zealous of
 " Things not pertaining to Salvation. Look into
 " the Scriptures the true Oracles of the Holy
 " Spirit. Learn that there is nothing unjust or
 " feigned contain'd therein. For you will not find
 " just Persons rejected by holy Men. The Just
 " have suffer'd Persecution, but 'tis from the Wic-
 " ked; they have been cast into Prison, but it
 " was by the Profane, &c.

(g) " Why are there Contentions, Wrath, Di-
 " visions, and Schisms and War among you?
 " Have we not one God and one Christ? Is there
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" not one Spirit of Grace pour'd out upon us,
 " and one Calling in Christ? Why do we divide
 " and tear the Members of Christ, and move a
 " Sedition against our own Body, and come to
 " that Madness as to forget that we are Fellow-
 " Members? Remember the Words of our Lord
 " Jesus Christ; for he said, Wo to him by whom
 " Offences come, for it had been better he had
 " never been born, than that he should offend
 " One of my Elect. He had better have a Mil-
 " stone hang'd about his Neck, and be drowned
 " in the Sea, than that he should offend (or oc-
 " casion the Fall of) one of my little Ones.
 " Your Schism has perverted many, it has cast
 " some into Dejection, others into Doubting, all
 " of us into Sorrow, and yet your Sedition con-
 " tinues still.

" Take the Epistle of blessed Paul the Apostle
 into your Hands, what he wrote to you in the
 Beginning of his Gospel. For it was by the
 Inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that he warned
 you of the Sidings and Divisions among you
 concerning him, and Cephas, and Apollo. But
 that Siding (or Division) was less Sinful. Be-
 cause ye then sided with famous Apostles, and
 with a Man approv'd by them.

" But now consider who have perverted you
 " and diminish'd the Glory of your celebrated
 " Brotherly Love. For we hear shameful, even
 " very shameful Things and unbecoming your
 " Christian Conduct, that the firm and ancient
 " Church of the Corinthians, has rais'd a Sedition
 " against their Presbyters for the Sake of one or
 " two Persons. And this Rumour has not only
 " reach'd our Ears, but even the Ears of such as
 " in Point of Religion quite differ from us; so that
 " thro' your Folly the Name of the Lord is blas-
 " phemed, and yourselves are indanger'd.

(b) " Whoever therefore is generous among
 " you, whoever is Merciful, whoever is full of
 " Charity, Let him say, If the Sedition, Conten-
 " tion and Schisms arise on my Account, I will
 " depart, I will go away wherever ye please, and
 " will do whatever the Congregation shall ap-
 " point, only let the Flock of Christ live in Peace
 " with the Presbyters let over it. Whosoever
 " will act thus, will gain great Honour to himself
 " in the Lord, and every Place will readily receive
 " him.

(i) " You therefore that have laid the first
 E e Foundation

* 60 Isa. 17.

(f) Καὶ οἱ ἀποστολοὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγνώσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμεῶν Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔτις ἐστι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς: διὰ ταύτην
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι ἐκρίναντες ἀλλήλους τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς
 περιεφρονημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομήσαντες δίδωσθαι, ὥστε ἐὰν κοι-
 μηθῶσιν, διαδέξωμαι ἑτέροις δεδοκιμασμένοι ἀνδρες, τὴν λει-
 τεργίαν αὐτῶν. Τίς ἐν καταστάσει ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ
 ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογιζόμενος ἀνδρῶν, συνάδοκῃσάν τις ἐκκλησίας
 πάσης, καὶ λειτεργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ
 ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς, μετῴνυσθαι τὴν
 πόλιν καὶ χεῖρας ὑπὸ πάντων, τίς τις δὲ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀπο-
 καλεῖσθαι τὴν λειτεργίαν. Ἀλλ' οἱ καὶ μικροὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, ἐὰν
 τοὺς ἀμέμπτους καὶ ὁσίως περισυνέκριναν τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς
 ἀποβάλλωμεν. Μακάριοι οἱ περισυνετέλειαν περισυύπεροι, οἵτι-
 νες ἔγκρατον καὶ τελείαν ἔχον τὴν ἀνάλυσιν: καὶ ἐν ἐνστάσει μὴ
 τις αὐτοὺς μελαγχολῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ὅτι ἐνὶ οὐμὲν μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως
 αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτεργίας.

Φιλόστοιχοι ἐστέ, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ζηλοῦσθε μὴ ἀνηκόντων εἰς σω-
 τηρίαν. Ἐξυπνῆτε εἰς τὰς γράφας, τὰς ἀληθεῖς ῥήσεις πνευ-
 ματικῆς τοῦ ἀγίου. Ἐπίσαδε ὅτι ἐδὲν ἀδίκον ὅδε φθαρτοποιηθῆναι
 γέγραπται ἐν αὐταῖς. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ δικαίως ἀποβεβλημένοι ἀπὸ
 οὐρανῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐδιδόξαντο δὲ δικαιοί, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐφου-
 λαχθήσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνέμων, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. cap. 44, 45.

(g) ἵνα τι ἔρεσι, καὶ θυμοί, καὶ διχοστασίαι, καὶ χίσματα,
 πόλημοι τε ἐν ὑμῖν; ἢ ἔχι ἵνα Θεὸν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἵνα Χριστὸν;
 καὶ ἐν πνεύματι τῷ χάριτι τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ μία κλήσις ἐν
 Χριστῷ, ἵνα τι διέλεκτομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ
 σπασθῶμεν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἰδίου, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ὑπόνοιαν ἐρ-
 χόμεθα, ὥστε σπασθῆναι ἡμᾶς ὅτι μέλη ἐσμεν ἀλλήλων;
 Μνησθῆτε τοῦ λόγου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμεῶν. Εἰπε γὰρ Οὐαὶ τοῖς
 ἀνδράσιν οὗτοι καλὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰ ἐκ ἐλπίδος, ἢ ἐὰν τοῖς ἐκκλησι-

τῶν μὴ στανδάλισαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς περὶ τεθῆναι μύλον, καὶ
 καλῶς ἰδθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα τοῖς μικροῖς μὴ σταν-
 δάλισαι. Τὸ χίσμα οὐ μὴ πολλὰς διέσσειεν, πολλὰς εἰς ἀθυ-
 μίαν ἔβαλεν, πολλὰς εἰς διασμόν, τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς λύπην,
 καὶ ἐπίμονον ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ εἰσείσοις.

Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Τὴν
 πρώτην ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ' ἀληθείας
 πνευματικῶς ἐπίσειλεν ὑμῖν, περὶ αὐτῶν τε, καὶ Κηφᾶ, καὶ Ἀπόλ-
 λου, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε περισυλλέγετε ὑμᾶς πεποιθῆναι· ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ
 κλήσις ἐκείνη ἥτις ἀμύδιαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν. Προσεκλήθητε
 γὰρ ἀποστολοὶ μετῴνυσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ χεῖρας ὑπὸ πάντων, καὶ
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκρίναντες ἀλλήλους τελείαν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ
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“ Foundation of the Sedition, be subject to your
 “ Presbyters, and be nurtur’d to Repentance,
 “ bending the Knees of your Hearts. Learn to
 “ be subject, laying aside all boasting and proud
 “ Arrogance of your Tongue, &c.

Now upon the Review of these Passages in the Epistle of Clemens, I would desire Mr. Dr-- to tell us, where he finds in this Epistle, *That there was a Sedition rais’d by the Presbyters of Corinth against their Bishop?* Or, *that the Presbyters grew insolent, and would not be regulated by their Bishop in the Administration of the Sacrament?* And, *that a few haughty Presbyters by emulating the Bishop’s Power, put the whole Church into Confusion?* Or that Clemens plainly proves the Authority of the Bishop over the Clergy, as well as that of the Clergy over the Laity is by God’s Appointment? I must tell him, That I have before I saw his Book read that Epistle twice over, and have since read it as often again, and can find no such Matter of Fact, mention’d in the Epistle itself as the Occasion of writing it. And if these be mere precarious Assertions of his own, which he groundlessly fathers upon that excellent Writer, What Excuse can he make for so notorious a Prevarication?

If he refer us (as he does) to cap. 37. The Reader may by casting his Eye back upon it, plainly see, That there is nothing there mentioned more than a general Exhortation, That “ as Soldiers obey their Leaders in War, so every one should be subject to his Neighbour, accordingly as he is placed by the Favour and Grace of God. ’Tis indeed possible, That Clemens might recommend to them hereby a Subjection to the Presbyters as their Spiritual Leaders. But he does not so much as mention that in his Application of it. But “ let the Weak reverence the Strong, Let the Rich give to the Poor, &c. But of the Presbyters being subject to the Bishop there is not one Syllable to be there found.

If Mr. Dr-- refer us to cap. 40. Clemens does indeed there recommend to them, the performing their Oblations and Religious Services at the appointed Times, and tells them, “ The Lord would not have those Things done rashly or irregularly, but at determinate Times and Seasons. And to that End, he recommends to them the Example of the Jewish Oeconomy in which the High Priest, had his proper Offices assigned him, the Priests had their proper Place appointed, and the Levites had their Services incumbent on them. And here Mr. Dr-- tells us, There is a plain Intimation of the Divine Right of the Subordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the Church of Christ, as there was of High Priest, Priests and Levites in the Jewish Church.

Now since this is the only Passage in that Epistle that can give the least Countenance to Mr. Dr--’s Cause, I shall suggest the following Observations, to convince him how groundless the Inference that he draws from it is.

1. Clemens does no where in that Epistle draw any such Parallel, between the High Priest, the Priests and Levites in the Jewish Church, and the Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons in the Christian Church. No more than he supposes as many distinct Officers in a Church, as those he mentions in an Army, as Prætors, Chiliarchs, Centurions, Commanders of Fifty, &c. On the contrary, When he mentions the Officers plac’d by the Apostles, both in the Cities and Countries where they published the Gospel, and made Converts to the Christian Faith, he mentions only Two, viz. Bishops and Deacons, cap. 42. And these Bishops he is so far distinguishing from Presbyters, that on the contrary, he supposes the Presbyters vested with the Episcopal Office, and blames the Church of Corinth, that they

had cast their Presbyters out of their Bishoprick or Episcopacy, who had faithfully and blamelessly discharged their Function, cap. 44. And he concludes the Epistle, with exhorting the Seditious Members of that Church to be subject to their Presbyters, without once exhorting them to be subject to their Bishop as a superior Officer, or exhorting the Presbyters to pay their Deference to his Superior Authority. So that this pretended Subordination of Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons in that Church, is merely feigned by Mr. Dr-- , not only without any Ground from that Epistle, but in plain Contradiction to the whole Strain of it.

2. This Passage of Clemens concerning the High Priest, the Priests and Levites in the Jewish Church may be easily accounted for, without the Supposition of any such Subordination.

If any exact Parallel be here intended, either the Jewish Church is here made the Model and Pattern of the Catholick Church, or of every such particular Church as that of Corinth was.

’Tis no way necessary nor indeed probable, that Clemens did intend here any exact Parallel between the Jewish and every particular Christian Church with Respect to the Government of it. It was sufficient to his Purpose to shew, that as in the Jewish Church the High Priest, the Priests and the Levites had their several Offices and Ministries assigned; so there was a due Order constituted in every Christian Church, in which the Spiritual Guides of it, (viz. The Presbyters or Bishops of it, and the Deacons) had their Ministries assigned as well as the Laity had their Duties to perform. And that the Observation of Due Order was as needful in Christian Churches as in the Jewish Church. And indeed had Clemens designed to draw any exact Parallel, nothing could be more absurd than to draw it with reference to such a particular Church as that of Corinth was, and the whole Jewish Church. For the High Priest was One whose Office bore a Relation to the whole Jewish Church, and not to any one Synagogue or to a few Synagogues in one particular City, and the neighbouring Villages. And to talk of as many High Priests as there were Cities in Judea, would have been ridiculous. And yet to make the Parallel good according to our Author’s Interpretation of it, the whole Jewish Church must be supposed the Pattern of every particular Christian Church: But I hope Mr. Dr-- will not ascribe so palpable an Absurdity as this to so celebrated a Writer as Clemens.

On the other Hand, we may draw the Parallel exactly enough with reference to the whole Christian Church, of which the Jewish was an Emblem; for here, we have our Blessed Saviour the High Priest of our Profession, who has his peculiar Ministrations for the whole Church in the heavenly Sanctuary; we have the Bishops or Presbyters as Priests under him, who have their Place assign’d in offering the Spiritual Sacrifices of the Flocks under their Care; and the Deacons as Levites to assist them in some lower Ministrations, such as the serving of Tables, while they give up themselves to the Word and Prayer. And here the Parallel is exact and full. But then it is so far from favouring Mr. Dr--’s Scheme, that it plainly overthrows it. And I may add for Confirmation of this Account, that Clemens never mentions any single Person as the Governor of that Church, but always speaks of their Guides or Rulers in the Plural Number (see cap. 1. and 21.) much less does he give the Title of High Priest to any such single Person. But he expressly gives that Title to our Blessed Saviour in the Close of that Part of his Epistle, in which he had recommended to the factious Members of the Church of Corinth a due Subjection to their Presbyters. See cap. 58.

3. I may add, That though it could be prov'd, (which I am satisfied can never be from any Thing in this Epistle) that St. Clemens did design to draw a Parallel between the Government of the whole Jewish Church, and that of such a particular Church as this of Corinth, it would prove no more than some Superiority of a Parochial Bishop over his Assistant Presbyters; and this (as I shall more fully shew hereafter) would overturn instead of supporting the Pretensions of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy.

Again Mr. Dr. argues from those Words of Clemens, cap. 42. "That the Apostles preaching through Countries and Cities constituted the First-fruits of their Labours, having made Proof or Trial of them by the Holy Spirit, to be Bishops (or Overseers) and Deacons to them that should afterward believe, alledging that Passage, 1st. ix. 17. I will appoint them Bishops in Righteousness, and Deacons in Truth. And from that other Passage, cap. 44. The Apostles understood from our Lord Jesus Christ, that Strife and Contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, and therefore having absolute Fore-knowledge hereof they ordain'd the foresaid Persons, and gave [ἐπινομήν] a Description or Catalogue of Officers, as Mr. Dr. groundlessly translates the Words, whereas the best Translators render it [Order or Direction] that as some died, other approved Men might succeed and exercise their Office.

From hence Mr. Dr. argues, These Bishops were in the Opinion of Clemens of Divine Appointment; and that they are to be understood of Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters, he undertakes to prove by the following Reasons:

1. Because (saith he) "Clemens is speaking of the Irregularity of some Presbyters of the Church of Corinth, and advises them to keep in that Rank or Station in which God had plac'd them, to observe in one Particular, a due Distance and Deference to their Superiors in the Church according to God's Command, and not to administer the Holy Sacrament, but in such Times and in such Places as the Bishop directed them. And all this founded on this solid Reason, because the Priests and Levites paid the same Obedience to the High Priest. Now if by Bishops in this Place was meant meer Presbyters, the Martyrs Argument drawn from this Parallel of the Jewish Church, would have been very imperfect and inconclusive.

Ans. I must again challenge Mr. Dr. to shew me one Syllable in all this Epistle, wherein Clemens charges any of the Presbyters of the Church of Corinth with Irregularity. On the contrary, he applauds the Presbyters for having discharged the Duties of their Episcopal Function in an holy and unblameable Manner, and on that Account aggravates the Crimes of those that would cast them out of their Episcopal Office. And he no where distinguishes any innocent Presbyters from such as had been faulty; and much less is there the least Advice given to any of their Presbyters, to administer the Sacrament at such Times and Places as the Bishop should assign them: Nor is there in the whole Epistle, the least Mention of a Bishop as one of superior Order in that Church, to whom they were to observe a due Distance and Deference. And for that Passage that relates to the High Priest, Priests and Levites, I have already shewn that it implies no such Subordination of Officers in every Christian or City-Church. And is not this a very convincing way of Arguing, First to feign a Matter of Fact, of which there is not the least Shadow in that Epistle, and then draw such Inferences from it, as he

thinks will favour his Cause? And may we not with much greater Reason and Force retort the Argument, That Clemens never once in that Epistle exhorts either Presbyters or People, to be subject to the Authority of any single Bishop as chief Governor in that Church, nor saith the least Word that should intimate, there was any Bishop among them, though there was great Occasion for it; therefore there was none. But of this I may take more Notice anon. What Mr. Dr. adds under this Head, to account for only Bishops and Deacons being mentioned by Clemens, I shall consider when I come to argue from it.

His Second Reason is, that St. Clement's Application of the Prophecy out of Isaiah in this Place, seems to limit the Signification of Bishops to this Sense, because both St. Jerome and St. Cyril expound it of Bishops as a Superior Order.

Ans. That St. Jerome did think the Bishop and Presbyter, the same Office and Order in the Apostles Time, I shall have Occasion to shew afterwards, and therefore he cannot consistently with himself, apply this Prophecy to Bishops as a Superior Order. Nor will it follow, that because such Writers as liv'd after the Distinction had obtained in the Church, applied this Text of Essay to Bishops as a Superior Order, That Clemens must apply it in the same Sense, in whose Time no such Distinction appears, but many Things in this very Epistle are very inconsistent with it. And I can produce him an elder Writer than either of them; viz. Irenaeus, who applies this Prophecy of Isaiah to Presbyters. Tales Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia, de quibus & Propheta ait, & dabo Principes tuos in pace & Episcopos tuos in justitia, Iren. Adv. Hæres. lib. 4. c. 44, &c. (of which I may have Occasion to take further Notice) 'tis sufficient to observe from it, That Irenaeus understood no other Bishops than Presbyters to be intended by the Prophet; and as he lived much nearer to the Time wherein Clemens flourished, than St. Cyril, so we may much more safely judge of the Sense of St. Clemens from Irenaeus than from Cyril.

His Third Reason is, "That Bishop Morton tells us, Mr. Young the Publisher of that Epistle has explain'd the most difficult Part of it for the Cause of Episcopacy, observing from Clement's Word ἐπινομήν, i. e. Description, that 'tis no more than the Census in Tertullian, by which it appears to have been a Custom in the Apostolical Churches, to write a Roll of the Order of Bishops in their Successions, to bring them from their Originals (as Tertullian speaks.) Polycarpus was from the Apostle John in the Church of Smyrna, and Clement in the Church of Rome from Peter, and others whom the Apostles constituted Bishops, from whom others might deduce their Traduction and Offspring.

Ans. If Mr. Young the Publisher of this Epistle, have any other Arguments to draw from it for the Cause of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, I hope Mr. Dr. has taken Care to collect them. But for this that he here produces, Mr. Young's Commentary instead of explaining the Text, does but obscure and perplex it; The Words of Clemens are clear enough if we render the Word ἐπινομήν Order, or Direction, viz. "That the Apostles knowing that a Contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, and for this Cause being endued with certain Fore-knowledge, constituted the foresaid Persons, (i. e. Bishops and Deacons) and moreover gave Order, that other approved Men might succeed in the Place of the Dead, and execute their Office. Those therefore that were constituted by them, or afterwards by other famous Men with the Consent of the whole Church, and who have in a blameless Manner served the

"Flock of Christ in an humble and peaceable Manner, without any Stain or Blemish, and for a long Time have had a good Report of all, such we think cannot be cast out of their Office without Injustice. For it will be no small Sin, if we cast them out of their Episcopal Office, who have offer'd their Gifts (or discharged their Duties) in an unblameable Manner. Blessed are those Presbyters that are gone before, and have obtain'd a fruitful and perfect Dissolution. They are not afraid lest any should remove them from the Place wherein they are fix'd. But we see that you have remov'd some of excellent Conversation, from the Ministry with which they were dignified, and which they discharg'd without Blame.

As the Words are thus render'd, the Sense runs clear and smooth; that as the Apostles themselves constituted Bishops and Deacons in the Churches they erected, so they gave Order that other approved Men should upon their Death succeed. And such as were thus by the Apostles, or by other famous Men set over the Churches with their own Consent, ought not to be displac'd while they faithfully discharg'd their Duty. And this Clemens supposes to be the Case of these Presbyters of Corinth, whom the seditious Members of that Church would unjustly cast out of their Episcopal Office. So that these Presbyters are evidently the Bishops whom Clemens supposes to be set over that Church of Corinth, pursuant to the Example and Order of the Apostles, and of whose unjust Exclusion he complains.

But let us now consider, what Sense we shall make of the Words with this new Comment of Mr. Young's. And they must then run thus; "That the Apostles foreseeing a Contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, and for this Cause being endued with certain Fore-knowledge, constituted the foresaid Persons (i. e. Bishops and Deacons) and moreover gave a Roll or Catalogue of Officers, that other approv'd Men might succeed in the Place of the Dead and execute their Office, &c.

Now against this Comment I have the following Objections to offer.

Either the Meaning of this is, That the Apostles when they constituted any Bishops and Deacons in the Churches they planted, by Vertue of their Fore-knowledge gave them a List or Roll of their Successors, or that they order'd, That the Names of these Bishops and Deacons, and of their Successors, should be set down in such a List or Roll to be kept and preserv'd among them.

If the Meaning be, That when the Apostles constituted Bishops and Deacons in any Churches, they did by Vertue of their Fore-knowledge give them a List and Roll of their Successors, then the Assertion is liable to these insuperable Objections;

1. That it supposes a Matter of Fact utterly improbable without the least Evidence of it; viz. That the Apostles when they constituted Bishops and Deacons in the Churches they planted, gave 'em a Catalogue or Roll of their Successors. But who ever heard of such a Roll or List? Was it a Catalogue of all their Successors to the World's End? Or a List of their Successors, for one, two, or three Centuries? How came this List to be lost, when the Preservation of it would have been of such vast Consequence to prevent all such Disputes about future Elections? For doubtless, the Churches would have readily concurr'd in the Choice of such as the Apostles from certain Fore-knowledge had mark'd down for their Bishops and Deacons. So that 'tis certain, either this Catalogue was never given by them, or those Churches to whom it was given were guilty of inexcusable Negligence, in suffering so valuable a Roll that would have cleared the

uninterrupted Line of Episcopal Succession beyond Dispute, to be so utterly lost, that no Notion, no Monument of it should be heard of to this Day, and no Bishop ever once appeal to it to justify his Claim against his Competitors.

2. The Words of Clemens are not consistent with this Comment of Mr. Young's. For what Occasion were there of the Approbation of the Successors to the Apostolical Bishops, if the Apostles themselves had already nam'd them? And what Need was there of the Churches Consent to their taking the Oversight of them? Would any of the Churches ever dispute the Nomination of these their inspired Founders which they made from certain Fore-knowledge? Nay,

3. If the Apostles gave such a Roll or List, 'tis manifest by what follows, That Presbyters were the Bishops that they gave such a Roll or List of. And that these Presbyters of Corinth as well as of other Churches, were in the List. For 'tis of their Ejection from their Episcopal Office, that Clemens complains in the Close of this very Paragraph, in which he supposes that they acted contrary to this Apostolical Order, (or as Mr. Dr. calls it, this Apostolical Roll.) So that Mr. Young's Comment itself, utterly destroys all Pretence of Episcopacy's being a Superior Order by Divine Institution, since Clemens mentions no Roll of any other Bishops than Presbyters.

But the Truth is, The Roll itself is just such another imaginary Supposition, as the Sedition of the Presbyters of Corinth against their Bishop. And therefore I shall lay no Stress on the Argument drawn from it, though retorted with the justest Ground. And for Tertullian's Censure, I shall account for it when I come to consider his Testimony, and shew how little it signifies to Mr. Dr's Purpose. But 'tis manifest from what I have said, That Clemens never dream'd of any such Roll here.

On the other hand, if the Meaning be, That when the Apostles constituted any Bishops and Deacons in the Churches planted by them, they order'd that their Names and those of their Successors, should be set down in a certain List or Roll; besides the gross Impropriety of Speech that St. Clemens is suppos'd guilty of, (for to give a List of Successors, is a quite different Thing from ordering others to make a List of them;) it is here evident, that the Apostles according to St. Clemens, order no Names to be inserted in that List or Roll but those of Bishops and Deacons. But why should not the Names of the Presbyters be inserted in the Roll, as well as that of Deacons to whom they were all (as all confess) superior? If indeed Bishops and Presbyters were the same, then the Reason of this Order is very accountable; but then Mr. Dr.'s Cause is overthrown. But if the Bishops be here distinguish'd from Presbyters, let Mr. Dr. assign us any tolerable Reason, Why their Names must be buried in Silence, and those of the Deacons (a lower Order) kept as a perpetual Record? St. Clemens is hereby made a fair Advocate for the Cause of these injur'd Presbyters of Corinth, when he puts such an unsufferable Affront as this upon them. Nay, how comes it that no Bishop of this Church of Corinth appears in the Roll, as far as we can learn from this Epistle?

His Fourth and last Reason is drawn from those Words of Clemens, "That the Apostles foreseeing the Contention that there would be about the Name or Office of Episcopacy, for this very Reason appointed the foresaid Officers, viz. Bishops and Deacons. Now (saith Mr. Dr.) the Contention rais'd by the Corinthian Presbyters about Episcopacy, was concerning the Power and Dignity of Bishops, which therefore the Apostles had ordain'd as they themselves had been be-

fore

fore ordained of God. And therefore the Drift and Intent of the Martyr in this Place, is to teach these busy Presbyters their Duty, and to keep them in their Rank and Station. For had this Strife and Contention been only about the Presbyters, which the Laymen had unjustly deposed, I cannot see any Reason for St. Clement's Conclusion. Had this been the only Strife, it had not any way concern'd the Name or Dignity of Episcopacy. Nay, if we take the Word Episcopacy for Presbytery (as some Men would have us,) I cannot see how it will mend the Matter, because the Quarrel in their Sense was not about the Name, but the Persons of those Presbyters, whom they thought unworthy, and therefore had depos'd. So that to make any tolerable Sense of this Epistle, we must understand the Martyr to have meant Bishops, Bishops properly so call'd as they were distinguish'd from Presbyters. And if Mr. B. had carefully read or would believe any Thing of Antiquity, he might have found, that St. Clement was at that Time Bishop of Rome, and Silas of Corinth.

Ans. That there was any such Contention raised by those Corinthian Presbyters concerning the Power and Dignity of Bishops, that should occasion St. Clements to teach those busy Presbyters their Duty, is wholly Mr. Dr--'s Invention, without any Shadow of Proof from the Epistle (as I have already observ'd.) Nay, 'tis inconsistent with several Passages in the Epistle. For can any one imagine, That he should give the Presbyters of Corinth without any Distinction such a Character, as that they had discharg'd their Duty in an unblameable Manner, if they had been guilty of any such Disobedience to a Bishop, whom St. Clements suppos'd by Divine Right their Superior? And that St. Clements makes any Distinction among these Presbyters, by charging some of them as Faulty, and commending others of them as innocent in their Conduct, is a Supposition that has no Foundation from any Thing in that Epistle. Much less can it be supposed, that Episcopacy as a Superior Order and Office, was the Occasion of the Contest, when St. Clements supposes Episcopacy to be the very Office of these Presbyters, and charges it on the Members of the Church of Corinth, that they had cast their Presbyters out of their Episcopacy, or Episcopal Office. But saith Mr. Drury, Vindic. p. 42. Clements had made towards the Beginning of this Epistle, a manifest Distinction between Bishops and Presbyters. For Proof whereof he alledges these two Passages: "Thus saith Clements, cap. i. Being subject to those who are set over you, [or Bishops,] and having your Presbyters in Honour. And Cap. 21. Let us Reverence our Bishops, and Honour our Presbyters."

Ans. I must confess myself surpriz'd at the unusual Assurance wherewith Mr. Dr. asserts Clements to have here made a manifest Distinction between Bishops and Presbyters. If I charge him with either Want of Judgment or Sincerity, he will think I use hard Words. But how he will clear himself, I must leave the Reader to judge, when I have laid the entire Passages before him as they stand in that Epistle. They are these,

Cap. i. "All Things were done by you without Respect of Persons. And you walk'd in the Commands of God, being subject to your Guides, [τοῖς ἡγουμένοις] paying due Respect to the more Aged among you [τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέραις] you command the [τοῖς νεοῖς] young Men to follow Things sober and honest, you warn'd the Wives that they should do all with a blameless, holy, and chaste Conscience, loving their Husbands, &c."

Cap. 21. "Let us love our Lord Jesus Christ, whose

Blood was given for us, let us reverence our Guides or Leaders, [Προσφύμεν] Let us honour our Elders (or aged Persons) Πρεσβυτέρους, Let us instruct our Youth [Νέους] in the Nurture of the Fear of the Lord. Let us direct (or amend) our Wives to that which is good, &c."

'Tis so manifest here, That πρεσβυτέραι signifies aged Persons as opposed to the Νέοι or Younger, that the Oxford Editor (how eager soever he appears in his Notes for the Episcopal Cause) durst not venture upon so gross a Blunder or Prevarication, as to translate the Word here Presbyters, as he does wherever Clements speaks of the Presbyters as Officers in that Church of Corinth. But in both Places renders it Seniores or Elder Persons, as easily seeing that in both Passages the πρεσβυτέραι or Aged Persons are not opposed to the Laity but to the young Men. And I need no more to convince Mr. Dr. himself of it, than to shew him, that his Sense of it is inconsistent with his own Hypothesis. He tells me, Silas was then proper Bishop of Corinth (in the modern Sense.) How comes Clements then to be so forgetful of his singular Dignity in that Church of Corinth, as to commend them for being subject to their Guides, if by Guides he meant such Bishops? Had they more Bishops than One? What becomes then of their grand Maxim of One Bishop only in every City Church, as the Principle and Center of Unity to it? Or had this Bishop several Coadjutors in his Office, himself retaining only a Primacy of Order among them? I am afraid, this will amount to no more than a Colledge of Presbyters in our Sense with their Præses or Moderator. So that upon the Whole, I must advise Mr. Dr-- to drop this Distinction, which is so far from being manifest from these Passages, that 'tis inconsistent with them.

But if Clements knew of no other Episcopacy than what belongs to Presbyters, Mr. Dr-- objects, "That if we take Episcopacy for Presbytery, he cannot see how this will mend the Matter, because the Quarrel in their Sense was not about the Name, but the Persons of their Presbyters whom they thought unworthy, and therefore had deposed."

Ans. But how does Mr. Dr. prove, That these seditious Members of that Church only opposed the Persons of these Presbyters, not their Office and Authority. Clements no where mentions any Objection they made against their Doctrine or Practice: But on the contrary supposes them blameless with respect to both, and on that Consideration aggravates their Guilt in casting them out of their Episcopal Office. 'Tis therefore much more probable, That their Quarrel was about the Office itself, and that the Members of that Church were grown too proud and conceited, to be subject to the Pastoral Authority of their Spiritual Guides, as thinking themselves as wise as their Teachers, and too good to be subject to their Authority. And therefore when Clements in the Conclusion of this Epistle urges those seditious Persons to be subject to their Presbyters, he saith, "Wherefore laying aside all vain-glorious and proud Arrogance of your Tongue, learn to be subject to others. For 'tis better to be found little, and of good Esteem in the Fold of Christ, than to be cast out of your Christian Hope, by affecting to appear more eminent than others. So that the Contention which Clements mentions, was not about Episcopacy as an Office superior to that of Presbyters; for he supposes these very Presbyters cast out of their Episcopacy, but about the Authority of Episcopal Presbyters, or Presbyter Bishops as they were distinguish'd from the Laity: For so Clements himself seems to state the Contest, when he requires

the Layman to attend the Duties of his Station, cap. 40. And if any one considers, how common extraordinary Gifts had been in this Church (as we may see 1 Cor. 14.) and what Restraint the Apostle Paul thought needful to lay on the Exercise of them; 'tis no wonder that the Members of it should be so forward to dispute the Authority of their Pastors, and to raise Factions against them; especially when we add, how little there was then of any Advantages of a learned Education to distinguish the Clergy from the Laity. And 'tis evident, That the Apostle himself had Occasion before to curb the Pride of the Members of this Church, that would have left little or no Distinction between them and their Teachers. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? 1 Cor. xii. 29. And by their rash Ejection of their Presbyters which Clemens here reproves them for, it is reasonable to conclude, that this levelling Humour was not quite extinguish'd, that would have confounded the People with their Spiritual Guides, whose several Duties Clemens therefore is careful to distinguish, cap. 41.

Or if we allow the Apostles a prophetic Spirit, we may thus account for the Sense of that Passage, "That the Apostles foreseeing there would be a Contention about the Name of Episcopacy (i. e. by one Man's engrossing both the Name and Authority to himself to the Prejudice of the Rights of his Collegues and Brethren) constituted the foresaid Bishops and Deacons (in all the Churches they planted, whether in Cities or Countries) and gave Order that other approved Men might succeed in the Place of the Dead, and execute their Office. But alas! neither their Constitution, nor our Saviour's own Caution against striving who should be greatest, could prevent the Effects of humane Ambition, and hinder Men of Diotrephes's Spirit from aspiring after Prebeminence. And if this Paraphrase be allow'd, which is much more conformable to the Strain of that Epistle of Clemens than what he offers, then this Passage is a clear Testimony against the Pretension of the Divine Right of Modern Episcopacy.

Having thus overturn'd all Mr. Dr--'s unsuccessful Attempts to prove the Divine Right of Episcopacy as a superior Order from this Testimony of Clemens, I may with the greater Advantage propose the Arguments it affords against that Opinion. As

1. 'Tis evident from this Epistle, That St. Clemens when he mentions the Officers whom the Apostles constituted both in Cities and Countries, where they brought in any considerable Number of Converts, mentions only Bishops and Deacons.

This Omission of Presbyters Mr. Dr. pretends to account for several Ways.

The first is, "Because the Deacons did in this common Broil constantly adhere to their Bishop, whereas so many Presbyters were in Opposition.

Ans. This Evasion is founded on a meer Imagination of Mr. Dr--'s. The Epistle neither mentioning any Bishop of Corinth, (as distinct from the Presbyters there) nor any Adherence of the Deacons, or Opposition of any Presbyters to him. And I must beg Mr. Dr--'s Pardon, if I take not such feigned Matters of Fact for Arguments. Besides, whatever the Carriage of the Presbyters of Corinth was, will it excuse Clemens for omitting a whole Order of Ecclesiastical Persons, when he sets himself to give an Account of the Apostolical Constitution of the Churches they founded? Should the Crime of these particular Presbyters provoke him to suppress the Mention of their Order, when he undertakes to tell us, How the Apostles modelled the

Government of those Churches they planted? Or can his high Character and Elogium of the Presbyters of Corinth consist with the Supposition of such a Crime?

His next Evasion is, "That Bishops at First had more use of Deacons than of Presbyters.

Ans. If the Bishops had no Use of Presbyters, they could not be Diocesan Ones, nor have many Churches under their Government. And that entirely ruins Mr. Dr--'s Cause. But we are sure, The Apostles ordain'd Presbyters in every Church and every City; How come they then to be so useless and needless Creatures in St. Clemens's Time, that were thought so necessary in St. Paul's? And why may we not much better say, That where there were several Presbyters, any such superior Officer as a Bishop was much more useless and needless? St. Paul seems to have been of that Mind, when he committed the Government of the Church of Ephesus to the Elders, and that as a Remedy against Errors and Schisms, and gave it as his last Charge to them, Acts xx. 28.

His next Evasion is, "That perhaps by Deacons, Clemens meant both Presbyters and Deacons, the Word Minister being applicable to both. The Presbyters and Deacons being both but subservient Ministers to the Bishop, who did allot them out their Turns and Stations in the officiating of God's Divine Service, the Presbyters having not yet assign'd them their particular Bounds, &c.

Ans. What Testimony may not this Gentleman elude, if we will allow him all his precarious Suppositions? And why may he not as well pretend, That when the Apostle Paul directs his Epistle to the Bishops and Deacons, as well as Saints at Philippi, That he includes the Presbyters and Deacons under the Name of *Διδασκoi* or Ministers? No doubt he would pretend this, were there not a small Objection against it, that then he must allow more Bishops than One in that Church. And this would overturn his whole Scheme.

What he means by the Presbyters not having their Bounds yet assign'd them, I cannot tell. If he means, that the Church of Corinth was only a single Congregation, that had no Assembly subordinate to the Bishop's Church to officiate in; then had there been such a Bishop, (as it no ways appears there was from any Thing in the Epistle) he must have been a Parochial one. But if the Apostolical Bishops were only Parochial or Congregational, the Divine Rights of Diocesan Episcopacy is destroy'd. And if Clemens speaks of such single Congregations, then he supposes several Bishops (not one single Bishop) set over them; and this Supposition also destroys Mr. Dr--'s Cause, and shews, That Bishops and Presbyters were then only different Names of the same Office or Order. And so St. Clemens supposes them to be, when he makes Episcopacy to be the Function of these Corinthian Presbyters.

His last Refuge, to which he chiefly trusts is, "That St. Clemens had no Occasion in this Place to mention Presbyters, because he was speaking to the Presbyters themselves, and advising them to submit to their Bishop, because God had appointed Bishops and Deacons as well as them.

Ans. I must again desire Mr. Dr-- to tell us, where Clemens gives any such Advice to the Presbyters of Corinth to submit to their Bishop? For I cannot find one Syllable to that Purpose. Nor can I find that Clemens addresses himself directly to the Presbyters themselves in the whole Epistle, though he so fully plead their Cause against those that would injuriously cast them out. And must we always be put off with this Gentleman's meer Inventions for Arguments? Nay, since it was the Cause of the Presbyters at Corinth, that Clemens is here

here pleading against the Attempts of the mutinous Laity, he had the greatest Occasion possible to mention Presbyters as Officers of Divine Appointment, if he had thought them a distinct Order from Bishops. For this the People needed most to be told of to repress their Sedition against them.

These different Accounts Mr. Dr. gives of Clemens's pretended Omission being meer Evasions, the true and genuine Account remains, That Clemens knew of no other Presbyters but what were Bishops.

2. And this Argument from St. Clemens only mentioning Bishops and Deacons as Officers constituted by the Apostles in the Churches they planted, is the stronger, if we consider, That he calls the Office of the Presbyters by the Name of Episcopacy, and supposes the Presbyters of Corinth to be cast out of their Episcopal Office. And how this can consist with his making a manifest Distinction between Bishops and Presbyters, let Mr. Dr. at his Leisure resolve us.

3. I would desire the Reader to compare St. Clemens's Assertion concerning the Apostles constituting Bishops and Deacons in the Churches they planted, with the Account which St. Luke gives of the Apostles ordaining Elders in every Church, and with the Direction St. Paul gives to Titus to ordain Elders in every City, and with the Bishops and Deacons at Philippi. And add thereto, That not only the Name but the Qualifications and Office of the Scriptural Elder and Bishop were the same; and it will thence manifestly appear, That St. Clemens speaks of the same Order of Men with St. Luke and St. Paul, and both of such Pastors as had the Joint Care and Charge of particular Congregations.

4. I would add one Argument more that is of great Weight with me, tho' only a Negative one.

'Tis manifest to any one that reads that Epistle, That St. Clemens never takes the least Notice of any Bishop in the Church of Corinth, as superior to, and distinct from Presbyters. Mr. Dr. has indeed found out "That the Deacons of Corinth sided with the Bishop of that Church, while some busy Presbyters oppos'd his Authority, &c. But I believe no unbiass'd Reader will be able to discover any such Matter. And 'tis to me a strong Presumption there was no such Bishop, that when there was so great Occasion to take Notice of him as one highly concern'd in these Divisions that are suppos'd to happen in his Church, Clemens should pass him over in entire Silence. Had there been then such a Bishop in Corinth, and particularly such an one as Silas, to whose Authority both the Presbyters and People were subject; What had been more natural than to recommend to him the just Use of his Authority for supporting the Cause of those injur'd Presbyters, against a factious Laity that would unjustly turn them out of their Office? If he sat still as a silent unconcern'd Spectator of those unhappy Divisions, without ever interposing his Power to heal them, would not Clemens have gently admonish'd him of his Negligence, and urg'd him to exert his Episcopal Authority on so just and necessary Occasion? If the Bishop used his Authority to compose these Differences, but was herein oppos'd either by the Laity of Corinth or any Presbyters that sided with them, Would not Clemens have admonish'd both the Laity and the Clergy to reverence the Judgment of their Bishop, and submit to his Arbitrement and Determination in these Quarrels? Would he that charges them with Arrogance in opposing their Presbyters, and refusing Subjection to them, have taken no Notice of their greater Presumption in opposing the higher Authority of their Bishop? Nay, had the Episcopal See been then vacant, would not Clemens have re-

commended to them the Choice of a Bishop, as the best Expedient to heal this woful Division? I must therefore desire Mr. Dr. who so confidently tells me, That Silas was at that very Time Bishop of Corinth, to account for these strange Omissions of Clemens, which no wise Man would have been guilty of, if the Constitution of the Church had been the same then as it was when the Authority of single Bishops obtain'd in the Church. And 'till he can give us such a fair Account, I shall take what I have suggested for a strong Argument, that Corinth had no such Bishop at all. And I find the learned Dr. Stillingfleet of the same Opinion, when he tells us, "They that can find any one single Bishop at Corinth when Clemens wrote his Epistle to them, must have better Eyes and Judgment than the deservedly admir'd Grotius, &c. Iren. 2d. Edit. 4to. Lond. 1662. p. 279. If he tells me, that Rome had such a Bishop, viz. St. Clemens himself, I shall believe it when I shall see some better Proof of it, than his being call'd so by those that liv'd after a Congregational or Parochial Episcopacy obtain'd. That he might be a Senior among the Presbyter Bishops of that City, and desired by this Church to draw up this Letter in their Name, I shall not dispute: But if he pretend, that he had a Superiority of Order above the Presbyters of that Church, I shall believe it when I see it prov'd. And even that it self would not prove him to be any more than a single Bishop, whose Authority is so far from being the same with that of a Diocesan, that the latter is destructive of the former, (as I shall have Occasion to shew afterwards.) And this leads me to add,

5. That from several Passages, it appears every way most probable, That only single Congregations were the Ordinary Charge of those Presbyter Bishops that are mention'd in this Epistle.

To this Purpose 'tis observable, That Clemens tells us, That the Apostles constituted Bishops and Deacons both in the Cities and Countries where they preach'd, out of the First-fruits of their Converts. So that wherever a Church was gathered, whether in Cities (or Towns) or in Regions and Country-Villages, they had their Bishops and Deacons assign'd them. And this is (as I observ'd before) very agreeable to the Scriptural Account of the Apostle's Practice, in ordaining Presbyters in every City (or Town) and in every Church. And Clemens farther observes, That the Successors of these Apostolical Bishops were to be set over their Flocks by the Consent of their whole Church [*συνουχονόμενοι τῇς ἐκκλησίας πᾶσι.*] Which plainly implies, That the Church which they had the Oversight of, was no greater than could meet together and declare their general Consent. But how a Diocesan Church consisting of many Scores or Hundred Congregations could meet to signify such Consent, is a Difficulty I must leave Mr. Dr. to solve at his Leisure. And I hope he will do it better than the Oxford Editor of this Epistle has done, who thinks the Practice of the National Church, to be conformable to the Model of the Election of Bishops in the Primitive Times: But of this I shall have Occasion to take Notice afterwards.

And thus I have gone through this Epistle of Clemens, and must leave the Reader to judge, who they are that (as Mr. Dr. speaks) rely upon forc'd Constructions when they write only for a Party, without consulting the ancient Authors themselves? Vindic. p. 43. And whether Mr. Dr. that has insisted so long on this Father, has prov'd his Testimony to be a flagrant Evidence against those that deny the Divine Right of the present Episcopacy? If this Epistle be a flagrant Evidence for it, I would be glad to know what he will account a flagrant Evidence against it. And I have insisted on it the longer, because

because I take it to be a Testimony of the most clear and unsuspected Antiquity, concerning the Practice of the Church immediately after the Apostles Decease. And I fully assent to the Judgment of the learned Grotius, who concludes the genuine Antiquity of it, for its not mentioning that Exorbitant Power of Bishops (exortis Authoritatis) that afterwards prevail'd, but plainly with the Apostle Paul shews, That the Churches were govern'd by the common Council of Presbyters who were also Bishops.

I now proceed to consider Mr. Dr's Second Witness from Antiquity, viz. Ignatius.

Mr. B. had in the Postscript told Mr. Dr., That when the Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter first obtain'd, the Primitive Bishop was no more for at least a Century or two, or perhaps three, than the Pastor of a single Congregation with his Assistant Presbyters, or in some few large Cities, the Praeses or Moderator of a City-Presbytery, who (though he had some Superiority of Degree,) did not pretend to any Superiority of Order or Office above his Brethren.

Mr. B. had produc'd to this Purpose the Judgment of the Author of *Biographia Ecclesiastica*, and that of the Author of the *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, &c. of the Primitive Church*; who expressly assert, That the Primitive Bishops had but one Church or Congregation under their Care: The Presbyters being their Assistants or Curates therein, but of no distinct Order or Office from them. Mr. B. had added thereto the Judgment of Mr. Mede and Dr. Burnet; (the Latter expressly making the Ignatian Bishop to have only one Parish or one Church, with one Altar or Communion Table for all under his Charge.)

Mr. B. had therefore told him, That if he would draw any Argument for the Divine Right of the present Episcopal Form of Government from Antiquity, he must produce us some solid Evidence from the Two or Three First Centuries of the following Particulars.

1. That the Generality of the Bishops of those Ages had each of them several Congregations (in each of which all Parts of the ordinary Worship of God, such as Prayer, Praise, Preaching, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper were celebrated) under their Government and Care.

2. That the Bishops of those Ages claim'd a Negative Voice in all Acts of Church Government.

3. That with respect to the highest Censures of the Church, the Sentence of Excommunication was decreed by the Bishop alone without any Consent or Concurrence of his Presbyters.

4. That the Decreeing this Sentence was ever committed by those Bishops to Civilians as their Delegates.

And I may now add,

5. That the Primitive Fathers asserted the Divine Right of this Constitution.

How little he has prov'd any one of these Particulars, will appear afterwards.

I shall not enter on the Debate, whether the Seven Epistles publish'd by Vossius out of the Florentine Copy be the genuine Writings of Ignatius, or at least uncorrupt and free from Interpolations. I

leave that to those who have more Leisure to examine the Arguments alledg'd in so uncertain and dubious a Matter, by Bishop Pearson and Dr. Beveridge on the one side, and Daille and L'Arroque on the other, and shall only mention one Passage I meet with in the *Nouvelles de Republique de Lettres*; Tom. I. Art. V. p. 56, 57. Where the Author of the Elogium on Monsieur L'Arroque acquaints us, That he publish'd a Book in Latin to defend the Sentiments of Mr. Daille concerning the Epistles of Ignatius, and the Apostolick Constitutions, against Messieurs Pearson and Beveridge, two famous English Doctors. They wrote a Second Time to defend their Opinion; And he design'd a Reply, as may be seen by a Work in Manuscript which was found among his Papers in which he made a great Progress; but at the Desire of several Persons who lean'd too much to the Episcopal Cause, he did not finish this Reply. So the best that can be said of that Dispute is, *Sub judice lis est*. And this Story Mr. Dr. may confront with his Story concerning Blondel at the End of his Book.

But though I have suggested this to abate Mr. Dr's Confidence, as if it were an incontestable Matter of Fact, that these Epistles are genuine; I am so little apprehensive of any Advantage that Mr. Dr. can make of them in Defence of his Cause, that I am as well satisfied as he, that they pass for genuine; and hope to make it fully appear that Mr. Dr. could produce no Testimony from Antiquity, that more entirely subverts all Pretences of the present Diocesan Episcopacy to a Divine Right, since 'tis rais'd on the entire Ruin of the Power that Ignatius's Bishops enjoy'd and exercis'd in his Time.

That there was some Difference between a Bishop and Presbyter in Ignatius's Time (if those Epistles be really his) is a Matter of Fact, that no Man who has read them will dispute. But if this Bishop was no more than the Rector of a Parish Church or Bishop of a single Congregation, and the Presbyters under him no more differ'd in Order and Office from him, than the Curates of the Rector of a Parish do from him, then we may draw two Inferences from his Testimony, that overturn the whole Design of this Gentleman's Book. The First is, That all the Congregations of Protestant Dissenters have such Bishops already as these mention'd by Ignatius. The Second is, That Diocesan Episcopacy is plainly destructive of the Rights which Ignatius's Bishops were vested in. I know indeed Mr. Dr. being aware of this, censures it as a strange Paradox; and offers a weak Argument or two against it, which I shall hereafter meet with. But the Reader will better judge of Ignatius's Bishops, when I have set before him all in those Epistles that concerns this Cause.

And that he may pass a more unbiass'd Judgment, I have on either Side of Ignatius's Text considered his Words as they may be indifferently apply'd to a Diocesan or Parish Bishop, that the Reader may at first View discern, whose Paraphrase is most natural and unforc'd. And I shall then consider Mr. Dr's Reasoning from Ignatius, and draw juster Conclusions from him.

Ignatius's EPISTLE to the Church of Ephesus in Asia.

* Your Diocesan Bishop and all the Presbyters of the Diocesis.

(a) **T**HAT being subject to your * Bishop and your Presbytery, you may be sanctified in all Things.

* Your Pastor and his Presbyters or Assistant Curates.

† Diocesan Bishops.

(b) For Jesus Christ our inseparable Life is the * Counsel of the Father, as the † Bishops fix'd or dispers'd in the several Parts of the World are in the Counsel of Jesus Christ.

* On the Account of the Harmony and Consent of their Wills; as the Pastors of Particular Churches placed by him in several Parts of the World are the Council of Christ, or are in his Council, by the Harmony of their Faith. See Dr. Stillingfleet's Iren. Part II. Chap. VI. p. 309.

* Let no Man mistake, unless he is within the Altar (i. e. the Cathedral Altar) he is depriv'd of the Bread of God. For if the Prayer of One or Two have so much Efficacy, how much more the Prayer of the Bishop, and of the whole Church? He that comes not to the same Place (where the Diocesan Church meets) is puffed up with Pride, and has separated and judg'd himself, &c.

(c) If I in a short Time have contracted such a Friendship with your Bishop, which is not Humane but Spiritual, how much happier do I account you who are joyn'd to him, as the Church is to Christ, and Christ to the Father, that all Things may agree in Unity? * Let no Man mistake, unless he is within the Altar, he is depriv'd of the Bread of God. For if the Prayer of One or Two have so much Efficacy, how much more the Prayer of the Bishop and the whole Church? He that comes not to the same Place is puffed up with Pride, and has separated, and judg'd himself. For it is written, God resists the Proud. Let us take Care then not to resist the † Bishop, that we may be subject to God.

* Let no Man mistake, unless he is within the Altar (by receiving at the Communion Table in your Assembly) he is depriv'd of the Bread of God. For if the Prayer of One or Two have so much Efficacy, how much more the Prayer of the Pastor and the whole Congregation? He that comes not to the Congregation when met together, is puffed up with Pride, and has separated and judged himself, &c.

† Pastor of the Congregation.

* And the more any in the Diocesan Church shall see the Bishop (of the Diocesis) silent, let him reverence him the more, &c.

(d) * And the more any one shall see the Bishop silent, let him reverence him the more. For whom the Master of the House sends to govern his Family, we ought to receive as him that sent him: 'Tis manifest that we ought to respect the Bishop as the Lord himself.

* And the more any (in your Religious Assembly) sees the Pastor of it silent, let him reverence him the more, &c.

* Let all that belong to the Bishop's Diocesis meet often together for Thanksgiving and Praise; for when the whole Diocesis meets often together in the same Place, the Strength of Satan is weaken'd.

(e) * Endeavour to meet often together to give Thanks to God, and to praise him. For when you often meet together in the same Place, the Strength of Satan is weaken'd, &c.

* Let all the Members of the Congregation meet often together for Thanksgiving and Praise, for by your meeting together in the same Place, the Strength of Satan is weaken'd, &c.

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(f) * Since

(a) ἵνα ἐπιταχυνώμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ πάντες ᾗτε ἡγιασμένοι. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. Sect. 2. inter Clerici Patres Apostol. fol. Antwerp. 1698. Vol. 2.

(b) Καὶ ὅς ἴσους Χριστὸς τὸ ἀδιακεῖτον ἡμῶν ζῆν, οὗ Πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ καὶ τὰ πέρατα οὐρανῶντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ γινώσκουσιν. Ibid. Sect. 3.

(c) Εἰ ὅς ἐγὼ ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν ἔχον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνδρωπίνην ἔσαν ἀλλὰ φρονηματικὴν, πόσω μάλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω πρὸς ἐγκρασιμῶς ἔτους, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρί, ἵνα πάντες ἐν ἐνότητι συμφορῶναι ἡ; μηδὲς παλαιάδω· ἐὰν μὴ τις ἢ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ συστῆται, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Θεός. εἰ ὅς ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ δούτερος πρὸς αὐτὴν τοιαύτην ἰσχυρὴν ἔχει, πόσω μάλλον ἢτε ἡ ἐκκλησία

καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας; ὁ ὅς ἐν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἔστω ἡ δὴ ὑποταγή, καὶ ἐκκλησία δέκεται. γέγραπται ὅς ὑποταγέσθε τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ὡς ὁ Θεός, ἵνα ὡς αὐτὸν οὐρανοὶ καὶ οὐρανόφωτοι. Ibid. Sect. 5.

(d) Καὶ ὅσω βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, πλεονὺς αὐτὸν εὐσεβεῖν. πάντες γὰρ ὅν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν. ἔτι καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα· τὸν ὅς ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον, ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσκλίνειν. Ibid. Sect. 5.

(e) Σπεύδω εἰς συναντικόν συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν. ὅτι ἂν ὅς συναντῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, καθαρῶν ἡ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. Sect. 13.

* Since every one by Name in the Diocesis with common Consent meet together in one Faith, &c. that you may obey your Bishop and all your Presbyters of the Diocesis with an undivided Mind, breaking one Sacramental Loaf or Bread (i.e. one Loaf of the same Kind in the several Congregations of the Diocesis.)

(f) * Since every one of you by Name with common Consent by Grace, meet together in one Faith and one Jesus Christ, (who according to the Flesh is of the Seed of David, the Son of Man, and the Son of God) that you may obey your Bishop and the Presbytery with an undivided Mind, breaking one Loaf, which is the Medicine of Immortality, an Antidote to preserve us from Dying, and to secure our Living for ever in Jesus Christ.

* Since every one of you by Name, with common Consent by Grace meet together (in the same Assembly) &c. that you may obey your Pastor and his Assistant-Presbyters with an undivided Mind, and may there break one Sacramental Loaf, &c. i. e. may all communicate together in the Lord's Supper.

EPIST. II. To the Church of Magnesia near the Mæander.

* By Damas the Bishop of the Diocesis, &c. and the two worthy Presbyters of the Diocesis Bassus and Apollonius, and Sotion the Deacon of the Diocesis, &c.

† The Bishop and the two Presbyters and one Deacon that made up all the Clergy of his Diocesis.

* Bishop of the Diocesis.

† Bishop of the Diocesis, who is seen by all in his Diocesis.

* Some name the Bishop of the Diocesis but do all without him. Such seem not to have a good Conscience, because their Assemblies are not regular without his appointing them.

(g) **S**INCE I had the Honour to see you by Damas your * Bishop, worthy of God, and the worthy Presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and my Fellow-Servant Sotion the Deacon, whom I could wish to enjoy, because he is subject to the † Bishop as to the Grace of God, and to the Presbytery as to the Law of Christ.

(h) But it becomes you not to be too familiar or saucy with the Age of your * Bishop, but according to the Power of God the Father, to give him all Reverence, as I know your holy Presbyters do, not regarding the Appearance of his Youthful Ordination, but as wise Men in God yielding to him, but not so much to him, as to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ the Bishop of all. For the Honour of him that would have it so, it becomes us to obey without any Hypocrisy, because such a one does not so much deceive the † Bishop that is seen, as mock him that is unseen, &c.

(i) It becomes us not only to be call'd Christians, but to be so. As * some name the Bishop indeed, but do all Things without him. Such seem not to have a good Conscience, because they assemble not together in a sure Manner according to the Commandment.

* By Damas your Pastor and his Assistant Presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and Sotion the Deacon (of the Congregation at Magnesia,) &c.

† The Pastor of the Congregation, and his two Assistants, and his Deacon.

* Pastor of the Congregation.

† Pastor of the Congregation, who is seen by all his Flock.

* Some name the Pastor of the Congregation, but do all without him. Such seem not to have a good Conscience, their Meetings or Assemblies not being regular without his Direction.

(k) Since

(f) ὅτι οἱ καὶ ἀνδρες κοινῇ πάντες ἐν Χερσὶ καὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πρὸς τὴν σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὡς Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ὑμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ἀπεισπάσῃ διανοίᾳ, ἕνα ἄρτον κλάντες, ὃς ὁ εὐχάριστος Ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τῷ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ πάντας. Ibid. Sect. 20.

(g) Ἐπεὶ ἐν ἡμετέροις ἰδοὺ ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμά τῷ ἀξιοθέῳ ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀξίων Βάσσου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ τῷ συνδύλῳ καὶ διακόνῳ Σωτίῳ, ὃς ἐγὼ ὀνομαζομαι, ὅσι ὑποτάσσονται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χρεῖται Θεοῦ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. Sect. 2.

(h) Καὶ ὑμῖν ὃ πρέπει μὴ συγχέσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πάσαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ ἀποδίδοντες.

μεν, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ πρεσβυτερίαν τὴν φαινομένην νεώτερον τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς σεβίμους ἐν Θεῷ συγκληρονόμους αὐτοῦ. Οὐκ αὐτῷ ὅ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. εἰς τιμὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δελησαντί, ἡμᾶς πρέπον ὅτιν ἐπακούειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκεισιν ἐπεὶ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῶτον τὸν βλέπομεν πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀέροντος ἀγλαογίᾳ. Ibid. Sect. 3.

(i) Πρέπον ἐν ὅτιν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὴ καλεῖσθαι, χρεῖς ὅτι πάντα πεφασσιν· οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὅτι ἐκ εὐσυνείδητοί μοι εἶναι εὐνοῖαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως καὶ ἐντόλῃ συνάθροισσιν. Ibid. Sect. 4.

† That make up the Church of the Diocess.

* The Bishop presiding (in the Diocesan Church) in the Place of God, the Presbyters (of the Diocess) in the Place of the Apostolical Senate, and the Deacons (of the Diocess,) &c.

† The Bishop of the Diocess, and the Clergy thereof.

* Bishop of the Diocess and his Presbyters.

† But when the whole Diocesan Church meet together, let there be one Prayer, &c.

* Let all the Diocess run together (to the Cathedral Church) as to one Temple of God, to one (Cathedral) Altar, and to one Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

† Bishop of the Diocess, and well-wrought Spiritual Crown of the Diocesan Presbytery, and the Deacons of the Diocess.

(k) Since in the Persons I have nam'd, I beheld the whole Multitude † In Faith and Love, I exhort you to make it your Study to do all Things in the Concord of God. The * Bishop presiding in the Place of God, and the Presbyters in the Place of the Apostolical Senate, and the Deacons most dear to me, to whom the Ministry of Jesus Christ is committed, &c. Having therefore all received the same God-like Temper, reverence one another; let none regard his Neighbour according to the Flesh, but love one another in Christ. Let nothing divide you, but be united to the † Bishop, and those that preside among you, into the Mould and Doctrine of Incorruption.

(l) As the Lord being united to the Father did nothing without him, neither by himself nor by his Apostles, so neither do you any Thing without the * Bishop and his Presbyters. Nor endeavour to do any Thing that may seem reasonable to you apart (from them.) † But when you meet together, let there be one Prayer, one Deprecation, one Mind, one Hope, in Love and blameless Joy. There is one Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is more excellent. * All therefore run together as to one Temple of God, as to one Altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who proceeds from one Father, exists in him, and returns to him.

(m) With your most worthy † Bishop, and well-wrought Spiritual Crown of your Presbytery, and Deacons that act according to God, Be subject to the Bishop and to one another.

† That make up your Congregation or Church.

* The Pastor presiding in the Place of God, and the Presbyters (his Assistants) in the Place of the Apostolical Senate, and the Deacons of the Congregation, &c.

† Pastor of your Church and those Assistants that preside with him in the Congregation.

* Pastor of the Congregation and his Assistant Presbyters.

† But when the Congregation meet together, let there be one Prayer, &c.

* Let all the Church or Congregation run together as to one Temple of God, one Communion-Table, (where they all receive the Holy Eucharist together,) &c.

† Pastor and well-wrought Spiritual Crown of your Presbytery (who sit in a Circle about your Pastor's Seat) and Deacons, (that take Care of the Poor of the Congregation.)

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EPIST.

(k) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς περιγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ πᾶν πλη-
ροῦν ἐδείκνυτο ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὁμοιοῦσι θεῷ
συνεβόησαν πάντα πράττειν, προκαθήμενος τὸ ἐπισκόπος εἰς τό-
πον θεοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνελεύσεως ἡμεῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ
ἡμεῖς διακόνων, ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν
ἡμεῶν Χριστοῦ, ὃς πρὸς αἰῶνα πατὴρ ἡμεῶν, καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφά-
νη· πάντες ἄν ὁμοθυμαδὸν θεῷ λαβόντες, ἐντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλους,
καὶ μηδὲν ἡμεῖς σάρκα κλεπτέτω τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμεῶν Χρι-
στῷ ἀλλήλους διαπαντὸς ἀγαπάτε· μηδὲν ἐξ ὑμῶν ὁ δου-
λεύων ὑμᾶς μείσαι, ἀλλ' ἐνείκη τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς πρε-
καθημένοις εἰς τὸν ὅλον [vel τύπον] καὶ διδασχὴν ἀφ' ἀρεσίας.
Ibid. Sect. 6.

(l) Ὡς οὖν ὁ κύριος ἑαυτὸν πάλαι ὡς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησε, ἡνω-
μένῳ αὐτῷ, ἔτε δι' αὐτῷ, ἔτε διὰ ἡμεῶν ἀποστόλων· ἔτως μηδὲ

ὑμεῖς ἀλλ' ὅς ἐπισκόπος, καὶ ἡμεῖς πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράττειν
μηδὲ συνεβόησαι ἐυλογον τὴν φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ
αὐτῷ μία προσαύξησις, δέησις, εἰς νῦν, μία ἐλπίς ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν
τῇ χάριτι τῇ ἀμώμῳ· ὡς ὅτιν' ἡμεῖς Χριστὸς ὁ ἀμείνων ὡς ἐν
ὅτιν' πάντες ἄν ὡς εἰς ἑνα ναὸν συνιρέχεσθε θεῷ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἑνὶ δου-
σιασμένῳ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἑνῷ ἡμεῶν Χριστῷ τὸν ἀπ' ἐνὸς Πατρὸς περι-
εβόησα, καὶ εἰς ἑνα ὅλον καὶ χωρήσαντα. Ibid. Sect. 7.

(m) Μετὰ τῷ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀξιοπλόκῳ
πνευματικῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτεῖν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ θεὸν διακόν-
ων ὑποτάγῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, κ. τ. λ. Ibid.
Sect. 13.

EPIST. III. To the Church in Tralles.

* Bishop of the Diocess.

† Clergy of the Diocess.

* The Deacons of the Diocess.

† Let all reverence the Deacons of the Diocess as the Command of Christ, and the Bishop of the Diocess as the Figure and Representative of the Father, and the Clergy of the Diocess as the Council of God, &c. For without these 'tis not called a (Diocessan) Church.

* He that is within the Cathedral Altar is clean, he that is without is not clean.

† He that does any Thing without the Bishop, and Clergy, and Deacons of the Diocess, is not pure in his Conscience.

* It becomes the whole Diocess, but especially the Clergy of it to refresh their Bishop.

† Bishop of the Diocess, and all the Clergy thereof.

(n) * **T**IS necessary that (as ye do) ye act nothing without the * Bishop. But be also subject to the † Presbyters as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ, our Hope, in whom let our Conversation be found. The * Deacons also as the Ministers of Christ, ought by all Means to please all. For they are not Ministers of Meats and Drinks, but Ministers of the Church of God.

(o) † Let all likewise reverence the Deacons as the Command of Jesus Christ, and the Bishop as him who is the Figure of the Father, and the Presbyters as the Council of God, and the Conjunction of the Apostles. Without these 'tis not call'd a Church.

(p) Keep yourselves from such. Which will be done by you, if you be not puff'd up, but remain undivided from God, Jesus Christ, and the Bishop, and the Precepts of the Apostles. * He that is within the Altar is clean, he that is without is not clean; that is, † He that does any Thing without the Bishop, the Presbyters, and the Deacons, is not of a pure Conscience.

(q) * It becomes every one of you, especially the Presbyters, to refresh the Bishop to the Honour of the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Apostles.

(r) Farewell in Jesus Christ, being subject to the † Bishop as to the Command of God, and likewise to the Presbytery.

* Pastor of the Congregation.

† Presbyters that assist him in Teaching and Ruling the Congregation.

* The Deacons of the Congregation, that serve Tables and take Care of the Poor of the Church.

* Let all likewise reverence the Deacons of the Congregation as the Command of Christ, and the Pastor as the Representative of the Father, and the Assistant-Presbyters, as the Council of God, &c. For without these Officers, no Christian Assembly is called a Church.

* He that is within the Communion Table of the Congregation, &c.

† He that does any Thing in the Congregation without the Pastor, his Assistant-Presbyters and Deacons, the stated Officers thereof, has not a pure Conscience.

* It becomes all the Members of the Congregation, but especially the Assistant-Presbyters to refresh their Pastor, &c.

† Pastor of the Congregation and his Assistant-Presbyters.

EPIST. IV. To the Romans, directed to the Church which is seated in the Place [χώρα or χωρά] of the Roman Region.

* Let all the Congregations in the Diocess of Rome, remember in their Prayers the Congregations in the Diocess of Syria.

(s) * **B**E mindful in your Prayers of the Church which is in Syria, which instead of me, has God for a Pastor. May Jesus Christ alone govern it instead of a Bishop, and your Charity.

* Be mindful in the Prayers of your Congregation of the Church or Congregation at Antioch in Syria, &c.

EPIST.

(n) Ἀγαθαῖον ἔστιν, ὡς περ ποιεῖτε, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ ὑποτάσσεται καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾧ διακονοῦντες ὑπερδιηγουμένθα. διὸ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστήριον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πάντα τέλειον πάντων ἀρέσκων· καὶ ὅς ἐρωμάτων καὶ πόσις εἰσὶν διάκονοι, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπερή. Ignat. Epist. ad Trall. Sect. 2.

(o) Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐξυπακούσαντες τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὅντα ὡς τὸν Θεόν Πατέρα. [Notat Cotelerius mendosissimum esse locum, & legendum esse — διακόνους ὡς ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ὡς ὄντα τύπον τοῦ Πατρὸς.] τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς συνέδριον ἀποστόλων· χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἔστω καλῆ. Ibid. Sect. 3.

(p) Φυλάττετε τοὺς τοιαύτους· τούτοις δὲ ἔστω ὑμῖν μὴ φυσικῶς

μῆνεις, καὶ ὅσον ἀχαιεῖς Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τοῦ διατάκτου καὶ ἀποστόλου· ὁ ἐν τῷ συνάγειν ἐστὶν, καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ διακόνου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅς ἐστι καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν τῆς συνειδήσεως. Ibid. Sect. 7.

(q) Πρέπει ὑμῖν τοῖς κατὰ ἐνέργειαν καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, εἰς τιμὴν Πατρὸς, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Ibid. Sect. 12.

(r) Ἐρρωθεὶς ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς τῷ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ. Ibid. Sect. 13.

(s) Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ ἐυχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἥσιν ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιούμεαι τὸ Θεῷ χάρις· μόνον αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπήσῃ, καὶ ὑμῶν ἀγάπῃ. Ignat. Epist. ad Roman. Sect. 9.

Epist. V. To the Philadelphians.

Inscribed

(r) Ignatius, &c. to the Church which is at Philadelphia in Asia, &c. whom I salute in the Blood of Jesus Christ, &c. especially if they be united with the * Bishop and the Presbyters and Deacons that are with him, &c.

* The Bishop of the Diocess, and the Presbyters and Deacons that are with him (i. e. in the same Diocess and subject to the Government as the Bishop of it.)

* The Pastor and his Assistant Presbyters, and Deacons that officiate in the same Church or Congregation.

* Where the Bishop of the Diocess is, let all that belong to his Diocess follow.

(u) Being Sons of Light and Truth, flee Divisions and false Doctrines; and * where the Pastor is, there let the Sheep follow.

† Where the Pastor of the Congregation is, let the Sheep that belong to his Flock follow

* Bishop of the Diocess.

† In the Diocesan Church.

(w) Whosoever belong to God and to Jesus Christ, are with the * Bishop, &c. If any one follow one that makes a † Schism, he shall not obtain the Kingdom of God.

* Pastor of the Congregation.

† A Schism whereby the Congregation is rent and divided.

* Take care to celebrate the same Eucharist in all Churches of the Diocess. For there is one Flesh, &c. And one Cathedral Altar, having many subordinate Parish Altars, as there is one Diocesan Bishop, one Presbytery of the Diocess, with the Deacons.

(x) * Take care to use one Eucharist. For there is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Cup for Union in his Blood. And one Altar, as there is one Bishop with the Presbytery, and the Deacons my Fellow Servants.

* Join all in celebrating one Eucharist. For there is one Flesh, &c. And one Altar or Communion-Table, where the whole Congregation communicates with their own Pastor, and his Assistant Presbyters and Deacons.

* The Bishop, and Presbyters, and Deacons of the Diocess.

(y) I cried when I was present, I spake with a loud Voice the Voice of God, attend unto the * Bishop, and the Presbytery and the Deacons. Some suspected me to speak these Things as having a Fore-knowledge of the Division of some. But he is my Witness in whom I am bound, that I know not this by the Flesh; but the Spirit declar'd, saying such Things as these, do nothing without the † Bishop, keep your Flesh as the Temple of God. Love Unity, shun Divisions, &c.

* The Pastor of the Congregation and his Assistant Presbyters and Deacons.

† Bishop of the Diocess.

† The Pastor of the Congregation.

* To the Unity of God, and the Council of the Diocesan Presbytery, and Diocesan Bishop.

(z) Where there is Division and Wrath, there God does not dwell; Therefore God forgives all Penitents, if they return to the * Unity of God, and the Bishop's Council.

* To the Unity of God and the Pastor, and his Council of Assistant Presbyters.

(aa) Because according to your Prayer, and according to the Bowels you have in

Christ

(i) Ἰγνάτιος — ἐκκλησία — τῇ ὕπῃ φιλαδέλφεια τῆς Ἀσίας, — ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ — μακάριστα ἐάν ἐν ἐνὶ ᾧ σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, κ. τ. λ. Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. in Inscript.

(u) Τέκνα ὅν σὺν τῷ, ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μεισμον [καὶ] κακοδιάσκαλίας. ὅπερ ὁ καὶ ποιμὴν ὄντων ἐκείνῳ ὡς πείραστος ἀκολουθεῖτε. Ibid. Sect. 2.

(w) Ὅσοι Θεὸς εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔστωι μὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ εἶσιν. — ἥτις χρίζοντες ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ καὶ κληρονομίαν. Ibid. Sect. 3.

(x) Σπιδάξτε ἐν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι μία καὶ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμετέρου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν πόσειον εἰς ἐνώσειν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν θυσιάζειον, ὡς ἄς ἐπισκοπῶν, ἀμα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, καὶ διακόνοις τοῖς συνδέλοις μου. Ibid. Sect. 4.

(y) Ἐκδυγασα μεταξὺ ὧν, ἐλάλην μεγάλην εὐνήν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, καὶ διακόνοις. οἱ δὲ ἀποπνεύσαντες με, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τὸν μεισμον τινῶν, λέγουσιν ταῦτα.

ταῖς μαρτυρίαις δὲ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ἔργων τὸ ὅν πνεῦμα ἐκηρυκῶν λέγων ταῦτα. Χρῶντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε τὴν ἐνώσειν ἀγαπᾶτε, πῶς μεισμὸς φεύγετε. Ibid. Sect. 7.

(z) Οὐ μεισμός ἐστιν καὶ ὁργή, Θεὸς ἐκατοικῶν πᾶσιν ἐν μετανοήσιν, ἀφίει δὲ κύριος, ἐάν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνόησιν Θεοῦ, καὶ συνίδειον τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. Ibid. Sect. 8.

(aa) Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπηγγέλη μοι ἡμετέραν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ Συρίας, πρέπον ὄντων ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ, χρῆσθαι διακόνῳ ὡς τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐκείνῳ Θεῷ πρεσβεῖαν, εἰς τὸ συσχεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ θυσιασμοῖς, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα μακαρίῳ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοιαύτης διακονίας καὶ ὑμῶν δοξαζήσεσθε. θάλασιν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐκ ἐκείνου ἀδυνατῶν ὑπὸ ὀνόματι Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἱ ἐγείσας ἐκκλησίας ἐπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους. Ibid. Sect. 10.

Of the Ancient Episcopacy.

† Of the Diocels.

* With the whole Diocels of *Antioch* consisting of several Congregations assembled together.

† Diocesan Churches have sent the Bishops of their respective Dioceses, others the Presbyters and Deacons of the Diocels.

Christ Jesus, it is told me, That the Church of *Antioch* in *Syria* enjoys Peace. It becomes you as † the Church of God to choose a Deacon, that there may go on a Divine Embassy, that with * them gather'd together, he may rejoice and glorify the Name (of God.) Blessed is he in Jesus Christ, that shall be thought worthy of that Ministry, and you will be commended: And with your Consent this may be done in the Name of God. As some of the neighbouring † Churches have sent Bishops, some Presbyters and Deacons.

† You of the Congregation.

* i. e. With the Christian Congregation at *Antioch* assembled together.

* Congregations have sent their Pastors to the Church of *Antioch*; others their Presbyters and Deacons.

EPIST. VI. To the Smyrneans.

* Bishop of the Diocels.

† The Clergy of the Diocels.

* Bishop of the Diocels.

† Presence of the Bishop of the Diocels, or by a Licence granted to the Presbyters to administer it in their several Parish Churches.

** Where the Bishop of the Diocels personally appears, let all the People of the Diocels be assembled.

†† 'Tis not lawful without the Bishop of the Diocels to baptize, or make a Love-Feast, in any of the Parish Churches within his District, &c.

Ignatius, &c. To the Church in Smyrna. (bb) Let all follow the * Bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father, and the Presbytery as the Apostles, and reverence the Deacons as the Command of God. Let none do any of those Things which belong to the Church without the * Bishop. Let that Eucharist be accounted valid which is celebrated in the † Bishop's Presence, or with his Allowance. Where the ** Bishop appears, Let the Multitude (Congregation) be. As where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholick Church. †† 'Tis not lawful without the Bishop either to baptize or to make a Love-Feast. But what he approves that is well-pleasing to God, that whatever is done may be safe and valid.

* Pastor of the Congregation

† The Pastor's Assistant Presbyters.

* Pastor of the Congregation.

† Pastor's Presence or by his Assistants with his particular Allowance.

** Where the Pastor of the Congregation personally appears, let the Multitude be.

†† 'Tis not lawful without the Pastor of the Congregation, &c.

* Bishop of the Diocels.

† Bishop of the Diocels, &c.

* Bishop and Clergy of the Diocels of *Philadelphia*.

(cc) 'Tis reasonable that we should repent, and while we have Time turn to God. It will do well to have a Respect to God and the * Bishop. He that honours the Bishop is honour'd of God. He that does any Thing without the † Bishop's Privy, does the Devil a Service.

* Pastor of the Congregation

† Pastor of the Congregation's Privy, &c.

(dd) I salute the * Bishop worthy of God, and the God-becoming Presbyters, and the Deacons my Fellow-Servants, both singly and all together, &c.

* Pastor of the Church of *Philadelphia*, and his Assistant Presbyters and Deacons.

† Families of the Brethren in that Diocels with their Wives and Children, &c.

(ee) I salute the † Families of my Brethren, with their Wives and Children, Virgins, &c.

† All the Families belonging to that Congregation, &c.

EPIST.

(bb) Πάντες τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐν ἡρώσει, ὡς Θεῷ ἐντολὴν· μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρᾶσσει τῇ ἀντικύπτῳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην βλάβη εὐχαριστία ἡγούμενη, ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἔσται, ἢ ὃ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅτι ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσται· ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον χωρεῖς τὸ ἐπισκόπος ἢ βαπτίζειν, ἢ τε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἔκλινῃ δοκιμάσῃ, σὺν τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον· ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πρᾶσσῃ. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. Sect. 8.

(cc) Ἐυλογεῖτε ὅτι λοιπὸν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ ὡς ἐτι καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, εἰς Θεὸν μετάνοιαν· καλῶς ἔχει, Θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εὐδοχεῖν· ὁ τιμὴν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑπὸ Θεῷ τιμήν· ὁ λαὸς ὁποῖα πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, τῷ διακόλῳ λατρεύει. Ibid. Sect. 9.

(dd) Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιότιμον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ δεσποτὴν πρεσβυτερίου, καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μετὰ διακόνους, καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ κοινῇ πάσης, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. Sect. 12.

(ee) Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οἰκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μετὰ συνῆλκεσιν καὶ τέκνοις, καὶ τὰς παρθένους, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. Sect. 13.

Epist. VII. To Polycarp Bishop of the Church of the Smyrneans.

* Widows of the Diocefs.

† In the whole Diocefs.

* Let the Diocefan Church meet often together. Enquire after all by Name (that belong to the Diocefs) and do not proudly overlook the Men-servants and Maids.

† That belong to thy Diocefs.

* The Bishop of the Diocefs's Advice.

† Bishop of the Diocefs.

* Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons of the Diocefs.

† Of all the Clergy of thy Diocefan Church.

* Diocefan Churches.

† Neighbouring Diocefan Churches.

(ff) LET not the * Widows be neglected, be thou next to the Lord, their Guardian. Let nothing be done † without thy Will. Nor do thou any thing without the Will of God. * Let your (religious) Assemblies be more frequent. Enquire after all by Name. Do not proudly overlook the Men-servants and Maids. And let not them be puffed up.

(gg) Speak to my † Sisters that they love the Lord, and be content with their Husbands, &c. Command my Brethren, &c. that they love their Wives, as the Lord the Church. It becomes Bride-grooms and Brides to marry with the * Bishop's Advice (or Consent) that their Marriage may be according to the Lord, &c.

(hh) Attend unto the † Bishop, that God may do so to you. I will pawn my Soul for theirs, that are subject to the * Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons. And may I have a Part with them in God. Labour, Strive, Run together, Suffer, Sleep, Wake together, as the Stewards, Assessors and Ministers of God.

(ii) It becomes thee, most Blessed Polycarp, to call together a God-becoming † Council, and to choose some one that you esteem dear and diligent, who may be call'd a Divine Courier (or Messenger,) and to put that Honour on him, that he going to Syria may commend your diligent Charity for the Glory of Christ, &c.

(kk) Because I could not write to all the * Churches, because I fail'd in haft from Troas to Neapolis (as the [Divine] Will commands) thou wilt write to the † Neighbouring Churches, as one that knowest the Mind of God, that they may do the same. Let those of them that can, send Messengers. Let others send Letters by thy Messengers.

* Widows of the Congregation.

† In the Congregation.

* Let the Congregation meet oftner. Enquire after all by Name (to see they be present at your religious Assemblies, or be able to give a good Account of their Absence.) Do not (in Enquiry) overlook Servants themselves.

† That belong to thy Church or Congregation.

* Pastor of the Congregation's Advice.

† Pastor of the Congregation.

* Pastor with his Assistant Presbyters and Deacons.

† Of the Assistant Presbyters and Deacons of thy Congregation at Smyrna.

* Congregations.

† Neighbouring Congregations.

And

(ff) Χήρας μὴ ἀμελεῖσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντισὴς ἔσο· μηδὲν ἀνὰ γνώμης σε γινέσθω· μηδὲ σὺ ἀνὰ Θεοῦ γνώμης τι πράττει, ὅπερ ἐδὲ πρῶτως, ἐνσαθέης· πυκνότερον συναγαγαὶ γινέσθωσαν· καὶ ὁ νόμος πάντας ζητεῖ· δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερφανέσθωσαν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φουσιώσθωσαν. Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. Sect. 4.

(gg) Ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μὴ περιστάλλει ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τοῖς συμμέτοισι ἀρεσκῆσαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι· ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμμέτοισας, ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· — πρέπει ὅς τοις γαμμομένοις, καὶ γνώμης τὸ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἐνωσιν ποιῆσαι· ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Θεόν, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. Sect. 5.

(hh) Τὸ ἐπισκόπου περιστέχει, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν· ἀντίφυλον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσόμενων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, περισβύλωσις, διακόνοισι καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέγιστον γένοιτο ὅτι ἐν Θεῷ συνη-

πιάτε, ἀλλήλοις, συναθλήτε, συντρέχετε, συσκοιμάδε, συνεγείρεσθε, ὡς Θεοὶ οἰκονόμοι, καὶ παρέρρετε, καὶ ὑπηρετε. Ibid. Sect. 6.

(ii) Πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστά, συμβόλιον ἀγαπᾶν θεοπροπέσειον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι τινα, ὃν ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχεις καὶ ἀκονον, ὡς δυνήσῃ θεόδεσμος καλεῖσθαι τὸτον καθάταξιῶσαι, ἵνα πορεύῃς εἰς Συρίαν, δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκονον ἀγάπην, εἰς δούξαν Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. Sect. 7.

(kk) Ἐπεὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐκ ἡδυνήθην γράψαι, διὰ τὸ πλείονος πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ δέλημα περιστάσει, γράψας ταῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς Θεὸς γνώμην κεκλιμῆναι, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι· οἱ μὲν δυνάμει, πεζεὶς πέμψαι· οἱ δ' ἐπιστάταις, διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ σὺν πεμπομένων. Ibid. Sect. 8.

And thus I have laid before the Reader not a few broken Scraps of Ignatius, but all I can find in his *Seven Epistles* that relate to this Cause. (And I hope Mr. D---, who so often persuades me to read 'em, will produce more if he can find any Thing to his Purpose.)

Upon the Review hereof, it will be proper to enquire.

1. What the Ignatian Bishop was? Whether the Pastor of a single Congregation, that had one Communion-Table, and whole Members were capable of ordinary Personal Communion in all the several Parts of Divine Worship, or one that had several such Congregations under his Stated Government? 2. What Difference Ignatius makes between these Presbyters and the Bishop? 3. What Inferences may be drawn from hence towards clearing the Matter in Dispute?

For the first Query, What the Ignatian Bishop was, Whether the Pastor of a single Congregation that had but one Communion-Table, and the Members whereof did ordinarily joyn in all the several Branches of publick Worship? Or the Pastor and Ruler of many such Congregations? I think we may justly conclude, That he was the former, not the latter, for the Two following Reasons.

1. There is no manner of Force offer'd to any Expressions in those Epistles, if we interpret them, concerning a Congregational Bishop with his Assistants, or a Parish Rector with his Curates. And for this I appeal to the Passages in Ignatius as they are thus interpreted in one of the Columns foregoing.

2. There are many Passages in these Epistles, that plainly imply the Bishop mention'd by Ignatius, to have been no more than the Pastor of a single Congregation, and that cannot agree to such a Bishop as is supposed to have several such Congregations, or Churches under his Government.

Thus Ignatius saith, [Pargr. c.] "Let no Man mistake, unless he is within the Altar, he is depriv'd of the Bread of God. For if the Prayer of one or two have so much Efficacy, how much more the Prayer of the Bishop and the whole Church? He that comes not to the same Place is puffed up with Pride, and hath separated and judg'd himself." Now we can very easily understand, how, when every Church has its Altar or Communion-Table, he that comes not to that, is deprived of the Bread of God. We can as readily understand, how a Parish Bishop and his whole Church can join in one and the same Prayer; and how justly a Member of that Congregation may be call'd a Separatist when he refuses to meet with his Fellow-Members. But 'tis very hard to understand, why he that is not within the Cathedral-Altar should be depriv'd of the Bread of God, when he may as well receive it at any Parish-Altar. Much less can we understand, how the Bishop and all the Churches of his Diocese can offer one Joint-Prayer together, or how they can so much as meet together; and if they cannot, how a Man should be a Separatist for not performing a natural Impossibility?

Again, [Pargr. e.] We can easily imagine, how the Parish-Pastor and his Assistants may meet often together, at the same Place and Time for Thanksgiving and Praise, and thereby weaken the Devil's Power. But how a Bishop and all the Churches of his Diocese should have frequent Assemblies, and that in the same Place, and for the same Religious Services, is beyond our Understanding to conceive.

Again, [Paragr. f.] A Parish Bishop with his Assistants, and every one of the Congregation by Name

can meet together, and break one Loaf or Bread in the Celebration of the same Holy Eucharist: But how a Bishop and all his Clergy with every one of their several Congregations by Name should meet for any such Purpose, Mr. D--- will do well to explain.

Again, [Par. g.] Since the Church of Magnesia had but two Presbyters and one Deacon joined with Damas their Bishop, we may indeed account very easily for it, by supposing but one Congregation under their Care. But how two Presbyters and one Deacon should suffice for all the Congregations of a small Diocese, is beyond our Apprehension.

'Tis very obvious to understand, [Par. i, k.] How all the particular Meetings of one Congregation, may be particularly ordered and directed by the Pastor of it, and what a visible Concord there appears, when the Pastor and his Assistant Presbyters and Deacons, are all present to guide and manage all the Religious Services thereof. But there must be a strange Force put on the Expressions, to apply them to the Bishop of a Diocese, and to his Clergy, and the several Congregations that belong to the Diocese, who have their distinct Assemblies and never meet together at all.

Ignatius might very reasonably Charge, [Par. l.] the Members of the Church of Magnesia to do nothing (in Matters of publick Worship) without or apart from their Pastor and his Assistants, and recommend to them, when they meet together, one Prayer, and one Deprecation. He might recommend to them their running together to one Temple and one Altar (or Communion-Table.) But how a modern Bishop should meet together with all the Churches of his Diocese, to offer up one Prayer and one Deprecation; how they should run to one Temple, or indeed one Temple hold 'em, and one Communion-Table serve 'em, is a Difficulty we cannot solve.

We can easily understand Ignatius's Mind, when [Par. o.] speaking of a Pastor of a single Congregation with his Assistant Presbyters and Deacons, he saith, without these 'tis not properly called a Church. But we can neither reconcile his Words with Truth nor common Sense, if he mean, That without a Diocesan Bishop that has many Congregations under his Government, and Presbyters set over them, it cannot be call'd a Church. For the Scriptures give the Name of Churches to several single Congregations that could have no such Diocesan Bishop. The Word Church is used concerning such particular Assemblies, 1 Cor. xiv. 4, 5, 19, 23, 24. Col. iv. 16. Acts xiv. 23. James v. 14. And sure it was but a single Congregation that met at Cenchrea, Rom. xvi. 1. or at the House of Aquila and Priscilla, Rom. xvi. 5. or at the House of Nymphas, Col. iv. 15. or at the House of Philemon, Phil. 2. Now unless we suppose Ignatius ignorant of the common Language and Style of the Apostolical Writings, he can never be supposed to contradict them so grossly as to tell us, That we must not give the Appellation of Church, to any less, than all the several Congregations of a Diocese, under the Government and

Rule of one Diocesan Bishop and his Presbyters.

The same may be said of [Par. p.] The Application of it to the Members of a single Congregation, is natural and easy; but to the Members of a Diocesan Church, plainly unnatural and forc'd.

The same may be said of [Par. q.]

'Tis obvious to understand, [Par. u] how all the Congregation of Philadelphia might be with their Bishop, and follow him as the Sheep follow their Shepherd.

Shepherd. But how all the Members of a Diocesan Church should ordinarily be with and follow a Bishop, whom perhaps they never saw, and rarely can have any personal Acquaintance or converse with, is a Riddle we must desire Mr. Dr--- to unfold.

That a particular Church may be fitly described [as Par. x.] by such Marks of its Individuation, as one Altar or Communion-Table, and one Pastor with his Assistant-Presbyters and Deacons, is very easy to conceive. But to how miserable Shifts are those reduced, that are forced to understand this one Altar, either of all the Communion-Tables in a Diocese, because the same Institution is celebrated at every one of them, or of one Cathedral Communion-Table, that has several Parish Communion-Tables subordinate to it? For if the Bishop be understood of one individual Person, why should not the one Altar be understood of one individual Communion-Table? And where shall we find in Ignatius the least Intimation of any such Distinction between the Cathedral and the Parish-Altars, or the least Intimation, that there were several Communion-Tables within the District of one Bishop? If there be not the least Syllable to this Purpose in Ignatius, but on the contrary, such manifold Proofs, (as those I have already recited and shall farther mention,) That the whole Church under the Care of such Bishops as Ignatius mentions, did ordinarily meet together for all Acts of Worship and Government, we have then all possible Reason to understand his one Altar in the most obvious and proper Sense for one Communion-Table, at which all the Members of the Church or Congregation did (as Ignatius speaks) break one common Loaf in the Celebration of that Holy Institution.

Again, [at Par. aa.] When Ignatius advises the Church of Philadelphia, to choose a Deacon to go to the Church of Antioch, he plainly intimates, That when the Deacon should come there, he would have Occasion to rejoice with the whole Church of Antioch gathered together. There is no Difficulty at all in this, if we suppose that Church a single (tho' perhaps numerous) Congregation. But how all the Churches or Congregations of a Diocese should assemble together, is not easy to conceive; and on the other Hand, it is not very accountable, how all the Churches of a Diocese should meet together to choose a Deacon to send on that Embassy. And it will sound as odd to understand the Neighbouring Churches, at the End of that Section, of neighbouring Diocesan Churches.

Again, [Par. bb.] When Ignatius exhorts the Church of Smyrna to follow their Bishop and Presbyters, and reverence their Deacons, and to do nothing without their Bishop. When he allows no Eucharist to be valid, but what is celebrated in the Bishop's Presence, or with his Allowance. When he requires the whole Multitude (or Church) to attend where the Bishop is present or personally appears.) When he forbids their celebrating Baptism or a Love-Feast without the Bishop; 'tis manifest that he supposes the Bishop ordinarily present with the whole Church, whenever the Sacraments were administered; and that his particular and express Allowance was requisite, whenever they were administered in his Occasional Absence, or administered by a Presbyter in his Presence. He supposes the whole Church or Assembly ordinarily capable of communicating together with the Bishop and oblig'd to attend his Ministrations. But if we suppose this Church to consist of many Congregations that had ordinarily their distinct Communions, that were incapable thro' their Numbers to meet together, and that could

never personally assemble together, with their Bishop, we must suppose him to speak downright Contradictions, and to require utter Impossibilities, and to talk below the rate of common Sense.

So [Par. cc] when he tells us, That he who does any Thing without the Bishop's Privy does the Devil a Service, we may easily comprehend the Meaning of it, if we understand it of the Pastor of the Congregation. But it appears downright ridiculous, if we apply it to the Bishop of a Diocese, who must have a very hard Task imposed upon him, as well as the People on them, if they must consult, and be advise them in all their important Affairs, even those relating to their Souls, or to their several Congregations themselves.

The Salutations [at Par. dd and ee] are very natural and reasonable, if we suppose the Bishops and Presbyters and Deacons ordinarily present together, and the Families such as belonged to the same Congregation; but look very odd when applied to a Diocese, where the Bishop, and Presbyters and Deacons seldom ever meet together.

[Par. ff.] We may easily understand, how the Bishop of Smyrna might be the common Guardian of all the Widows of a particular Congregation. He may easily take care to assemble his Congregation often together, he may enquire for the Absent by Name, even not overlooking the Men-Servants and Maids. (Tho even this would be a laborious Task to be performed for a numerous Congregation, and will require the Help of his Deacons.) But for the Bishop to be the common Guardians of all the Widows of a Diocese; for him to assemble together all the Congregations of a Diocese; for him to enquire for the Absent by Name, even the Men-Servants and Maids, are such utter Impossibilities, that Ignatius's Charge to Polycarp on this Supposition appears downright ridiculous.

And as ridiculous will Ignatius's Charge [Par. gg] to the Members of the Church of Smyrna against marrying without the Bishop's Advice (or Counsel) appear, if we suppose it a Diocesan Church consisting of many Congregations. For I presume none will suppose the present Custom of obtaining Licences from the Bishop's Court to have then obtained. But his Charge will appear very intelligible and practicable, if we consider the Bishop as Pastor of a single Congregation.

So [Par. ii and kk] what occurs therein, looks very natural and reasonable as applied to particular Congregations, but as unaccountable and strange if applied to Diocesan Churches.

To sum up the Whole, when there is not the least mention in all these Epistles of more Congregations than one under the Bishop's Care, when there are so many Charges and Advices delivered, as suppose the Bishop's whole Church did ordinarily meet together, and had but one Communion-Table; when those Charges and Advices seem at first View so absurd and ridiculous, when applied to a Diocesan Church, consisting of several Congregations with their distinct Communion-Tables, when there must be such a perpetual Force and Violence offered to his Expressions, if applied to a Diocesan Bishop, and they carry so plain, so easy, so natural and unstrained a Sense, when applied to the Pastor of a single Congregation with his Assistant-Presbyters, (like the Curates of a Parish-Rector,) I shall utterly despair of understanding Ignatius's Meaning, or of reconciling it with good Sense, without understanding him to speak of a Congregational Bishop.

II. We must next enquire, What Difference Ignatius supposes between this Bishop and his Presbyters.

That Ignatius supposes the Bishop to be distinguished from them, and to have some Superiority in managing the Affairs of the Church or Congregation, and supposes the Presbyters oblig'd to pay him some Deference and Subjection, I will readily allow him. But the Question is, What kind of Superiority his Bishop had, and whether it implies any Distinction of Office between them; or indeed any greater than is between the Rector of a Parish and his Curates?

Mr. D---ry, when he states the Distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter, supposes the Powers of Confirmation, Excommunication, and Ordination, to be appropriated to a Bishop, and denies them to belong to a Presbyter. Now I must desire him to review these Epistles of Ignatius, and shew us the least Evidence, that he supposes those Powers to be appropriated to the Bishop, and excludes the Presbyters from all Exercise of them. On the contrary, the whole Strain of the Epistles shews, That all the Affairs of the Bishop's Charge, were managed with the common Authority and Consent both of the Bishop, and Presbyter and Deacons. And particularly in the Case of Polycarp, he supposes him oblig'd to call the Presbyters together in so minute an Affair, as the choosing a Messenger to send to the Church of Antioch.

If it be said, That he allows not the Presbyters to do any Thing in the Church without the Bishop's Advice and Consent, not to Baptize or celebrate the Lord's-Supper, or a Love-Feast; 'tis true: But I would gladly know what greater Superiority he ascribes to him herein, than what the Rector of a Parish has over his Assistant Curates. For the Rector being chiefly intrusted with the Care of the Congregation, does doubtless expect that his Curates pay that Deference and Subjection to him, as to do nothing of Importance relating to the Affairs of the Congregation without him, i. e. without his Order or Allowance. The Curates never administer the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, but in his Presence or with his Allowance; not that of Baptism. They never celebrate any other Part of Publick Worship but according to his Appointment. So Mr. D---ry and Mr. I---n are with respect to Dr. T---rs (whose Curates they are) in as much Subjection as Ignatius's Presbyters were to his Bishop, (as much as Apollonius and Bassus, for Instance, were to Bishop Damas). Nay, in some Respects the Curates are more dependent on the Rector of the Parish, who can at his Pleasure dismiss them from the Exercise of their Office in his Parish-Church, which is more than I can find that Ignatius's Bishop was impowered to do. And I do not find, that the Rector of the Parish is under such strict Obligations to consult with his Curates, and with the Overseers of the Poor in all the Affairs of his Parish-Church, as Ignatius's Bishop was to consult with the Presbyters and Deacons. And yet I presume, that notwithstanding all this Superiority, Mr. D---ry and Mr. J---n think themselves to be of the same Office and Order with Dr. Travers whose Curates they are, and do not imagine that his Superiority in managing the Affairs of the Congregation, does infer any intrinsic Spiritual Power beyond what they are vested with; but only that the Care of the Parish-Church is principally committed to him; and 'tis their Work to give him their Assistance therein as he shall appoint and direct: So that we may easily account for all the Pre-eminence or Superiority that Ignatius ascribes to his Bishop above the Presbyters, without supposing any Distinction of Office or Order between them; or ascribing

any Spiritual Powers to his Bishop, that his Presbyters were never vested in.

Before I proceed to draw such Inferences from hence as may clear the Matter in Dispute, I shall consider what Mr. D---ry objects against our making Ignatius's Bishop, only such a Parish-Rector with the Presbyters as his Assistant-Curates,

He tells us, "This is the greatest Paradox in Nature, and that they who can thus implicitly believe against Matter of Fact, and express Words, are very well qualified to believe the absurdest Doctrines of Popish Jesuits and Priests."

Ans. What this Gentleman calls the greatest Paradox in Nature, will I presume on the Review of what I have offered, appear to all unbiass'd Readers plain Matter of Fact grounded on the express Words of Ignatius, without any manner of Violence offered to them. Whereas those that suppose Ignatius to speak of a Diocesan Bishop, having many Congregations with their distinct Rectors and distinct Communion-Tables, under him, must (as I have shewn) put such a perpetual Force on that Father's Expressions, and must suppose him to require so many impossible Things, and talk at so absurd a Rate, that, to return Mr. D---ry his civil Complement, Those that can believe this, are well qualified to believe the absurdest Doctrines of Popery, Transubstantiation itself not excepted. For that modern Bishop's Body and Soul too must exist in some Scores or Hundreds of Places at once, that can as frequently meet with his whole Diocesi, and as often by Name enquire for every Absentee, pray with them, and administer the Sacrament to them together, as Ignatius supposes the Primitive Bishop obliged to do.

Mr. Drury argues from this Father's likening the Bishop to God and Christ, and distinguishing him from the Presbyters.

Ans. For Ignatius's distinguishing the Bishop from the Presbyters, it has been already accounted for. But I would desire Mr. D---ry not to lay any great Stress on his likening the Bishop to God and Christ; for if he call the Bishop the Grace (or Gift) of God, he calls the Presbytery, the Law of Christ. [Par. g.] Nay, he compares the Church as distinguished from their Bishop and Presbyters to God himself, and makes Christ's Subjection to the Father, a Pattern of their Subjection to them. [Par. l.] He calls the Presbyters themselves the Council of God. [Par. o.] And thus Polycarp in his Epistle to the Church at Philippi exhorts them to be subject to the Presbyters and Deacons, as to God and Christ. Where he puts the Presbyters in the Place of God, and the Deacons in the Place of Christ. And to speak the Truth, tho' I think as highly as any can do of the Piety and Zeal of Ignatius, yet I am far from thinking him accurate or cautious in his Expressions. For unless we give him some considerable Grains of Allowance for what a late Author terms his turgid Asiatick Style, it will be hard to excuse many of his Expressions from great Absurdity and Blasphemy itself. For let Mr. D---ry apply all Ignatius's Expressions either to every Rector of a Parish-Church or every Bishop of a Diocesi through the Christian World; and if every such Parish or Diocesan Church must pay the like blind Subjection to their Rector, or their Diocesan Bishop, as Ignatius's unguarded Expressions require, they must in a great part of the Christian Church comply with many idolatrous and superstitious Practices, that have crept into their publick Worship, and are kept up there by the Authority of the Diocesans and Parish-Priests for the Advancement of their Secular Interest. Now should such Diocesans or Parish-Rectors urge upon all under their Government, such a Charge as that of Ignatius, "That they must not resist their Bishop, that they may

“ be subject to God; that they ought to respect
 “ the Bishop even as the Lord himself; that
 “ they must do nothing without the Bishop,
 “ even though it seems reasonable to them-
 “ selves; that they must be subject to their
 “ Bishop as the Command of God; That
 “ all who belong to God and Christ are with
 “ the Bishop, and none that separate from
 “ him shall inherit the Kingdom of God; That
 “ they must follow the Bishop as Christ the Fa-
 “ ther; that what the Bishop approves is well-
 “ pleasing to God; and that Ignatius offers to
 “ pawn his Soul for those that are subject to their
 “ Bishop, &c.” I say, should all Diocesan Bishops
 or Parish-Rectors, urge all these and the like Ad-
 vices of Ignatius on all in their Parishes or Dio-
 ceses, What wild Work would this make? Alas!
 how would perhaps the greatest Part of the Peo-
 ple in the Christian World, find some of the
 Commands of their Bishops or Parish-Rectors incon-
 sistent with the Commands of God, and that they
 cannot obey such Bishops without disobeying Him!
 So that we must think all the Laity through the
 Christian World obliged to implicate Faith, and
 blind Obedience, or own that Ignatius's Expres-
 sions are often very unwary, and such as require
 a very large Allowance to render them consis-
 tent with Truth. For he seems to take it for
 granted, that all Bishops were not only Orthodox
 in the Faith, but just in all their Injunctions, and re-
 gular in all their Administrations, never once impos-
 ing on their People humane Traditions for divine
 Precepts: And therefore puts in no Caveat, no
 Reservation for such Cases, wherein such Bishops
 themselves swerve in their Doctrine, or Injunctions
 from the Instructions of their great Lord and Master.
 We must not therefore stretch every such Ex-
 pression in Ignatius, beyond what may be rea-
 sonably supposed his true Intent and Meaning.
 I shall conclude my Answer to this Argument,
 with that remarkable Passage in Dr. Stillingfleet's
Irenicum, where taking Notice of that Passage of
 Ignatius in his Epistle to the Church of Magnesia,
 wherein he commends Sotion for being subject to
 the Bishop as the Grace of God, and the Presbytery as
 the Law of Christ; he saith, *Irenic. pag. 308, &c.*
 “ It might be no improbable Conjecture to
 “ guess from hence, at Ignatius's Opinion con-
 “ cerning the Original both of Episcopacy
 “ and Presbytery. The former he looks on as
 “ an excellent Gift of God to the Church; so a
 “ Learned Doctor paraphraseth *Gratie Dei, i. e.*
 “ *Dono a Deo Ecclesie indulto.* So Cyprian often
 “ (*Divina Dignatione*) speaking of Bishops, *i. e.*
 “ that they looked on it as an Act of God's
 “ special Favour to the Church, to find out that
 “ Means for Unity in the Church, to pitch up-
 “ on one among the Presbyters who should have
 “ the chief Rule in every particular Church;
 “ but then for Presbytery, he looks on that as
 “ *Nóμος Ιησού Χριστού, an Institution and Law of Jesus*
 “ *Christ*, which must on that Account always con-
 “ tinue in the Church. And so Sotion did com-
 “ mendably in submitting to the Bishop, as a Fa-
 “ vour of God to the Church for preventing
 “ Schisms; on which Account it is, and not upon
 “ the Account of divine Institution, that Ignatius
 “ is so earnest in requiring Obedience to the
 “ Bishop, because, as Cyprian saith, *Ecclesia est plebs*
 “ *Episcopo coadunata, & grex Pastori adhaerens*; and
 “ the Bishops then being Orthodox, he lays such a
 “ Charge upon the People to adhere to them,
 “ (for it is to the People, and not to the Pres-
 “ byters he speaks most;) which was as much as to
 “ bid them hold to the Unity of the Faith, and
 “ avoid those pernicious Heresies which were
 “ then abroad; and so Ignatius and Jerome may
 “ easily be reconciled to one another; both own-
 “ ing the Council of Presbyters as of divine Institution,

“ and both requiring Obedience to Bishops as a
 “ singular Privilege granted to the Church for pre-
 “ venting Schisms, and preserving Unity in the
 “ Faith. And in all those Thirty-five Testimo-
 “ nies produced out of Ignatius's Epistles for Epis-
 “ copacy, I can meet with but one, which is brought
 “ to prove the least Semblance of an Institution
 “ of Christ for Episcopacy, and if I be not much de-
 “ ceived, the Sense of that Place is clearly mis-
 “ taken too. The Place is *Ep. ad Ephesios*: He is
 “ exhorting the Ephesians *συντρέχειν τῷ γνῶμην τοῦ θεοῦ*
 “ which I suppose may be rendred, to fulfil the
 “ Will of God, so *ποιῖναι τὴν γνῶμην*, signifies Apo-
 “ calyps, xvii. 17. and adds, *καὶ ὁ ἰησοῦς χριστὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ*
 “ *ἀντίστοιχον ἡμῶν ζῆν, τὸ πάρος ἡ γνῶμην, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐπισκοποὶ κατὰ*
 “ *τὰ πνεύματα ὁραδέντες ἐν ἰησοῦ γνῶμην ἔσται ὁ δὲ θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς*
 “ *συντρέχειν τῷ θεῷ ὁμοκλίτη γνῶμην, ὅπως καὶ ποιῇτε.* He begins
 “ to exhort them to concur with the Will of God; and
 “ concludes his Exhortation, to concur with the Will
 “ or Counsel of the Bishop and in the Middle, he
 “ shews the Ground of the Connexion of
 “ these two together; for Christ (saith he) who is
 “ our inseparable Life, is the Counsel of the Father;
 “ and the Bishops who are scattered abroad to the Ends
 “ of the Earth, are the Counsel of Jesus Christ, *i. e.*
 “ do concur with the Will of Christ, therefore
 “ follow the Counsel of your Bishop, which also
 “ you do. Every Thing is plain and obvious in the
 “ Sense, and very coherent to the Expressions
 “ both before and after: Only the *ἐν* must be
 “ left out as plainly redundant, and *ὁραδέντες* must
 “ not be rendered *determinati*, but rather *differ-*
 “ *minati*, because it refers to a Place here, and
 “ so it notes their being dispersed into several
 “ Places, and separated from one another; there-
 “ by implying the Unity of their Faith, and the
 “ *coagulum fidei*, notwithstanding their Distance
 “ from one another as to Place in the World;
 “ which in Cyprian's Words is, *Ecclesia universa per*
 “ *totum mundum unitatis vinculo copulata.* And cer-
 “ tainly a stronger Argument than this could
 “ not have been given for the Ephesians cheerful
 “ Obedience to their Bishop, (which is the Thing
 “ he aims at) than the universal Consent of all
 “ the Bishops in the Christian World in the Unity
 “ of the Faith of Christ; so that as Christ is the
 “ Will and Counsel of the Father, because of
 “ that Harmony and Consent which is between
 “ their Wills; so the Bishops are the Will and
 “ Counsel of Christ, as cheerfully uniting in the
 “ Profession of his Faith. So that we see Igna-
 “ tius himself cannot give a doubting Mind Satis-
 “ faction of the divine Institution of Bishops, when
 “ in the only Place brought to that Purpose,
 “ his Sense is quite different from what it is
 “ brought for.”

Only here I must add, 'Tis only Congregational
 Episcopacy that Ignatius speaks of. And should that
 be allowed to have any divine Institution in the
 Judgment of Ignatius, it would not prove but over-
 turn any Pretension of a divine Right for Diocesan
 Episcopacy. For Ignatius is far from supposing, that
 his Congregational Bishops throughout a whole Pro-
 vince, are by divine Right subjected to a Diocesan
 one.

But Mr. D---ry in Opposition to Mr. B---'s
 Plea, That the Extent of a Church in Ignatius's Days,
 reach'd not beyond Personal Communion, so that every
 Church was no more than a single Parish or Congrega-
 tion, in which all the Members of the Church might
 meet together, saith, “ I must observe to this Gen-
 “ tleman, That the State of the Church, as Ig-
 “ natius describes it in all his Epistles, is, a Bi-
 “ shop, a Company or College of Presbyters, and ano-
 “ ther of Deacons; so that to say, That the Church
 “ was no more than a single Congregation, is to
 “ suppose the Apostles to have provided a super-
 “ fluous Company of Officers for so small a Num-
 “ ber of Believers, when one would have done

“ as well. And when Mr. B--- desires a Bishop according to Ignatius's Model in every Parish, his Request is as unreasonable, as if he should petition, That every single Congregation should have a Bishop, a Company of Presbyters, and another of Deacons to support and maintain. For this must have been the State of the Church in the Martyr's Time, if the Word, Church, according to Mr. B---, extended no farther than to a particular Congregation.”

Ans. I think it is a weak Way of Reasoning to argue against plain Matter of Fact, from pretended Inconveniencies, and yet I take this to be the Case here. I grant every Church or Congregation in Ignatius's Time, had usually a Bishop or Pastor, and some Presbyters as his Assistants, and one or usually more Deacons to serve Tables. But, saith Mr. Drury, “ This supposes the Apostles to have provided for every Congregation a superfluous Number of Officers, when one would have served as well.” The Question then will be, Whether the Apostles did ordinarily provide more than one under the Character of Bishop or Presbyter for every Congregation they planted? And I think the Matter of Fact here can hardly admit of any reasonable Dispute. For we read of the constituting or ordaining Elders [κατ' ἐκκλησίας] in every Church. And Titus in Crete, is required to ordain Elders (who are call'd also Bishops,) in every City or Town [κατὰ πόλιν.] And accordingly we find both Bishops and Presbyters in the Church of Philippi. And so we find Presbyter-Bishops in the Church of Ephesus. And when the sick Person in St. James is exhorted to send for the Presbyters of the Church, Jam. v. 14. we cannot reasonably suppose that he means the Presbyters of several Neighbouring Churches that made up the Diocesan Church, but those of the particular Church or Congregation which the sick Person is a Member of. And where they constituted Elders or Bishops in a Church, they appointed Deacons too, that while the former gave themselves to the Word and Prayer, the latter might perform the lower Work of serving Tables, Acts vi. 1, 2, 3. And yet the Apostles did by no means think such a Number of Officers in every Congregation any way superfluous, especially in that Age when they had so many Infidels round about them to endeavour the Conversion of. And there was the like Necessity of many such Officers in every Congregation in Ignatius's Time, so that Mr. Drury's Objection carries a tacit Reflexion on the Wisdom of the Apostles, and charges what was their undoubted Practice with Absurdity and Folly.

And for the other Difficulty he starts, viz. “ How a Bishop, a Company of Presbyters, and another of Deacons, should be maintained by every Congregation?” He might think it a very insuperable one indeed, if every Bishop was to have the Revenue of a modern Diocese assigned him, or every Presbyter as much as our Parish-Rectors generally enjoy, &c. But if it appear in Fact, That the Plurality of such Officers in every Church or Congregation, had as much Maintenance and Support from the voluntary Offerings made by the People as they needed, and did satisfy and content them; then I hope this Objection will not only appear to have no Force in it, but even this Matter of Fact will appear to be a considerable Evidence, that the Extent of a Bishop's Church in Ignatius's Time reach'd not beyond Personal Communion, and that the Members of it did ordinarily assemble together for all the Parts of Publick Worship.

To clear this Difficulty by truly stating the Matter of Fact,

1. It must be observed, That many then officiated in the Church, who neither needed nor received Maintenance at all from it.

Thus by the 40th Apostolical Canon, Though the Goods and Money belonging to the Church were chiefly entrusted to the Bishop, yet he was not to apply any of them to his own Use, except he stood in need of them and could not otherwise subsist. We may see the same Order given by the 25th Canon of the Council of Antioch. And therefore Chrysostom tells us, That in Elections, those often carried it who had Estates of their own, because the Church would not then need to be at the Charge of maintaining them, *De Sacerd. Serm. III. Tom. VI. p. 23.* And St. Ambrose will allow none of the Clergy a Stipend, that had other Revenues of their own, *Off. Lib. I. cap. 36.*

2. It may be farther observed, That Clergymen were then allowed any honest Way of getting their Livelihood, that might render them less chargeable to the Church they belonged to.

Even Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons were allowed to traffick for their Livelihood, by the 18th Canon of the Council of Elvira, and were only confined to traffick within their own Province. And the 4th Council of Carthage ordered, That the Clergy, though Learned in the Word of God, should get their Living by a Trade. See *Can. 23.* And by the next Canon, they are allowed to get it either by a Trade or by Husbandry, with a proviso, that it be not a Prejudice to their Office, (i. e. such a Trade that would take up most of their Time.) And the Clergy were no otherwise restrained herein by the 15th Canon of the 3d Council of Carthage, than that they should forbear such Trades as were sordid or dishonest.

3. Great Frugality and Parsimony in their Expences were then enjoined.

Thus the fourth Council of Carthage enjoins, That the Bishop should have a small House (*Hospitalium*) not far from the Church, That he should have cheap Furniture and a homely Table and Food.

Now where some of the Clergy were thus subsisted either out of their own Estates, or by their own Industry, and where so much Parsimony was requir'd in all of them, even in the Bishops themselves, who were not allow'd to bestow any of the Churches Goods on their own Domesticks or nearest Relations, and who were not to dispose of them without the Consent of their Presbyters and Deacons; there the Profits or Revenues of an ordinary Parish Church, would be sufficient for furnishing the Rector, and Curates, and Overseers of the Poor, &c. with all the Maintenance they then thought needful.

4. It actually appears, That particular Congregations had then such a Number of Officers.

We may to this Purpose observe, That Collections were made (pursuant to the Apostles Orders to the Churches of Galatia, and doubtless to all others) on every Lord's Day, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. These Collections were at first to be receiv'd and dispos'd of by the Deacons of the Congregation. For to them the Apostles referred the Disposal of such charitable Contributions, while they gave themselves to the Word and Prayer, Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. And they doubtless designed, that all succeeding Pastors should do so too. These voluntary Contributions were at first such First-fruits, Tithes, or other Offerings, as were brought by the Faithful on every Lord's Days, and at first laid on the Altar or Communion-Table. And these were employed for what Maintenance was needful for such as officiated in the Congregation, as the Pastor and his Assistant Presbyters, &c. for the Support of the Fabrick of the Church, for the Relief of the Poor. The Bishop or Pastor and his Assistant Presbyters then usually liv'd in common, dwelt often in the same House, and were maintain'd out of the same Offerings at the Communion-Table. See to this

this Purpose Father Paul Sarpi's *Treatise of Church Benefices*, Art. I, II, III. And *Tolet. de Sacerdot. Lib. 5. c. 4. n. 15. p. 722.* "In the Primitive Church (saith he) till the Times of Austin and Jerome, the Bishop and Clergy were wont to live in common, whence the Goods that were offered either of Tythes or other Gifts of the Devotion of the Faithful were undivided, and subjected to the Distribution of the Bishop. [In this Particular, they soon swerv'd from the Apostles Order of referring that Matter wholly to the Deacons.] And they were bestow'd partly on the Bishop, partly on the Clergy, partly on the Fabrick of the Church, and partly on the Poor. And that these were the Contributions of each particular Church or Congregation, is evident from that noted Testimony of Justin Martyr, "On the Lord's-Day, (saith he) those out of the City (or Town) and the Country assemble together, where the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles are read, as much as is needful. The Reader ceasing, the *Præpositus*, (the Bishop or Pastor) makes an Exhortation, — Then all rise and offer their Prayers. Which being ended, there is brought forth Bread, Wine, and Water. Then the *Præpositus* (the Bishop or Pastor) according to his Ability offers Prayers and Thanksgivings, and the People say, Amen. Then the consecrated Elements are distributed to every one, and sent to those that are absent by the Deacons. The Rich make voluntary Contributions. The Collection is put into the Hand of the *Præpositus* (the Bishop or Pastor.) He relieves the Orphans, Widows, the Sick and Indigent, Prisoners and Strangers, and in short, takes Care of all the Poor." And all Antiquaries agree, that the Bishop and Presbyters were themselves maintained out of the same common Stock, the Poor being allowed in some Churches a Third, in others a Fourth Part of it. To the like Purpose we may observe from the Apostolical Constitutions, that all the Revenues of the Church, whether First-Fruits, Tythes or other voluntary Oblations were brought to the Bishop. And the Reason given is, "For he well knows all that are in Affliction or Want, and gives to every one what is convenient. Left some should in the same Day or the same Week receive twice or oftener, and others nothing at all." And we may easily judge, how large the Bishop's Church was, when he was so particularly acquainted with all the Poor that belonged to it. See *Const. Apost. L. II. cap. 27.* Nay, in their Love-Fests, the Bishop was to have his Part if present, or if absent, it was to be sent Home to him. And how that should be practicable in a modern Diocese, let Mr. Drury judge.

And I may here add, That 'tis observable, that as Congregations were more or less numerous and rich, so they had usually a greater Number of Officers. Thus the Church of Magnesia in Ignatius, that was probably a much smaller one than that of Ephesus, Philadelphia, &c. had but two Presbyters and one Deacon: Whereas the others seem to have had more. But the Charity of both of them was so great, as not only to give their own Officers as much Maintenance as satisfied them, but many Richer Congregations contributed to the Relief and Support of such as were Poorer. So that what Mr. Drury vainly imagines to be an insuperable Difficulty, was none at all in those early Ages of Christianity, in which as the Charity of the Faithful was far greater, so the Clergy was contented with a very moderate Allowance, suited to their humble and temperate Way of Living, before Ambition, and Avarice and Luxury had corrupted them. And though in the present State

of the Christian Church, this may at first View appear a greater Difficulty; yet were there a more equal Distribution made of the Goods of the Church, and the Simplicity and Parsimony of the Primitive Age revived, perhaps much of this Difficulty would vanish; and every Parish might be furnished with its Bishop, and Assistants, and Deacons, as well as the Primitive Churches were. But the seeming Difficulty itself can be no material Objection against plain Matter of Fact. Besides, there may not be the same Necessity now for so many Officers in each Congregation, as there was in the first Ages, when so many Infidels round about them were to be converted; and when every Church was to be a kind of Seminary, to train up such as might either succeed in the Place of its deceased Pastors, or might take care of other Churches, when the Increase of Converts might give the happy Occasion of erecting them. For the Christians had not then (as they have now) publick Seminaries of Learning to train up Persons for the Ministry. But still even now, where Churches are numerous and able, 'tis highly expedient they should have more Pastors and Teachers than one, to take the more effectual Care of them, in order to their greater Edification, and Deacons to take care of the Poor. And this was the general Practice of the Reformed Churches of France.

I proceed,

III. To consider, What genuine Inferences may be drawn from the Testimony of Ignatius towards clearing the Matter in Debate.

I. Mr. Drury may hence see, That we are so far from opposing such a Bishop as Ignatius intends, that every Dissenting Congregation has such a Bishop fixed in it. Every such Congregation has a Pastor that performs all the Offices with respect to his Congregation, that Ignatius's Bishop is required by him to perform towards his, and is as much vested with the Powers of Excommunication and Ordination as the Ignatian Bishop was. Every such Pastor has his Altar or Communion-Table, where all the Members of his Church meet to partake of the same Eucharist. Every such Pastor ordinarily prays with, instructs his Flock, and is their Guide in all the Parts of Publick Worship. In a Word, Let Mr. Drury produce any one Act of Pastoral Authority respecting his Flock, that is prescribed to the Bishops of Ephesus, Magnesia, &c. by Ignatius, that our Pastors do not perform to their Congregations.

If Mr. Drury alledge, That the Pastors of Dissenting Congregations have not such Subject-Presbyters as Ignatius mentions, 'tis easily answered, that 'tis not necessary to such a Primitive Bishop that he have Presbyters under him, as Mr. Drury himself owns, *Vindic. p. 41.* and as several Examples from Primitive Antiquity demonstrate; no more than 'tis necessary for every Rector of a Parish to have Curates under him. His wanting or not wanting such Assistants depends much on his own Abilities, and the Numbers of his Flock or Charge. And I may add, That where the Dissenting Congregations are numerous, the Pastor has usually a Colleague or Coadjutor (one or more.) If it be again said, that such Colleagues are not of a different Order or Office from the Pastor; 'tis replied, that neither were Ignatius's Presbyters of a different Order from their Bishop. If it be farther said, that Ignatius's Bishop had some Superiority over his Presbyters; 'tis again replied, that where there is a considerable Difference in Point of Age or Abilities, there is the like Defeference due from a less Learned or Junior Assistant to his more Learned or Elder Colleague, on whom the chief

chief Care of the Congregation is devolved. Nay, should we suppose the *Presbyters* in *Ignatius's* Time to be an Order inferior to the *Bishop*, (which I am confident no Man will be able to prove from the *Epistles* of *Ignatius*;) yet this would only prove, that we reject this Order of *Ignatius's* inferior *Presbyters*, but by no means that we reject his Order of *Bishops*. And indeed we can see no Warrant for any such inferior Order of *Presbyters* from the *New Testament*. All the *Presbyters* of *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, and the *Towns* in *Croes* being *Bishops*. And so were all those *Pastors*, that *Clement* tells us the *Apostles* constituted in *Cities* and *Countries* out of the *First-Fruits* of their *Converts*, truly *Bishops*. And such *Bishops* were those *Presbyters* of *Corinth*, whom *Clement* blames the factious Part of that Church for turning out of their *Episcopal* Office. So that were *Ignatius's* *Presbyters* of a distinct Order, we may be charged indeed with casting out this new Order of *Presbyterate*, that is suppos'd to be destitute of the Power of proper *Pastors*; but we retain the true *Ignatian* Episcopacy, and allow none but *Bishops* to have any Share of the *Pastoral* Charge of a Congregation. But on the other Hand, if *Ignatius's* *Presbyters* were of the same Office with his *Bishops*, and the *Bishops* only claimed such a Superiority over them as the *Parish* Rector has over his *Curates*; all Arguments Mr. Dr-- can draw from thence for a distinct Order (to which distinct and peculiar Powers belong) are overturn'd. Nay, if the *Pastor* of every particular Congregation be the *Ignatian* Bishop, then since all the *Dissenting* Teachers are ordained by several such *Pastors*, they are ordained by *Ignatian* Bishops; and therefore to censure their Ordinations as invalid, is to null all the Ordinations of that Age, and consequently entirely to destroy the pretended Line of Succession. Nay, our Ordinations are according to the Language and Practice of those *Primitive* Times truly *Episcopal* ones, in which none concur but proper *Bishops*, not only in the Language of the *Apostle Paul* and *Clement*, but of *Ignatius* himself. Nothing therefore can be more unreasonable and absurd, than to declare those Ordinations null for want of the Concurrence of a *Bishop* in them, which are commonly performed by *Six*, nay, often *Ten* or *Twelve* such *Primitive* Bishops, whereas the Concurrence of *Three* such Bishops was reckoned sufficient to a *Canonical* Ordination in the *Primitive* Times.

2. We may hence infer, That if *Ignatius's* Bishop was of *Divine Institution*, and was by *Divine Right* vested in all those Powers that our Author appropriates to *Bishops*, then the present *Diocesan* Episcopacy cannot be of *Divine Right*; nay must be built on the Subversion of the Rights of the *Ignatian* Bishops.

If *Ignatius's* *Parish* Bishop was by *Divine Right* vested with the *Spiritual* Powers of *Confirmation*, *Excommunication* and *Ordination*, then a *Diocesan* Bishop that divests all the *Parish* Bishops, for a large District (perhaps some Scores or Hundreds of them) of those *Spiritual* Powers that God had vested them in, and monopolizes them all to himself, is so far from having any *Divine Right* according to the Judgment of *Ignatius* to plead for his Office, that his Office itself is erected on the Ruins of that *Episcopal* Power that *Ignatius* supposes his *Congregational* Bishops to be entrusted with by God; and such a *Diocesan* Episcopacy is not only (according to his Sentiments) a mere *Humane Constitution*, destitute of a *Divine Warrant*; but an unreasonable Invasion of the *Divine Rights* of many *Primitive* Bishops at once. So that the more the Patrons of the *Diocesan* Cause magnify and cry up the *Divine Institution* of the *Ignatian* Bishop, the more effectually they sap the Foundation of their own Cause; the present *Diocesan*

being entirely destructive of the *Ignatian* *Parochial* Episcopacy. To illustrate this Matter, let us suppose the several *Towns* Corporate in a large County, furnished by their Charter from the King with a Power relating both to *Civil* and *Criminal* Causes. Let us suppose that the Mayor of the County Town should engross all Power of punishing *Criminals*, not only for the County Town, but for all the *Towns* in the Province or Shire, to his own Court, and should deprive the Mayors of all other *Towns-Corporate* in the Province of that Power in *Criminal* Causes the Charter has vested them with. Will any wise Man from thence conclude, that the Mayor of the County-Town has made no Essential Alteration in the Government of the Province? Or will he not think his monopolizing this Power of punishing *Criminals*, to be an unwarrantable Invasion of the Power of the other Mayors of Corporations in the Province? and consequently his new assumed Power to be inconsistent with theirs? The Parallel is so obvious between the *Parochial* and the *Diocesan* Bishop, as to need no Application.

3. We may hence infer, That if the Power of Ordination do belong by *Divine Right* only to such a Bishop as *Ignatius* intends, then a *Diocesan* Bishop as such, has no Power to ordain at all. He cannot be vested with it under any other Character, than that of a *Congregational* or *Parish* Bishop; for such a one *Ignatius's* Bishop was. And therefore the present *Episcopal* Ordinations are by no Means the *Episcopal* Ordinations of the *Ignatian* Age, being performed by a Sort of Bishop unknown in that Age, and whose Authority is inconsistent with that of the *Ignatian* Bishops; whereas the Ordinations called *Presbyterian*, are truly *Episcopal* ones in the Language of *Ignatius*, being performed by such *Parish-Pastors* as *Ignatius's* Bishop was; who have the same Charge, and the same Office and Power that his Bishops had. And consequently to argue from the mere Name of a Bishop, and his Distinction from, and Superiority to a *Presbyter* in *Ignatius's* Time, to make the present *Episcopal* Ordinations the same with those of the *Ignatian* Age, is to impose on the Reader with a meer Piece of Sophistry, which any one that considers how incompatible the *Ignatian* is with the present *Diocesan* Episcopacy, may at first View observe the palpable Absurdity of.

And now the Reader may see whether Mr. Dr-- had any Reason to tell him, "That it 'tis a great Satisfaction to every Member of the Churches of Ireland, to think, that they are governed by the same Order of Ecclesiastical Officers, as all the Church of Christ were, when *Ignatius* wrote his *Epistles*. He may as well tell us, That every Rector of a *Parish-Church* is now a *Diocesan* Bishop, and that the Assistant-Curates of every such *Parish-Rector*, are the Clergy of the Diocess. And if he will trust one *Ignatius* more than ten thousand *Baxters*, he will find that St. *Ignatius* and Mr. *Baxter* are both entirely of a Mind concerning the *Primitive* Bishop, and that Mr. *Baxter* with his two Assistant Ministers at *Kedermister*, was as truly the Bishop of that numerous Church, as ever *Damas* with his two *Presbyters*, *Bassus* and *Apollonius*, was Bishop of *Magnesia* in *Ignatius's* Days. And if he will reduce the Churches of Christ to the same Form of Government that obtained in *Ignatius's* Time we will never complain of him as a degenerate Christian, and a Favourer of the Kingdom of Antichrist. And if any of us should (as he speaks) abhor such *Ignatian* Bishops, and eject them as Devils, we will be content to pass as severe a Doom on him, as *Bishop Hall's* Expressions imply. But then I hope he will not excuse those that actually procured

cured the Ejection of near Two thousand such Ignatian Bishops at once, and that with all imaginable Marks of very unreasonable Hatred. Nay, I hope he will not excuse those that do still deprive all of them in every Diocess of several of the Powers they enjoyed and exercised in Ignatius's Days. Mr. Dr--- may therefore see, that we need no stronger Arguments against the Diocesan Constitution, than what this chief Witness produced for the Support of it does furnish us with.

I hope the Reader will excuse my insisting so long on this Testimony of Ignatius, because as all the mighty Pleas of the modern Defenders of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy drawn from Primitive Antiquity, are chiefly founded on it; so the clear stating of the Ignatian Episcopacy does entirely overturn them, and gives a considerable Light to all the other Testimonies that are drawn from the other Writers of the Three first Centuries.

Mr. Dr---'s next Witness is *Hermas* in those noted Words of his, * "They are Apostles and Bishops, and Doctors and Ministers, who through the Mercy of God have come into this Building of Christ, and have managed the Episcopal Office, and have taught and have ministered holily and modestly to the Elect of God, that are fallen asleep."

Concerning this Testimony Mr. Dr--- tells us, "This holy Man, by Doctors evidently understands Presbyters, as it is usual among ancient Writers: So that when *Blondel* argues for the Episcopacy of those Doctors, and brings this Passage of *Hermas* to countenance him, it only shews how confident some Men may be in the weakest Cause; for 'tis not only against all Grammar, but contrary to *Hermas* himself in another Place, to say, it was the Doctors who managed the Episcopal Office; for this pious Man tells us, these Doctors were such who preached and taught. Here then we have Bishops that governed, Doctors or Presbyters who taught, and Deacons who ministered."

Ans^r. That *Hermas* here by Doctors understands Presbyters, as they are supposed to be of a distinct Order or Office from Bishops, is so far from being evident, (as Mr. Dr--- pretends) that there is no Probability of it from any Thing that *Hermas* has said. For to make any Thing like an Argument of this Testimony, it must be shewn, that the Oversight or Inspection of a Church, was a distinct Office from that of Teaching it, and the Mark of a distinct and superior Officer in it. Otherwise there is no Force at all in Mr. Dr---'s Argument, that because *Hermas* elsewhere saith, That Doctors preached and taught; therefore he could not suppose them to discharge the Episcopal Office. But that the Oversight or Inspection of a Church was no distinct Office from Teaching, nor any Mark of a superior Officer, is evident from the whole Strain of Antiquity. If we look to the Apostolical Age, those Elders that laboured in Word and Doctrine, also ruled in the Church. The

Elders are required *ἐπισκοπεῖν* to oversee the Flock; nay, when those two Branches of their Power are compared, that of labouring in the Word and Doctrine is the more honourable than that of Ruling. If we look to *Clement*, we see that his Presbyters, who were the Teachers of the Church of Corinth, did also take the Episcopacy or Oversight of it. If we look downwards to Ignatius, to Justin Martyr's, to Tertullian's, to Cyprian's Age, we find that the *ἐπίσκοπος*, the President, the Bishop was the Ordinary Teacher; that the Presbyters after they were distinguished from the Bishop seldom Preached at all: But we find them constantly concerned in the Rule or Government of the Church; so that Government and Rule was no way the distinguishing Character of any superior Officer, but on the contrary, Teaching was the highest Branch of the true Episcopal or Pastoral Power. And therefore *Hermas* could not by Doctors understand any Office in the Church, inferior to that of Bishops and Rulers in it; and consequently, this Testimony of *Hermas* makes much more against, than for any such Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter; yet what would this signify to Mr. Dr---'s Purpose, if it imply no other Distinction than what obtained when the Epistles of Ignatius were wrote, which, as I have shewn, refers only to Parochial Episcopacy, and is inconsistent with Diocesan Episcopacy. And I may add, That if Mr. Dr--- supposes Doctors a distinct Office from Bishops, he must for the same Reason assert Bishops to be a distinct Office from Apostles, and that will destroy all his Pretensions of the Apostolical and Episcopal Office being the same.

For the Testimony of *Heraclas* which Mr. Dr--- cites from Dr. Beveridge, "That Bishops were by the Appointment of Christ constituted over all the Earth, it will be time enough to consider it, when he proves, That *Heraclas* speaks of Diocesan Bishops, and not of Presbyter Bishops or Parish Rectors. For if he intend the Latter, his Testimony is full against Mr. Dr---'s Cause; and he must mean the Latter, if he speaks according to the common Strain of either *Clement* or Ignatius, (as I have already shewn.)

Mr. Dr---'s next Witness being *Cyprian*, I shall before I consider his Testimony, take Notice of some eminent Writers that flourished before *Cyprian*'s Time, and give us such an Account of the Constitution of the Primitive Churches as is no way favourable to Mr. Dr---'s Cause.

I shall begin with *Justin Martyr* in that admirable and clear Account he has given of the Churches in his Time: "† Then (saith he) is Bread and Wine brought to the President of the Brethren — After the President has given Thanks, and the whole People has made their devout Acclamations, they that are called Deacons among us, give to every one a Part of the Bread, and of the Wine mixed with Water, over which Thanks had been given, and suffer it to be carried to the Absent. And again, || On Sunday, Those in the City and Coun- try

* *Ii sunt Apostoli, & Episcopi, & Doctores, & Ministri, qui ingressi sunt in clementia Dei, & Episcopatum gesserunt, & docuerunt, & ministraverunt sancte & modestè electis Dei qui dormierunt.* *Hermæ Pastor. Lib. 1. Vif. 3. Sect. 5. inter Clerici Patres Apostolicos, Vol. I.*

* *Ἐπειτα προσφέρει τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀγίου, καὶ ποτιζέον ὕδατος καὶ κρατῆρος. — Εὐχαριστήσαντες δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ πάντες τὸ λαὸν, οἱ καλέμηντοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόντες ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβῆναι τὸ εὐχαριστήσιον ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ παρῆσιν ἀποστέλλουσιν.* *Justin. Mart. Apolog. vulgo II. revera I. in Oper. Vol. Paris. 1615. p. 97.*

|| *Τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν λαογονίαν ἡμεῖς πάντων, καὶ πόλεως ἢ ἀγρῶς μέγιστον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπομνημονόμαστα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγραμμάτα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκουσιν.*

μέγιστον ἐξ ἡρώων. ἔτα παυσανδρὸς τὸ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ πρῶτος ἐσὼς διὰ λόγον τὴν νεοεσίαν καὶ προέκλινον τῆς τῶν καλῶν τέτων μιμήσεως ποιῶν. Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ παυσανδρὸν ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἀγίου προσφέρει καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ὁ πρῶτος εὐχαριστῶμεν καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπτει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ ἀκοῇ λέγων τὸ ἀμήν. καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετέλαβις τῶν τῶν εὐχαριστησάντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ παρῆσιν διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπειν. οἱ εὐπαρεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ παραίρουν ἐκαστὸν τὴν εὐαγέλιον, ὃ ἐλέει δίδωσι. καὶ τὸ συλληγόμενον αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἀποτίδωκε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅπου οὐκ ὀφείλουσιν τε καὶ χήρας, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν λεπτομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δεισμοῦ ἔσσι, καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πειθήμοις ἔσσι ἔσσι, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ χρείας ἔσσι κηδεμὼν γίνεσθαι. *Ibid. p. 98, 99.*

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 " the Apostles and Prophets are read as much
 " as the Time will allow. The Reader ceasing,
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 " this, we all rise and offer our Prayers. Which
 " being ended, Bread, Wine, and Water are
 " brought forth. Then the President according
 " to his Ability, offers Prayers and Thanksgiv-
 " ings, and the People say *Amen*. Then the
 " consecrated Elements are given to every one
 " present, and sent to the Absent by the Dea-
 " cons. The Rich contribute what they please.
 " The Collections are lodged with the President.
 " He relieves Orphans, Widows, the Sick and
 " Indigent, Prisoners and Strangers; and in
 " short, takes care of all the Poor.

I will freely grant what the Generality of the
 Patrons of *Diocesan Episcopacy* plead for, That the
Præpositus or President of the Brethren, was the Bi-
 shop as then distinguish'd from the *Presbyters*; it
 being with the Bishop that the Collections were
 usually deposited (as the *Apostolical Constitutions* in-
 form us.) But then 'tis as manifest, That this
 Bishop or President was but the Pastor of a Parish
 Church or single Congregation; it was he ordinarily
 preached and prayed and administer'd the Lord's Supper
 to his whole Church, and sent the consecrated
 Elements by the Deacons, to those Members that
 were absent from the Publick Worship.

And Dr. Maurice's Evasion, has no manner of
 Foundation in *Justin Martyr*, when he interprets
 this last Passage concerning the Bishop's sending
 the consecrated Elements from his Church, to
 several Assemblies in the same City. For we see
 that both those of the City or Town, and of
 the Country about it, came together to make up
 this Assembly or Congregation wherein the *Præ-*
positus or Bishop did preside. And nothing can
 be more weak and trifling than the Reason he
 offers to support so improbable a Conjecture,
 " That the Elements could not be conveniently
 " carried by the Deacons to the absent Mem-
 " bers, as they were dispersed in their several
 " Dwellings, and that in numerous Congrega-
 " tions, it was not easy to know who was not
 " present." For when each Congregation had
 several Deacons, and when few were wont to be
 absent from the Assembly, except in Case of Sick-
 ness or Necessity, where was the Difficulty of the
 Deacons carrying the consecrated Elements to a
 few such absent Members? Nor was there any
 greater Difficulty in the Deacons observing who
 were absent, when they had a List of their Mem-
 bers, or in the absent Members themselves send-
 ing to desire that these Symbols of Christian
 Communion might be brought to them, when they
 were by involuntary Necessity hinder'd from at-
 tending the Publick Worship. And 'tis manifest,
 That *Justin Martyr* speaks of absent Persons and not
 of absent Congregations, to whom the Deacons could
 not carry so much of the consecrated Elements
 as might suffice for them to receive; and I hope Dr.
 Maurice will not suppose them carried only for
 Shew and not for Use. For what the Doctor al-
 ledges concerning *Victor* and *Lucian* the Martyr,
 'tis no way Parallel to this Case, and therefore
 Mr. Mede's Observation is just, " That they had not

" many Places to celebrate in, (each Bishop having but
 one Communion Table for his Church.)

To the like Purpose *Tertullian* gives an Account
 of the Churches in his Time, (a) We meet toge-
 ther that we may join our Hands in Prayer to
 God. We are brought together to call the
 Divine Scriptures to our Remembrance. We
 beg Faith with holy Cries, we raise our Hope,
 fix our Confidence, we enforce our Discipline
 with the Inculcation of (the Divine) Pre-
 cepts. There are also Exhortations, Chastise-
 ments and divine Censure; for (the Offen-
 der) is judged with great Weight, as by those
 that are certain that they are in the Sight
 of God. And 'tis the highest Preludium of
 the future Judgment, if any one have so of-
 fended, as to be excluded from Communion
 in Prayer, and in the Assembly, and in all
 religious Commerce. Certain approved El-
 ders preside who have obtained their Office
 by Merit, and not by Bribes.

And again he tells us, (b) That they re-
 ceived the Sacrament of the Eucharist from
 the Hands of none but such as presided (in
 their Assemblies.)

And farther, he tells us, (c) That before they
 went to the Water to be baptized, they first
 in the Church under the Hand of the Presi-
 dent (or Ruler of the Church) professed their
 Renouncing the Devil, &c.

And farther, We learn from the same Author,
 that the Christians in his Time communicated
 thrice a Week, viz. Wednesdays and Fridays and
 Lord's-Days. *Similiter & Stationum diebus non pu-*
tant plerique sacrificiorum Orationibus interveniendum,
quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Er-
go devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resolvit, an
magis Deo obligat? Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si
& ad Aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini,
& reservato, utrumque salvum est, & participatio Sa-
cificii & Executio Officii. Tert. de Oratione. c. 14.
Oper. p. 135, 136.

Now from these Passages of *Tertullian* I may
 justly thus argue. Either there was in *Tertullian's*
 Time no Distinction between Bishops and Presby-
 ters, or there was. If there was not, this Point
 of Primitive Antiquity must be wholly given up;
 if there was, either *Tertullian* by these *Probati Se-*
niores, approved Elders, these Presidents and Antistes
 that had the *Præsidency* and chief Rule in their re-
 ligious Assemblies, intends Bishops or Presbyters,
 or both. If Presbyters only, then where shall we
 find any such Thing in *Tertullian* as a Bishop, as
 distinct from Presbyters at all? And if these were
 Presbyters, Mr. Dr--- must drop one of his distin-
 guishing Characters of Episcopal Power, viz. Excom-
 munication, since in passing that solemn Sentence
Tertullian tells us, these approved Elders did pre-
 side. Nay, if we suppose that *Tertullian* by Presi-
 dents includes both Bishops and Presbyters, it will
 still follow, that he makes the Power of inflict-
 ing Church-Censures common to both, and sup-
 poses both to be of the same Order or Office,
 though the Bishop might have the like Superiority as
 a Rector among his Curates. On the other Hand,
 if *Tertullian* mean Bishops as distinguished from Pres-
 byters, (as I shall freely own he does in several
 other

(a) Coimus ad Deum, quasi manu facta precationibus am-
 biamus. [Legit Beat. Rhenanus, Coimus in catum & congrega-
 tionem, ut ad Deum quasi, &c.] — Coimus ad literarum
 Divinarum commemorationem. — Certè fidem sanctis
 vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, discipli-
 nam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus.
 Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura divi-
 na. Nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos
 de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii præjudicium
 est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, &

conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegatur. President
 probati quoque Seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed te-
 stimonio adepti. Apologet. c. 39. Oper. Edit. Priorii fol.
 Par. 1664. p. 31.

(b) Eucharistia Sacramentum omnibus mandatum a Do-
 mino, — nec de aliorum manu quam præsentium sumi-
 mus. De Corona, c. 3. Oper. p. 162.

(c) Aquam adituri [nempe, ut baptizemur] ibidem, sed &
 aliquanto prius in Ecclesia sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos
 renunciare diabolo, &c. Ibid.

other Places, suppose there was some Distinction between them) then 'tis evident, they could be no more than Congregational-Bishops. For since he tells us, "They received the Holy Eucharist only from the Hands of these Presidents, and yet received it in every Church or Congregation thrice a Week." How is it possible for one Man to administer the Sacrament thrice a Week on the same Days to several Congregations? And this besides his Baptizing, and Censuring all scandalous Offenders, and Preaching. The Dispute then may be brought to a short Issue, we will allow Tertullian's Bishop as large a Church as he can conscientiously perform all this to; and then we may safely conclude him to be no more than a Congregational Bishop. And I have already told Mr. Dr—, we have such Bishops already; and 'tis ridiculous in him to reproach us for rejecting Primitive Episcopacy, or to alledge this Primitive Episcopacy, for the Defence of the Divine Right of that Diocesan Episcopacy that is destructive of it, and particularly deprives these Primitive Bishops of the Power of Excommunication that then belonged to them. And of such Congregational Bishops we must therefore understand that Passage which so many triumph in, who never consider the Disservice it does to their Cause.

Tertullian is challenging the Marcionites and other Hereticks; "Let them (saith he †) produce the Original of their Churches, let them turn over the Order (or Roll) of their Bishops, so running down in a continued Succession, that their first Bishop had some one of the Apostles, or of the Apostolick Men (who persevered with the Apostles) for his Author and Predecessor. Thus the Apostolical Churches have their Rolls, as the Church of Smyrna has Polycarp constituted there by John, and the Church of Rome Clemens ordained by Peter. And other Churches can tell, who were ordained Bishops over them by the Apostles, and who have been their Successors to this Day."

Before I enter upon the Consideration of this Passage, I would only present to the Reader that Parallel one out of Ignatius, where speaking of Hereticks, he saith, "We challenge them to that Tradition which is from the Apostles, which is preserved in the Churches by the Successions of the Presbyters." And how miserably Mr. Dr— has perverted this Passage, I shall have Occasion to shew afterwards.

In this Passage of Tertullian, we must consider what Bishops he means, Whether Congregational or properly Diocesan Bishops? That he understands only the former, will clearly appear not only from the Passages already mentioned, which plainly confine his Presidents to one particular Church or Congregation as their ordinary Charge, but from this Passage itself. Thus Polycarp is one of the Bishops he mentions as constituted by John at Smyrna: And that he was but the Pastor of a single Congregation, is manifest from the Charge of Ignatius to him, (as the Reader may see fully proved above.) And for Clemens, the other Bishop, his whole Church at Rome concurred in the Letter he penned in

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their Name to the Church of Corinth: And that the Church of Corinth was but a single Congregation, has been already proved from several Passages in that Epistle. Nay, though we should grant that this Passage proves the Churches of Smyrna and Rome, to be chiefly entrusted to Polycarp and Clemens; yet it by no Means intimates the Presbyters there to have been of a different Order or Office from them. Should we have a Roll of all that have successively been Rectors of a Parish-Church, we should not expect to find all the Names of their Assistant-Curates. And it lies on Mr. Dr—to prove, that the Presbyters who assisted those Bishops, did any otherwise differ from them. I have shewn, that Clemens in his Epistle knew of no Officer in the Church of Corinth, distinct from, and superior to the Presbyters in it. And for Polycarp himself, if we consider the Inscription of his Epistle, viz. Polycarp and the Presbyters that are with him, to the Church of God that dwells at Philippi; It carries no Marks at all of any Superiority of Order and Office; the most that it can imply, is only his being the first or chief Presbyter. And the Epistle itself is so far from countenancing any such Opinion, that that holy Martyr exhorts the younger Persons in that Church of Philippi † to be subject to their Presbyters and Deacons, as to God and Christ, without any mention of their Bishop as any Officer of a distinct Order and Rank from the Presbyters. Nay, he exhorts the Presbyters themselves to be "full of Pity, Merciful to all, reducing those that wander, visiting the Sick, not neglecting the Widows, Orphans or the Poor, but providing what is good before God and Men, abstaining from all Wrath, partial respect of Persons, unjust Judgment, abstaining from all Avarice, not forward to believe any Thing ill against any Man, not too severe in Judgment, as knowing we are all guilty of Faults."

By these Words 'tis manifest, that Polycarp supposes the Power of Church-Censures, to be lodged in the Presbyters of the Church at Philippi, and gives not the least Intimation of its being engrossed into the Hand of an Officer of a distinct Order from them. So that the State of the Church of Philippi seems to be much the same with that of Corinth, when Clemens wrote his Epistle to them, where there appears not so much as a Distinction of Degree between the Presbyters. But should we allow such a Distinction of Degree to have obtained, 'tis evidently no more than that between a Parochial Bishop and his Assistant-Colleagues.

To all this I may add, That the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, concerning the Martyrdom of Polycarp, never once mentions any superior Office he bare in that Church above the rest of the Presbyters in it.

For the two Passages which Mr. Dr— produces from Origen, I must desire him to review them, and shew us what there is in them, that can in the least serve the Cause of Diocesan Episcopacy. In the former of them Origen tells us, "† That the Bishops applied to themselves the Promise made to Peter, teaching, that they had

H h

"received

† Edant Origines Ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem & antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesie Apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyræorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem. Perinde utique & ceteræ exhibent quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. Tertull. de Præscription. Hæretic. c. 32. Oper. p. 213.

† Διὸ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν πάντων τέτων, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ. Polycarp. Epist.

ad Phil. Sect. 5. Edit. Joan. Clerici, inter Patres Apostol. fol. Vol. II.

* Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἑσπλάγχοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰς ἀποπεπληνημένας, ἐπισκεψάμενοι πάντας ἀδελφούς, μὴ ἀμελήσαντες χήρας, ἢ ὀρφανῶν, ἢ πένιων. ἀλλὰ περισπούδαστος εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, περισπωμένης, κείσεως ἀδίκου, μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες καὶ τιμῶν, μὴ ἀποτομοῖ ἐν κείσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλοις. Ibid. Sect. 6.

† Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκδικούντες χρεῶν τὸ πρῶτον, ὡς πατέρες; καὶ τὰς κλειδας τῆς βασιλείας λαμβάνοντες σωτήριον ἡλιθιοῦς διδάσκοντες τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεδωμένα, ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν ἑσπερίοις διδόντες, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

“ received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven
“ from our Saviour, so that whatever was bound,
“ (i. e. condemned) by them on Earth, was
“ bound in Heaven, &c. Which may be Or-
“ thodoxly enough applied to them, if they hold
“ Peter's Confession, and are such as the Church
“ of Christ may be built upon.”

But what signifies this to prove, That this
Power of Binding and Loosing belonged to Bishops as
distinguished from Presbyters? Whereas 'tis ma-
nifest, that Presbyters always concurred with the
Bishop in all Church-Censures? And what signifies
this to prove, That these Bishops were any more
than Congregational Bishops? If Mr. Dr— would
have produced Origen to any Purpose, he should
have shewn, That the Bishop in his Time assumed
to himself this Power of Binding and Loosing over
all the Congregations within such a District, that
had each their own Communion-Tables. But Origen
is so far from supposing any such Thing, that * he
describes the Criminal as appearing before the whole
Church whereof he was a Member; and not be-
fore any Consistorial Court of the Bishop.

And for the other Passage, “ † If Jesus Christ
“ the Son of God was subject to Joseph and Mary,
“ shall not I be subject to the Bishop, who is or-
“ dained of God to be my Father: Shall not I be
“ subject to the Presbyter, who by the Divine
“ Appointment is set over me? I must desire
Mr. Dr— to try his Skill, how he can from these
Words of Origen prove either of these two Things,
viz. Either that Origen here asserts any Distinction
of Office or Order between a Bishop and Presbyter, or
indeed any greater than there is between the Rec-
tor of a Parish and his Assistant Curates: Or that
he supposes this Bishop to have but one communi-
cating Church, but several such Churches under
his Government. And till he has proved these
two Things, Origen's Testimony signifies nothing
to his Purpose. Whereas Origen's Words last cited
do rather imply, that the Bishop and Presbyter ruled
together in the same Church, every Member
whereof was to be as truly subject to the Presby-
ter as to the Bishop, tho' to the Bishop as the chief
Pastor of it.

And if he will please to consult him farther,
he will find that Origen supposes only two distinct
Offices in the Church, viz. ** The Priests who are the
Eye of the Church as being the Watchmen thereof, and
the Deacons (with those under them) to be the Hand of
the Church, by whom its spiritual Works are managed.
And † he makes the Bishop and Presbyters to be
only one Priestly Order, and the Deacons to be the
Levitical. And * he ascribes a Presidency to all the
Clergy.

His next Witness is Clemens Alexandrinus, who
tells us (saith Mr. Dr—) “ That the Orders of
“ Bishops, Priests and Deacons were according to the
“ Rank and Dispensation of Angels, Strom. lib. 6.

But if Mr. Dr— had been pleased to produce

the whole Passage at length, he might have seen,
that instead of countenancing the Doctrine of
Three distinct Offices or Orders, it plainly over-
throws it. I shall therefore lay the whole Passage
before the Reader. || “ For the Processes of Bi-
“ shops, Presbyters and Deacons in the Church,
“ I think them to be Imitations of the Angelical
“ Glory, and of that Dispensation, which as the
“ Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in
“ the Steps of the Apostles, live in the Perfection
“ of Evangelical Righteousness; for these the
“ Apostle writes, (1 Thess. IV.) shall be taken up
“ into the Clouds, and there first as Deacons at-
“ tend, and then according to the next Process
“ of Glory, be admitted into the Presbytery.
“ For Glory differs from Glory, till they increase
“ to a perfect Man.”

On this very Passage Sir P. K— (in his Inqui-
ry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church,
Part I. 8vo. Lond. 1691, p. 100.) has this just
Remark.

“ In this Passage there are two Things which
“ manifest, that there were but two Ecclesiastical
“ Orders, viz. Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and
“ Deacons. The First is, he saith, Those Orders
“ were resembled by the Angelick Orders: Now
“ the Scriptures mention but Two Orders, viz. Arch-
“ angels and Angels, the Archangels presiding over
“ the Angels, and the Angels obeying and attend-
“ ing on the Archangels. According to this Re-
“ semblance therefore, there must be but Two
“ Ecclesiastical Orders in the Church, which are
“ Bishops or Presbyters presiding or governing, with the
“ Deacons attending and obeying. The other Part of
“ this Passage which proves but two Ecclesiasti-
“ cal Orders, is his likening of them to the pro-
“ gressive Glory of the Saints, who at the Judge-
“ ment-Day shall be caught up in the Clouds,
“ and there shall first as Deacons attend and
“ wait on Christ's Judgment-Seat; and then
“ when the Judgment is over, shall have their
“ Glory perfected in being placed on the cele-
“ stial Thrones of that sublime Presbytery, where
“ they shall be for ever blessed and happy.

“ So that there were only the two Orders of
“ Deacons and Presbyters, the former whereof being
“ the inferior Order, never sat at their Ecclesia-
“ stical Conventions, but like Servants stood and
“ waited on the latter, [Orig. in Cantic. Hom. 2.]
“ who sat on Thrones or Seats, [Cyp. Ep. 40. p. 225.]
“ in the Form of a Semicircle, whence they are
“ called *Confessus Presbyterii*, or the Confession of the
“ Presbytery; in which Session, he that was more
“ peculiarly the Bishop or Minister of the Parish, sat
“ at the Head of the Semicircle on a Seat some-
“ what elevated above that of his Collegues, (as
“ Cyprian calls them) and so was distinguish-
“ ed from them by his Priority in the same Or-
“ der, but not by his being of another Order.
“ Thus the foresaid Clemens Alexandrinus distin-
“ guishes the Bishop from the Presbyters, by
“ his

αὐτῶν ἀφ' ἑσῶν εἰληφότες, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενοι· λεπτὸν ὅτι
ὁ γὰρ λέγειν, εἰ ἔχουσιν ἔργον δι' ὃ ἔρη) ἐκείνῳ τῷ πέτρῳ
οὐκ εἰ Πέτρος, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἑσῶν εἰσιν, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Χρῆστος
ἐπορεύμεθα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Origen. Comm. in Matth. Op.
Græc. Edit. Huetii, Rothomagi, 1668. Vol. I. p. 279.

* Εἰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀχθεῖς. — ἢ μὴκέτι δευδῆναι τὸ ἐπὶ
πάσης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐλέγχε. Ibid. p. 335.

† Si Jesus filius Dei subijcitur Joseph & Mariæ, ego non
subijciar Episcopo qui mihi à Deo ordinatus est pater? Non
subijciar presbytero, qui mihi Domini dignatione præpositus
est? Origen. Homil. 20. in Luc. Op. Lat. per Erasmus, fol.
Basil. 1536. Vol. II. p. 265.

** Sacerdotes rationabiliter possunt dici ecclesiæ oculus, quo-
niam & speculatores habentur: Diaconi autem cæterique mi-
nistri manus, quoniam per eos opera spiritualia universa ge-
runtur. Origen. in Matth. Tract. 5. Op. Lat. Vol. II. p. 65.
[Huetius's Greek Edition omits the Passage.]

† Unde est quod sæpè audimus blasphemare homines, & di-
cere, ecce qualis episcopus, aut qualis presbyter, vel qualis
diaconus? Nonne hic dicuntur ubi vel sacerdos, vel minister
Dei visus fuerit in aliquo contra ordinem suum venire, & ali-
quid contra sacerdotalem, vel leviticum ordinem gerere?
Origen. in Numer. Homil. 2. Op. Lat. Vol. I. p. 207.

* Οἱ δὲ καλεῖται τινες περικατεζόμενοι ὑμῶν. Homil. 1. in
Jerem. Op. Græc. Vol. I. p. 113.

|| Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν περικατεζο-
μένων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μὴ μόνον αἱματὶ Ἀγγελικῆς δι-
ξῆς, καὶ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκονομίας τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρῶντας
αἱ γενομένης καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑσῶν εἰσιν, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Χρῆστος
ἐπορεύμεθα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Origen. Comm. in Matth. Op. Lat. per Erasmus, fol.
Basil. 1536. Vol. II. p. 265.

his being advanced to the *πρωτοδικεῖα* or first Seat in the Presbytery, not by his sitting in a different Seat from them. For thus he writes, "He is in Truth a Presbyter of the Church, and a Minister of the Will of God, who does and teaches the Things of the Lord, not ordained by Men, nor esteemed just because a Presbyter, but because just, therefore received into the Presbytery, who although he be not honoured with the first Seat on Earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the Twenty-four Thrones mentioned in the Revelations, judging the People. So that both Bishops and Presbyters were Members of the same Presbytery, only the Bishop was advanced to the first and chiefest Seat therein; which is the same Thing with what I come now from proving, viz. That Bishops and Presbyters were equal in Order, but different in Degree; that the former were the Ministers of their respective Parishes, the latter their Curates or Assistants.

I may add, that Clemens Alexandrinus elsewhere mentions only two Orders or Offices in the Church, the former he calls *ἐκκλῆσιαν*, the latter *ἐπισκοπὴν*. The former he ascribes to the Presbyters, the latter to the Deacons. And he tells us, "That by both these Ministries, both Angels in Heaven, and Saints on Earth, served God in the Dispensation of the Affairs of this Earth. And tho' in that Passage he makes no mention of Bishops at all, yet no doubt he includes the Bishops among the Presbyters, as one that in his Time had the chief Seat among them, (as was observed before).

And that this Bishop and these Presbyters, had but one Church with one Communion-Table under their Charge, is evident from the very Form of their Sitting in it. And there is nothing in Clemens Alexandrinus, that intimates any Difference in this Point, from what we have shewn to be the usual Extent of the Bishop's Charge in that Age. If Mr. Dr--- can produce any Thing in this Author, to prove that the Bishop had many Churches, with their distinct Altars or Communion-Tables under his Government, I am ready to consider it, but believe he will do it *ad Græcas Calendas*.

For that other Passage of Clemens Alexandrinus cited by Mr. Dr---, "That some Precepts are given to the Presbyters, others to Bishops, others to Widows." As it no way determines what Distinction he made between Bishop and Presbyter, nor of what Extent he supposed the Bishop's Charge to be, so it can signify very little to Mr. Dr---'s Cause. But if Clemens Alexandrinus do here refer to the Directions given by St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, concerning the Officers they were to constitute in the Churches they were sent to; 'tis manifest, that they contain no Precepts directed to Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters. But those whom St. Paul calls Bishops, 1 Tim. III. he calls both Presbyters and Bishops, 1 Tit. and makes their Qualifica-

tions and their Office the same. He mentions indeed the Deacons as a distinct Order, and it would tempt one to think that Clemens meant them; when the Widows come next, of whom they were to take Care. But if he meant Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, and refer to those Places of the New Testament; the Matter will be brought to a short Issue, viz. Whether the Authority of Clemens, or that of St. Paul should weigh most with us?

Mr. Dr--- tells us, "He could bring the Apostolical Canons to countenance his Assertion; which every where declare the same Distinction."

Why Mr. Dr--- did not mention the Apostolical Constitutions, or whether he include them among the Canons, I shall not enquire. But tho' I shall readily own to him, that these Constitutions and Canons mention the same Distinction between Bishop and Presbyters that occurs in the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius; yet that this Bishop was no more than a Congregational or Parish-Bishop, is so evident to any that will impartially consider them, that I shall take some Pains to set the Matter in so clear a Light, as may with all unprejudiced Persons put it out of Dispute. And I have already shewn Mr. Dr---, what Consequences may be drawn from it to the utter Ruin of the Cause he pleads for, viz. a Conformity of the present Diocesan to the Primitive Episcopal Government, and that as founded on divine Right.

I must therefore desire the Reader to peruse and weigh the following Passages.

Lib. II. cap. 10. Having exhorted the Bishop to a blameless Life, lest he bring a Stain on his own Dignity, and on the Church of God seated in his Parish, he thus speaks concerning the scandalous Members that may be brought before him. (a) "When the Offender shall know, that the Bishop and Deacons are blameless, and the Flock undefiled, he will at first being terrified in his own Conscience, not dare contemptuously to enter into the Church of God. But if not regarding that, he shall enter, he will either straight be reprov'd, &c. and punished, or being admonish'd by his Pastor, he will become penitent. And having beheld every one, and finding no Spot (or Stain) in either the Bishop or in the People subject to him, being filled with Confusion and Compunction, he will peaceably go out with Shame and with many Tears. And the Flock will continue pure, but he will mourn in the Sight of God and repent of his Sin; so he will have good Hope; and the whole Flock seeing his Tears, will learn, That the Offender by Repentance is delivered from Destruction."

(b) Cap. 16. "When thou (speaking to the Bishop) shalt see any one to be a Delinquent, do

Καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι σώζουσιν ἐκείνην· τὴν ὑπηρετικὴν δὲ οἱ διάκονοι. ταύτας ἀμφω τὰς διακονίας ἀγγέλοι τε ὑπηρετοῦν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς οἰκονομίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ γνωστὸς. Clem. Alex. Stromat. VII. p. 830.

(a) Εἰ βλέποι ὁ ἀμάρταν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ἀδελφὰς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς, καὶ τὸ ποίμνιον καθαρὸν ὑπάρχον, πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καθαρῶς ὡς ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ εἰσελθόν, πληρώσει τὴν συνειδήσιν αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ παρ' ἑδὲν ἡγνοῦσιν αὐτὸν εἰσελθόν, ἢ παραχρῆμα ἐλθὼν εἰσελθόν, ὡς ὅσα, κ. τ. λ. καὶ παρὰ τὰς τιμωρίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἢ νουθεσίᾳ καὶ ὑποταγῇ, εἰς μετανοίαν ὑπαχθῆσιν· περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δὲ τοὺς καθάρους, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μὴ ὄντας ἐκκλησιαστικούς, ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν λαῶν, αἰγουνδεῖς, καὶ αἰδῶν καὶ πολλῶν δακρύων ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀνενυσσῶν, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς κίκα.

Δακρυόφρον τὸ ποίμνιον, περισκλαύσει τὸ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μεγαλοῦσι ἐφ' οἷς ἐμύσεν· καὶ ἐξείλετο, καὶ τὸ ποίμνιον ὅλον δεασάμενον ἐκείνῳ τὰ δάκρυα, νουθεσίαν ἔξει, ὅτι ἀμάρταν διὰ μετανοίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Constitut. Apostol. Edit. Joan. Clerici, inter Patres Apostol. fol. Lib. II. cap. 10. See also, cap. 12.

(b) Ἰδὼν δὲ οὗ τὸν ἡμῶν κληρὸν, πικρὰν δὲ κέλευσιν αὐτὸν ἐξω βληθῆναι, καὶ θελόντι αὐτὸν πικρὰν δὲ κέλευσιν οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καθαρῶς ὡς ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ εἰσελθόν, πληρώσει τὴν συνειδήσιν αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ παρ' ἑδὲν ἡγνοῦσιν αὐτὸν εἰσελθόν, ἢ παραχρῆμα ἐλθὼν εἰσελθόν, ὡς ὅσα, κ. τ. λ. καὶ παρὰ τὰς τιμωρίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἢ νουθεσίᾳ καὶ ὑποταγῇ, εἰς μετανοίαν ὑπαχθῆσιν· περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δὲ τοὺς καθάρους, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μὴ ὄντας ἐκκλησιαστικούς, ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν λαῶν, αἰγουνδεῖς, καὶ αἰδῶν καὶ πολλῶν δακρύων ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀνενυσσῶν, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς κίκα. Ibid. cap. 16.

"do thou with just resentment command him
"to be cast out of the Church. And when he
"goes out, let the Deacons express their Trou-
"ble; and having found him, detain him with-
"out the Church. Let them afterwards come
"in and intercede with thee (the Bishop) for
"him.——Then thou shalt order him to
"come in, and having examined whether he
"be penitent, and be worthy to be admitted
"into the Church, thou shalt upon his fasting
"for two, three, five, or seven Weeks, accord-
"ing to the Nature of his Offence, dismiss him,
"having spoken by way of Chastisement or Re-
"proof, what is proper for an Offender to be
"wholesomely taught and admonished of, &c.

(e) Cap. 18. "Let the Bishop take Care of
"all, both of those that have not sinned, that
"they may persevere in their Innocence, and
"of those that have sinned, that they may re-
"pent. For to you the Lord saith, see that
"ye despise not one of these little ones.——
"Wherefore take upon thee the Care of all,
"as one that must give an Account to God
"for many. Preserve the Sound, reprove Of-
"fenders, and raise up those by Remission that
"are cast down with Fasting, and receive a-
"gain him that sighs, the whole Church inter-
"ceding for him; and laying Hands on him,
"suffer him to remain with the Flock. But
"for the Drowsy and Sluggish, rouse, support,
"quicken, encourage them, as knowing how
"great a Reward thou wilt receive if thou dost
"it, and how great a Danger thou wilt incur
"by neglecting it.

(d) Cap. 27. "You, Brethren, ought to bring
"your Sacrifices and Oblations to the Bishop as
"to the High Priest, and offer them either by
"yourselves or by the Deacons. Offer him al-
"so your First-fruits, and Tythes, and your
"voluntary Gifts; for he knows the Poor, and
"gives to every one what is convenient, lest
"one receive twice or oftner the same Day or
"the same Week, and another receive not so
"much as once.

(e) Cap. 28. "They that would invite the
"ancient Women to an Agape (or, as the Lord

"calls it, a Feast) let them send to such as the
"Deacons know to be poor. But in the Feast,
"what is wont to be given to the Pastor, (I
"mean what there is of the First-fruits,) let it
"be laid by, as for the Priest, in Honour of
"God, from whence he has received the Priest-
"hood: And as much as is given to every an-
"cient (poor) Woman, let twice as much be
"given to the Deacons out of respect to Christ.
"Let a double Portion also be given to the
"Presbyters, because they labour in Word and
"Doctrine, for the Sake of the Apostles of our
"Lord, whose Place they hold, as the Coun-
"sellors of the Bishop, and Crown of the Church.
"And he that is the Reader, let him also have
"one Part for the Honour of the Prophets.
"And in the same Manner, the Clerk (or Pre-
"centor) and the Door-keeper. Let therefore the
"Laity pay a due Veneration to every Ecclesi-
"astical Dignity in their Gifts, and their hono-
"rary Supply of the Necessaries of Life.

(f) Cap. 31. "The Deacon must give nothing
"to any poor Man, without the Bishop's Know-
"ledge and Consent.

(g) Cap. 34. "The Laity of the Bishop's
"Church are required to give him the First-
"Fruits of their Corn, Wine, Oil, Apples,
"Wool, and whatever else God blessed them
"with.

(h) Cap. 44. "The Deacon must be the Bi-
"shop's Eye, and Ear and Mouth, nay his
"Heart and Soul, that the Bishop may be on-
"ly taken up with the weightier Affairs of his
"Flock.

(i) Cap. 54. "When the Bishop was to pro-
"ceed to Prayer, after reading and singing, and
"expounding the Scriptures, (the ancient Way of
"Preaching,) the Deacon standing by him was
"to proclaim with a loud Voice, Let none
"bear any Grudge against another, let none
"come in Hypocrisy; that if there be any Dis-
"cord (or Quarrel) among any, they may thro'
"Remorse of Conscience beg Pardon of God,
"and be reconciled to their Brethren.

(k) Cap.

(c) Πάντων φρονιζέτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἥ μὴ ἡμερτικώ-
"των, ἵνα μείνωσιν ἀναμαρτήτοι, καὶ ἥ μὴ ἀμάρτανόντων, ἵνα μελα-
"νοῦσι. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς· Ὁρᾶτε μὴ καταφρο-
"νίσῃτε ἐνδὲς ἑαυτῶν μικρῶν τέτων. — Ὡς περὶ πλεονάζοντων ἀπολογί-
"μῳ, περὶ πάντων φρονιζέτω. καὶ πῶς μὴ ὑγιαίνει συνήθει-
"αὶ τῶν ἡμερτικῶν καὶ ἀμάρτανόντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ νηστείᾳ, ἐν τῇ ἀφί-
"σει ἐλάφρυνον, καὶ περισκαύσαντα ἐστὶν ἐξέχει, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλη-
"σίας ὡς αὐτὸν δεομένης, καὶ χειροδεμένης αὐτὸν, ἕα λοιπὸν εἶναι
"ἐν τῇ ποιμνίᾳ· πῶς γὰρ ὑπνώδεις καὶ παρεμύνης ἐπιστρέψει, ὑπο-
"στρέψει, ὡρακάλει, διεσπάρει, ἐπιστάμῳ ἡλίκοι μισθὸν ἔχεις
"ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῶν, ὡς περὶ ἐν καὶ κίνδυνον εἶναι ἀμελήσης τέτων.
Ibid. cap. 18. See also cap. 20, 25, 26.

(d) Προσέχει καὶ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, τὰς δυσίας ὑμῶν ἥτοι
"προσφέρειτε τὰ ἐπισκόπῳ προσφέρειν ὡς ἀρχιερεῖ, ἢ δὲ ἐαυτῶν
"ἢ διὰ τῶν διακόνων· ὡς μὴ γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς, καὶ τὰς
"δεκάτας, καὶ τὰ ἐκείσια αὐτῶν προσάγετε. αὐτοὶ γὰρ γινώσκουσιν
"τὰς θλιβεμύνας, καὶ ἐκάστῳ δίδωσι πρὸς τὸ ἀρμόζον, ὅπως μὴ
"δὴς ἢ πλεονάζουσιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐξδομαδί λαμβά-
"νῃ, ἕτεροι γὰρ ἐν δὲ ὅλως. Ibid. cap. 27.

(e) Τοῖς εἰς ἀγάπην, ἥτοι δοχλῶ, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ὠνόμασε,
"περιαρμυμένοι καλῶν προσκυτέρας, ὡς ἐπίσαν· οἱ διάκονοι θλι-
"βομένην, αὐτῇ πλεονάζουσιν πεμπέτωσαν, ἀφορίζοντες ἐν τῇ δο-
"χῇ, τὸ πᾶν ποιῶν ἐδίμῳ, λέγων γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς, ὡς ἱερῆς,
"καὶ μὴ σαρεῖ τῇ δοχῇ, ὡς τιμὴ Θεοῦ τὴν ἱερειαν αὐτῶν ἐγ-
"χειροποιεῖ· ὅσον καὶ ἐκάστη ἡμῶν προσκυτέραν δίδωσι, διπλὴν
"δίδωσιν τοῖς διακόνους εἰς γέρας χειρῶν. τοῖς γὰρ προσκυτέρας
"ὡς ἀν καμνῶσι περὶ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον διωκόμενοι, δι-

πλὴν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφορίζοντες ἡμῶν εἰς χάριν ἥτις τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑπο-
"τάσσονται, ὡς καὶ τὸν τόπον φυλάττειν, ὡς σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου,
"καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσάγειν. εἰσὶ γὰρ συνέδριον καὶ ἐκκλησί-
"α. ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἀναγνώστῃς ἐστὶν, λαμβανέτω καὶ αὐτοὶ μίσθον μίαν εἰς
"τιμὴν ἥτις προσφύγει· ὡσαύτως καὶ ψαλμῶδες καὶ ψαλμοὶ. ἐκείνῳ
"ἐν ἀξιώματι οἱ λαοὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμὴν νεμετῶσαν ἐν τοῖς
"δόμασι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐξουσίᾳ. Ibid. cap. 28.

(f) Μὴδὲν ποιεῖτω τὸ σύνολον [ὁ διάκονος] ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἐπισκό-
"πῳ, μὴδὲ τινὶ δίδωτω τι ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ γνώμῃ. Ibid. cap. 31.

(g) Ὁρᾶτε εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶν ὡς Κύριον, πῶς καὶ
"τὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἥτις χειρῶν ὑμῶν εἰς εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς
"σφύρας αὐτῶν, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰς δεκάτας ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ
"ἀφαιρέματα ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ δῶρα ὑμῶν δίδοντες αὐτῷ ὡς ἱερῆς Θεοῦ,
"ἀπαρχὴν σίτου, οἴνου, ἐλαίου, ὀπώρων, ἐρίων, καὶ πάντων ὧν Κύριος
"ὁ Θεὸς ἐμπροσθεν ὑμῶν. Ibid. cap. 34.

(h) Ἔστω ὁ διάκονος τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς ἀκοή, καὶ ὡς ὁ δαλμῶς, καὶ ὡς
"μα, καρδίᾳ τε καὶ ψυχῇ, ἵνα μὴ ἡ τὰ πολλὰ μεμνημένων ὁ ἐπίσκο-
"πος, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὰ νεώτερα. Ibid. cap. 44.

(i) Ὡς ἐπίσκοποι, μελλόντων ὑμῶν εἰς προσδοχὴν ἀπαίτη-
"σιν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς χειρῶν
"διδασκαλίαν, ὁ διάκονος εἰς τὸ πλησίον ὑμῶν, μὴ ὑπολείπει εὐαγγέ-
"λιον· μήτις κατὰ τινος· μήτις ἐν ὑποκρίσει, ἵνα εἰάν ἐν τῇ
"ἐν τισὶν ἀντιλογία, συνειδήσει κενδεύειν, δεηθῶσι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ δι-
"αλλαγῶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Ibid. cap. 54.

(k) Cap. 57. "When thou (the Bishop) hast called together the Church of God, like the Master of a great Ship, require them to assemble often with all Prudence and Regularity of Discipline, commanding the Deacons as so many Mariners, that they appoint convenient Places to all the Brethren, as so many Passengers, with all Care and Decency. And first let the House (or Place of Meeting) be oblong, turned towards the East, having on both Sides Pews (*Pastophoria*) towards the East, and like to a Ship. In the middle Place the Bishop's Seat (or Throne), and on both Sides let the Presbytery sit. But let the Deacons stand ready for Service lightly clothed; for they are like the Mariners, and those that order the Sides of the Ship. By their Care, let the Laymen sit quietly and orderly in one Part of the Church, but the Women sit apart by themselves abstaining from talking. But let the Reader in the Middle standing in some high Place [*like our Desks*] read the Books of *Moses*, &c. The Reading being finished by two (Readers) let another sing the Hymns of *David*, and the People sing with him the Ends of the Verses. Then let our *Acts* (i. e. *those of the Apostles*) and the Epistles, &c. be recited. And when the Gospel shall be recited, let all the Presbyters and Deacons, and the whole People stand with Silence. After these Things, let the Presbyters exhort the People, *viz.* some of them, not all, and the Bishop last of all, who is like the Master of the Ship. But let the Doorkeepers stand at the Church Doors where the Men enter, but the Deaconesses where the Women enter, like those that receive the Passage-Money from the Passengers. If any be found sitting out of his own Place, let the Deacon reprove him, who is in the Place of the *Proreter*, and let him be carried to a convenient Place; for the Church is not only compared to a Ship, but to a Sheepfold, &c. The Deacons were also to take Care that none whispered, slept, laughed, nodded, &c. After the Catechumens and Penitents were gone out, the Deacons were some of them to pre-

pare Things for the Celebration of the Eucharist, others to look about and command Silence. The Deacon that assisted the High Priest (i. e. the Bishop) was to cry aloud, Let none bear any Grudge against another, let none come in Hypocrisy. These Things being done, the Men were to salute one another, and so the Women; afterwards the Deacon prayed for the whole Church, then the Bishop was to bless the People; thereupon the (*Eucharistical*) Sacrifice was to be celebrated, the People standing, and silently praying; then the Communicants were to approach and receive the Elements, and the Doors were to be kept shut that no Infidel or unbaptized Person might enter.

(l) Cap. 58. "If a Brother or Sister comes out of another Parish and bring Commendatory Letters, let the Deacons make Enquiry concerning them, whether they be Believers, whether the Sons of the Church, whether they be undefiled by any Heresy? And concerning a Woman, whether she be married or a Widow? And so their State being known, that they truly believe and agree with the Church of the Lord, let the Deacons lead every one of them to a convenient Place. But if a Presbyter come out of another Parish, let him be received into the Society of Presbyters. And if a Deacon, let him be received by the Deacons. But if a Bishop, let him sit with the Bishop, from whom he shall have equal Respect paid. And thou, O Bishop, shalt desire him to preach to the People; for the Exhortation and Admonition of Strangers is most acceptable and useful: For no Prophet (saith our Lord) has Honour in his own Country. Thou shalt also leave it to his Pleasure, whether he will celebrate the Eucharist, which if as a wise Man out of Modesty and Respect to thee he shall refuse, thou shalt at least oblige him to bless the People." The rest of the Chapter advises the Bishop, if a Gentleman, that is a Stranger, come in, not to leave his Seat, or interrupt his Discourse out of respect to him; but the Deacon is order'd to provide him a Seat.

(m) Cap.

(i) Όταν συναθροίῃς τὴν τῆς Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς ἂν κυβερνήτης πλοῦς μεγάλου, μετὰ ἐπισημῆς πάσης κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι τὰς συνόδους, ὡς καὶ ἐγγράφω τοῖς διακόνους ὡσανεὶ ναύταις, τοὺς τότε ἐκείνων τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καθάπερ ἐπιτάττει, μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ σεμνότητος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ οἰκὸς ἔσω ἐπιμηκύνει, καὶ ἀνατολὰς τετραμήμιον, ἥ ἐκείνων τῶν μερῶν τὰ πασφορία πρὸς ἀνατολὴν, ὅστις οἰκεῖ νηὶ. Κεῖθεν δὲ μέσθ' οἱ τῶν ἐπισκόπων θρόνον· παρ' ἐκείτῃ δὲ αὐτὸς καθέζεσθαι τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παριστάμενοι ἐκαστὸς τὸ πλεῖστον ἐδῆτο· οἰκασί τὸ ναύταις καὶ τοιχοῦχοις· πρὸς οἰκὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων μερῶν οἱ λαϊκοὶ καθέζεσθαι μετὰ πάσης ἡσυχίας καὶ ὑπαζίας, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ αὐταὶ καθέζεσθαι, σιωπὴν ἀγνῶσαι. μεσθ' δὲ ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τινὸς ἐσθῆτος, ἀναγινώσκων τὰς Μωσείας, κ. τ. λ. — Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ ἡσυχῶν ἀναγινώσκοντες, ἕτερος τις τῶν τῆς Δαβὶδ ψαλλέων ὕμνων, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροῖα ὑποψαλλέτω μετὰ τῶν αἰψόχων αἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀναγινώσκουσιν, καὶ ὁπισθοῦν, κ. τ. λ. — Καὶ ὅταν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς σκεῖτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας. — Καὶ ἔκ τῃς ὡρα καλεῖσθαι οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαόν, ὁ καθεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπάντες· καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸ πάντων ὁ ἐπισκοπὸς, ὃς οἰκεῖ κυβερνήτῃ. σκεῖτωσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πύλαροι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν, δίκην ναυτολόγων. — Εἰ αὖ τις ἐν ἐκείνῃ παρὰ τὸν καθέζεσθαι, ἐπιπληνέτω ὑπὸ τῶν διακόνων, ὡς πρῶτος, καὶ εἰς τὸν καθήμενον αὐτῶν τόπον μεταγέτω. ἢ μόνον ἰδίῃ, ἀλλ' καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἢ ἐκκλησία. — Ὁμοίως ὁ διάκονος ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸν λαόν ὅπως μή τις ψιθυρίσῃ, ἢ νυσῇ, ἢ γέλῃ, ἢ νύσῃ. — μετὰ τὴν καθήκονον καὶ τὴν τῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων, οἱ διάκονοι — οἱ μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὸν

τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἀκολουθίᾳ, ὑπερηγῶντες τῶν τῆς Κυρίου σώματος τι μὲν ὅσον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὅχλους διασκοπεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖσθαι. λεγέτω δὲ ὁ παρὼς τῶν ἀρχιερέων διάκονος τῶν λαῶν, μή τις χεῖρ τινος, μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει· ἔτα καὶ ἀσπαζέμεσθαι ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀλλήλους αἱ γυναῖκες. — καὶ μετὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν καθέζεσθαι οἱ διάκονοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπασις — καὶ μετὰ τὸ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ καθήμενου τῶν λαῶν εἰρήνην, εὐλογεῖτω τὸν. — μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γινέσθαι ἡ δύσια, ἐσθῆτος παντὸς τῶν λαῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν καθήμενον ἡσυχῶς· καὶ ὅταν ἀνεγερθῇ, μεταλαμβάνων ἐκείνη τὰς καὶ αὐτὴν τῆς κυριακῆς σῶμα. — Φωλατῆς δὲ ὡσανεὶ αἱ δύεσι, μή τις ἀπιστῶς ἐσέλθοι, ἢ ἀμύνη. Ibid. cap. 57.

(i) Εἰ τις ἀπὸ παρρησίας ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἐπέλθῃ, σὺ γὰρ σὺν ἐπισκοπῇ, διάκονος ἐπικρινέτω τὴν καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀνακρίνων εἰ πιστοί, εἰ ἐκκλησιαστικοί, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ αἰρέσεως εἰς μολυσμῶν· καὶ πάλιν εἰ ὑπανδρῶς, ἢ χήρα· καὶ ἔτω γυνὴ τῆς καὶ αὐτῆς, ὡς εἰσὶν ἀληθῶς πιστοὶ καὶ ὁμοψύχοντες ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς, ἀπαγέτω ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν πρὸς τὸν καθήμενον αὐτῶν τόπον. εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν καθήμενον ἀπὸ παρρησίας ἐπέλθοι, πρὸς τὸν καθήμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κοινωνικῶς. εἰ δὲ διάκονος, ὑπὸ τῶν διακόνων· εἰ δὲ ἐπισκοπὸς, σὺν τῶν ἐπισκόπων καθέζεσθαι, τὸ αὐτῆς ἀξίωμα· ὑπ' αὐτῆς τιμῆς· καὶ ἐρωτήσας αὐτὸν, ὃ ἐπισκοπεῖ, πρὸς τὸν καθήμενον τῶν λαῶν λόγους διδασκαλικούς· ἢ ἰδίῃ ἐξήνων παρὰ τὴν καθήμενον ὑπερβία ἐπαρξάμενος καὶ ὡφελιμωτάτη σφόδρα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν καθήμενον, ὅστις, δεκτὸς ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ παλείδι. Ἐπίβλεψας δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀνοῖσαι· εἰ δὲ δὲ εὐλόγησαν, ὡς σφόδρα, τὴν τιμὴν σοὶ τηρῶν, μὴ δέλῃ ἀνεῖναι, καὶ εἰς τὸν λαόν εὐλογίαν αὐτῶν ποιῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἀνάγκας. Ibid. cap. 58.

" *Can. 12.* Forbids the same to a Presbyter or
" other Clergyman.

(e) *Can. 23.* " If any Bishop obtain a Church
" by the Interest of secular Princes (or Rulers)
" let him be deposed and excommunicated, and
" all that commune with him.

(f) *Can. 24.* " If any Presbyter despising his
" own Bishop shall set up a Congregation apart,
" and set up another Altar (or Communion-
" Table,) when he cannot justly condemn his
" Bishop for any Defect of Piety or Justice,
" let him be deposed as one desirous of Domi-
" nation, &c. See also *Can. 27, 28.*

(g) *Can. 32.* " Let the Presbyters and Dea-
" cons do nothing without the Judgment and
" Will of the Bishop; for 'tis he to whom the
" People of the Lord is entrusted, and of whom
" an Account of their Souls will be required.

(h) *Can. 50.* " If a Bishop or Presbyter neg-
" lect the Clergy or the People, and teach
" them not Piety, let him be excommunica-
" ted; and if he continue slothful, let him be
" deposed.

I have been the more large in reciting these
Passages, that I may, if possible, convince Mr. Dr---
himself, that what he takes to be the greatest
Paradox in Nature, is capable of as clear Proof
as it is possible for a Matter of Fact to admit
of, viz. That the Bishop mentioned in these Con-
stitutions, as well as other Writers of the two
or three first Ages was a Congregational or Pa-
rochial, not a Diocesan Bishop.

'Tis manifest, That if we apply all these Pas-
sages to a Parochial Bishop that has only one
Communion-Table for his whole Church, there is
not only no Force offered to them, but every
Thing in them is easy and plain, intelligible and
accountable. But if we apply them to a Diocesan
Bishop and a Diocesan Church, there is such
an Heap of Contradictions and utter Impossibilities
that no Man can digest, whose Throat is not
wide enough to swallow Transubstantiation itself.

Thus as to *Constit. Apost. Cap. 10. & 16. & 18.*
That all the People of a Parish may meet in one
Church, that they may all behold the Tears of a
penitent Offender, that the whole Church may intercede
for him to their Parochial Bishop or Pastor, is very
intelligible: But how all the People of the Di-
ocesis should meet, how they should all be Wit-
nesses of the Penitent's Tears, how they should
all join to intercede with their Diocesan in his
behalf, will require Mr. Dr---'s Skill to explain.
And he will find it much harder to explain,
how a Diocesan Bishop can possibly take such a
particular Care of the Souls of all that belong to his
Diocesan Church, as the Bishop is there required
to do of all in his Flock. I am very sure, it will
require the utmost Diligence of a Parochial Pa-
stor to do it for all within the Bounds of the
Parish, if his Congregation be numerous.

For *Cap. 27.* Besides the great Difficulty that
most of the Diocesis will find, in carrying their

Tythes and First-Fruits, and other Offerings to the
Diocesan Bishop's House; how he should be able
to take such a particular Care of all the Poor of
the Diocesis as to see, That some receive not twice or
oftner the same Day, or the same Week, while others
may receive nothing, is a Task which we despair
of being able to account for.

What then shall we think of *Cap. 28.* if we ap-
ply it to the Diocesan Bishop, to all his Clergy;
and the poor old Women of his Diocesis? That rich
Member of the Congregation must have the
Purse of a Prince, and have a Palace as large as
that of *Ahasuerus*, that can provide either En-
tertainment or Rooms enough for such a Number
of Guests, and can assign so large a Portion to
the Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons, nay, Subdeacons,
Clerks and Door-keepers that belong to every Con-
gregation in the Diocesis; and 'tis well if his Pro-
visions be sweet, when they must be carried so
far. But all these Difficulties vanish, when we
understand it of the Parochial Bishop, and the Clergy,
and poor Widows of the Parish. And it must be
no parsimonious Feast, that provides such a liberal
Allowance for every one of them.

Besides, when there is but one Reader or two,
and one Door-keeper mentioned, how should each
of them serve some Scores or Hundreds of Congre-
gations at once?

For *Cap. 31, 34.* Let Mr. Dr--- explain to us,
How the Deacon should be able to supply all
the Poor of the Diocesis, or to consult the Bishop
on every such Occasion. And sure the Diocesan
Bishop had need with the rich Man in the Gos-
pel, pull down his Barns and build greater, if he was
to receive the First-Fruits of Corn, Wine, Oil,
Apples, Wool, and all other Tythes from every Chri-
stian House-keeper of his Diocesis. The Tythes and
other Gifts of a good Parish, are very easily re-
ceived and laid up.

For *Cap. 54, 57.* We should be much obliged
to Mr. Dr---, if he would shew us any Cathedral
in Europe, that will hold the Bishop of the Diocesis,
all the Clergy, and all the Men, Women, Boys and
Girls of the Diocesis; any Reader or Preacher that
can be heard by them all, or any Man that
can in one Day administer the Sacrament to them
all. These appear to us utter Impossibilities, and
no more reconcileable to Sense and Reason, than
the wildest Absurdities of Transubstantiation; and
yet this is the Account of their ordinary Wor-
ship every Lord's-Day. But there is no Difficulty
in all this, when applied to the Parochial Bishop
and his Assistant-Presbyters and Deacons.

The same Observation is equally applicable to
Cap. 58, 59. We constantly find in all their Re-
ligious Assemblies, the Presbyter sitting together
with the Bishop, and the Deacons standing by him
in the same Church (or Place of Assembly).
How could this be, when the Presbyter of the
Diocesis had their several Subordinate Congregations
to attend and minister to? Must all these Congrega-
tions be left destitute every Sunday, while they at-
tended the Diocesan Bishop in his Cathedral? Or
can Mr. Dr-- shew us any other Presbyters, that
were under the Bishop's Government, and attended
other Congregations in his Diocesis, besides these
that constantly sat with the Bishop in his Cathe-
dral?

(e) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμητοῖς ἀρχαῖς χρυσόμυθον, δι'
αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐκκλησίας γένηται, καθαιρεῖται, καὶ ἀφοριεῖται,
καὶ οἱ κοινοῦντες αὐτῷ πάσι. *Can. 23.*

(f) Εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος καθαρώνοντας τὰ ἴδια ἐπισκόπου,
χωρὶς συναγωγῆς, καὶ συστασίον ἐτερον πᾶσι, μηδὲν καλεῖ-
ται, καὶ ἐπισκόπος οὐ δύναται, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καθαιρεῖται ὡς
ἐπὶ λαοῦ. *Can. 24.*

(g) Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἀπὸ γνώμης τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς
μηδὲν ἐπιτέλλονται· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὅτιν οὐ πεποισμένοι τὸν λαόν
τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπατηθῆσθαι.
Can. 32.

(h) Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἀμελεῖ τὰ κληρὺς, ἢ τὸ
λαόν, καὶ μὴ παιδεύων αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐυσέβειαν, ἀφοριεῖται ἐπὶ
λαῶν ὅτιν ῥαθυμία, καθαιρεῖται. *Can. 50.*

What? Nay, how can the *Diocesan Bishop* exhort all in his Church, to attend his Cathedral every Morning and Evening, or complain of their maiming his Church by their Absence, when his Cathedral will hold scarce the Hundredth, or perhaps the Thousandth Part of his Diocese? But all this is very intelligible and practicable in Reference to a *Parish-Church*.

Again, If we will look to *Const. Apost. Lib. VIII. Cap. 4.* that gives an Account of the *Bishops Ordination*, there is nothing more intelligible and more consistent with Reason, than that all the Members of the *Bishop's Church* should be present at his Ordination, bear their Testimony concerning his Abilities and his Conversation, and even the Management of his Domestic Affairs, and should before his Ordainers declare their Election and Approbation of him, and their Consent to his Pastoral-Presidency over them. But how a whole Diocese should meet in one Church, (when there is none that will hold perhaps the thousandth Part of them;) How they should by any Sign declare their joint-Approbation; How they should be able to testify of the Life of a Man, that perhaps one in a Thousand of them never heard of, or at least never knew before; These are all such palpable Impossibilities, that they stare every Man in the Face, and make it evident to Demonstration, that these Constitutions speak of the Ordination of a *Parochial*, and not of a *Diocesan Bishop*. And therefore, it is not unpleasant to hear *Bishop Fell* in his Notes on the Oxford Edition of the *Epistle of Clemens*, draw a Parallel between this Election of the ancient Bishops and the Election of our present Diocesans.

He takes Notice of that Passage in *Clemens*, which mentions Bishops being constituted [*συγκληροδοῦντες ἡ ἐκκλησία πρεσβυτέρους*] with the Approbation and Consent of the whole Church. And to illustrate this, he cites a Passage of *Origen*, That in the Ordination of a Priest, the Presence of the People is required, that all may know and be sure, that he who is most Excellent, most learned, most holy, and most eminent in all Vertues, is chosen to the Priesthood; and this is done all the People standing by, that no Retraction, no Scruple may afterwards remain with any one. And (saith he) "The like is done in constituting our Bishops, for tho' the Nomination be in the Prince, yet the Election belongs to the Presbytery or the Chapter of the Episcopal See after the ancient Custom of *Alexandria*." But here there are no less than three or four remarkable Disparities: For as to the Prince's Nomination, The 24th Apostolical Canon orders, "Every such Bishop as obtains a Church by the Interest of secular Princes, to be deposed and excommunicated, and all that communicate with him to be excommunicated too." And if this Canon be of any Force, what shall the poor People of the Diocese do in this Dispute between the Prince and the Church, when they must either incur the Prince's Displeasure for opposing his Nomination, or incur the highest Censure of the Church for complying with it? This, those would do well to consider, who so much cry up the Authority of these Apostolical Constitutions in other Matters. The next Disparity is, That the Election belonged to the People in the Primitive Church 'tis now transferred on the Dean and Chapter. Nor will the Example of the Church of *Alexandria* justify this; for there all the Presbyters concurred in the Election, and that in Conjunction with all the People, or else they receded from the Practice of all other Churches; for *Cyprian* expressly tells us, *The People had the chief Power of choosing worthy Priests and refusing unworthy ones*;) But here the Election is confined to the

Dean and Chapter, all the rest of the Clergy of the Diocese, who are much the major Part of the Clergy, being excluded. And I may add, that here the Dean and Chapter's Election is only Matter of Form, whereas the real Power of Electing then belonged to the People.

Bishop Fell goes on, "The Election being over, the Assent of the People is expected; for which end (saith he) the Election being made by the Presbytery, is by them solemnly declared to the whole People in the Body of the Cathedral Church, who generally accept and ratify it. And in that Instrument whereby the King or Queen's Majesty is certified concerning the Tenor of the Election; the Approbation and Applause of the Clergy and the People, to whom the Electors gave Notice of the Election is always mentioned. And the Royal Assent being given to the Election, a Mandate issues from the King to the Metropolitan, that he proceed to confirm the Election. The Metropolitan issues peremptory Citations to all that think themselves concerned to appear before him or his Vicar-General, at such a Day, Hour and Place, to shew Cause if they can, against the Form of the Election, or the Person elected. The Proctor of the Chapter appears in Court, exhibits a summary Petition setting forth the Abilities, Probity, &c. of the Bishop Elect, and his Fitness to supply that widowed Diocesan Church. The Metropolitan or his Vicar-General does not admit of this Petition, or the Proofs of it, till he has caused all Opposers to be summoned to appear at such a Place, and on such a Day and Hour, and none appearing, (which does not always happen) has pronounced them contumacious. And yet the Opposers are not by the definitive Sentence for Confirmation of the Elect, precluded from objecting against the Person Elect, or the Form of Election, till they are summoned again; and they may by Virtue of the first Citation, oppose the Confirmation before the Sentence be past. So that by our Law, not only the Laity's Approbation is required, but their Opposition (if there be any Cause for it) is expected, and judicially solicited."

'Tis strange that that learned Author should imagine this Method used by the Metropolitan or Vicar-General in Reference to our Diocesan Bishops to be any way Parallel to that of the Primitive Church, and particularly to that which is suggested in *St. Clemens* or the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

What signifies the Publication of the Election of the Dean and Chapter in the Cathedral-Church, when there is not one in some Hundreds or Thousands of the Diocese that are present, or indeed could find room, if they had a Mind to be so? And if any are present, what would their Dissent signify to obstruct the Confirmation of the Elect, unless they have a Mind to be at the Charge of a Legal Process against the Bishop Elect? Or what signifies the Consent of those present to the Consent of the whole Diocese, when the far greatest Part of them are no more acquainted with the Matter, than if it were transacted in another Kingdom? And what signifies a Summons to all Opposers to object against the Form of Election, or Person of the Elect, when not one of some Thousands of the Diocese hears of any such Summons, or if they had any Thing to Object, would be at the Trouble and Charge of a Legal Process to so little purpose? And could the whole Diocese be summoned together, how few of them could be able to give any Testimony concerning the Learning or

of Piety, or due Management of the Domestical Affairs, where they were all present to declare by sensible Signs (Words or Actions) their Approbation of him, and Consent to his Pastoral Presidency over them, where the Dissent of the Majority would have been an effectual Bar to his Election; where there was no room left for any to complain afterwards that their Assent was not required, or that their Dissent was not regarded. All these Circumstances plainly demonstrate, that it was a Parochial Bishop, and not a Diocesan one, whose Ordination is described in these Apostolical Constitutions, and other Writers of the Three First Centuries.

And the few Apostolical Canons I have cited, are as undeniable Evidence of the Primitive Bishop being a Parochial one.

By the 2d. We see that the Bishop and Presbyters lived together: By the 6th, and 7th, and 11th, that they were Communicants together in the same Parochial Church; by the 25th, that the Schism of a Presbyter lay in setting up a Congregation apart from his Bishop, or setting up another Altar or Communion-Table, when he had nothing justly to object against the Conduct of his Bishop. Had it been a Diocesan Bishop, how absurd must these Canons be, when the Presbyters had their several Congregations apart from the Bishop's, and in those Churches their Altars or Communion-Tables distinct from his? Whereas these Canons are plain and reasonable, if we suppose the Bishop to be himself the Rector of the Parochial Church that had but one Communion-Table belonging to it. For in that Case, for a Presbyter or Curate to set up a distinct Congregation with its distinct Communion-Table, when he had no reasonable Objection against the Bishop or Rector's Conduct, was truly culpable Schism. If any pretend that it was the setting up of a Cathedral-Altar, and erecting another Diocesan Church, that is here meant, they should bring us some Proof from the Monuments of the Three First Centuries, that there was ordinarily in every Bishop's Church not only a Cathedral-Altar, but several Parochial-Altars subordinate to it. And then their Objection shall be considered. But by what we have observed already, we may justly despair of seeing any Proof for these (imaginary) subordinate Altars.

And indeed the 32d Canon should with wise and good Men end the Dispute; for if all the People that made up the Bishop's Church, be entrusted by God to him, and he must give an Account of their Souls; who that has any Regard to his own Soul, would undertake the Charge of as many Souls as a Diocese contains, when 'tis not possible for him to know One of them in some Hundreds or Thousands? 'Tis a very weighty Remark of Bishop Taylor's, I am sure (saith he) we cannot give an Account of Souls of which we have no Notice (or Knowledge) (Pref. to Treat. of Rep.) Who then would be accountable for so many, as he can never know the Hundredth or Thousandth Part of? But how a Parochial Bishop should be accountable for the Souls of his Parishioners, we can more easily comprehend. And truly he that duly considers the Worth of Souls, will think the due Care of all in a numerous Parish, a most difficult and laborious Work, enough to employ his Head and Heart, his Strength and Time, even though he have Assistants to help him in the Discharge of so great and awful a Trust.

Upon the Whole, If the Bishop mentioned in those Constitutions, was any other than a Parochial Bishop, I shall utterly despair of understanding the Sense of the clearest and plainest Expressions.

I do indeed freely own, That Ordination seems to be forbid to Presbyters (or Curates) and appro-

priated to the Bishop or Parish-Rector, by Constit. Lib. 8. cap. 28. But as that Constitution no way concerns the Ordinations in the Dissenting Churches, which are performed by a greater Number of such Congregational Bishops than those Constitutions require; (for Three such Bishops are reckoned a sufficient Number by cap. 27.) So if the Validity of all Ordinations must be measured by those Ordinations, all those Ordinations must be accounted Null, where the Prince or secular Rulers have the Nomination of the Bishop, since Canon 24th, (as I observed) orders every such Bishop to be Deposed and Excommunicated, and all to be Excommunicated that communicate with him. How strange a Degree of Prejudice and Partiality does it then argue, to make Use of one of these Canons to nullify all Ordinations in the Reformed Churches that are not under Diocesan Episcopacy, when they are really performed by such Bishops as these Canons describe? And to lay no Stress on the other Canon, that (if it be of any force) deposes almost all the Diocesan Bishops through the Christian World, and excludes all out of the Christian Church that are in Communion with them.

I shall not concern myself at all in the Dispute between the Learned Bishop Pearson and Bishop Beveridge on the one Hand, and Messieurs Daillé and L'Arroque on the other, concerning the Antiquity of these Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. Daillé thinks they were not published till towards the End of the Fifth Century. See his Proem. Codex. Can. & Lib. 1. Sect. 3, 4. Bishop Beveridge very justly rejects Turrian (the Jesuit's) Opinion, of their being composed by the Apostles, and published by Clemens Romanus, and he contends for no higher Date of them than the Second or Third Century. Blondell supposes they might be published about A. D. 280. 'Tis sufficient to my Purpose, that whenever they were published, the Compiler knew of no other than that Parochial Episcopacy which is inconsistent with Diocesan. Only the lower the Date of those Canons is fixed, it still more clearly demonstrates, That the Parochial Episcopacy was long maintained in the Church, and Diocesan Episcopacy utterly unknown in it. And indeed since those Constitutions and Canons never once mention those Congregations that were in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, set up in some of the bigger Cities under the Bishop's Church, as Oratories or Chapels of Ease to a large Parish-Church, (there being still but one Altar or Communion-Table for all to communicate at,) I am inclinable to think, they might be published towards the End of the Third or Beginning of the Fourth Century. But how uncertain soever their Author may be, and how disputable soever their Authority, they afford a clear and irrefragable Testimony to the main Position I produce them to prove, that Parochial Episcopacy was then the general Practice of the Christian Church; and that the Bishop's Church did not ordinarily exceed the Bounds of a numerous Congregation. And that is sufficient to overturn all Arguments that can be drawn from them, either for the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, or for the Conformity of that Form of Government to the Practice of the Primitive Church in the Three First Centuries. And if the Evidence I have already produced from them to clear this important Truth were not abundantly sufficient, any one that reads them with an impartial Judgment may be furnished with much more.

I shall only add, That though the Author or Compiler of these Constitutions and Canons be unknown; and though it is probable that 'tis a Work to which gradual Additions have been made; yet the most Learned Antiquaries do allow, That it does give a true Account of the general State

of the Christian Churches in the Time when it was compiled. The Learned *Albaspincens* saith of these *Constitutions*, *Observ. Lib. i. p. 38. De Constitutionibus istis nemini dubium esse potest quin probus juxta & antiquus liber sit; certoque affirmare possim trecentis primis eo Ecclesiam Græcam tanquam Rituali & Pontificali usam fuisse. Quique eas attente legerit, eadem de illis quæ de Canonibus judicabit, additas, viz. decursu temporum primis novas, quemadmodum & novæ leges & Constitutiones in Regimine Ecclesiæ novis occasionibus enatis factæ sunt.* To his Testimony I shall add that of the Judicious Dr. Barrow, who calls the *Apostolical Constitutions*, a very ancient Book, that sets forth the most ancient Traditions of the Church. And again, They describe the State of the Church, its Customs and Practice current in the Time of the Compiler. I might cite Du Pin and Bishop Beveridge to the same Purpose. And I mention these Testimonies to obviate Dr. Maurice's Exception against the Use here made of these *Constitutions* and *Canons*. For he, to avoid the clear Evidence they offer for *Episcopal Churches* being then only *Congregational ones*, tells us, *The Author was a Cheat, and deserves no Credit.* 'Tis true indeed, the Compiler has borrowed the Name of the *Apostles* to give the greater Authority to these *Constitutions*. But if *Episcopal Churches* were in his Time generally *Diocesan*, not *Parochial*, he must not only be a Cheat, but a Fool, to think he could so grossly impose on the Christian World in a known Matter of Fact, in which every Man could detect the Falshood of his Account.

I shall now proceed to Cyprian's Testimony (who is the last Witness produced by Mr. Dr— within the Compass of the Three First Centuries.)

And here I must premise, that the Question is not, as Mr. Dr— would insinuate, whether there was in Cyprian's Time some Distinction between the Bishop and his Presbyters; (such as is between the Rector of a Parish and his Assistant-Curates?) But whether Cyprian's Church was a *Diocesis* consisting of many Congregations with their several *Communion-Tables*, or a *Parochial Church* consisting of one (tho' numerous Congregation,) with one *Altar* or *Communion-Table*? And next, how far Cyprian asserts his Office as Bishop to be distinct from that of Presbyters, by appropriating peculiar spiritual Powers thereto?

And as to these Questions, I shall freely joyn Issue with Mr. Dr—, and hope to give him such Evidence in reference to them, as may satisfy him that I have, according to his Advice to Mr. B—, read Cyprian himself, and with as little Byass and Partiality as he can pretend to.

As to the former Question, That Cyprian's Church was not a *Diocesan* one made up of several *Worshipping Congregations*, with their several *Altars* or *Communion-Tables*, but one (tho' a numerous) Congregation, will I think fully appear from the following Particulars.

I. We may justly infer this from his utter Silence concerning any such Congregations under his Charge

(distinct from that he preached to himself) in all his *Epistles*, even when there was great Occasion to mention them if there had been any such.

'Tis hardly possible, that a *Diocesan Bishop* should write so many Letters concerning the State of his *Diocesis*, without having some Occasion to take Notice of the State of the *Parish-Churches* in it, as well as of his own *Cathedral*; and much more might this be expected in so vigilant a Bishop as Cyprian was. And yet I must profess, that after all the Search I have made, I can find no Intimation of any other Congregation than One under his Care. And yet there are some Occasions, in which 'tis scarce reasonable to conceive that he could have omitted the mention of such *Parish-Churches* subordinate to his *Cathedral-Church*, if there had been any. I shall particularly insist on his 43d *Epistle*, (according to Bishop Fell's Edition). Cyprian writes that *Epistle* to his whole Flock, concerning the five *Schismatical Presbyters* of *Felicitissimus's* Faction. There were Eight Presbyters belonging to that Church of *Carthage*. Three of which, viz. *Britius*, *Rogatianus*, and *Numidicus* adhered to the Interest of Cyprian their Bishop, then an Exile from them; the other Five made a Separation. Now had Cyprian's Church been any thing like a modern *Diocesis*, we might reasonably expect that by the Defection of these Five Presbyters, there would have been some Congregations of his *Diocesis*, that would have been vacant and destitute of Presbyters to take Care of them. And that Cyprian as their Bishop would have lamented their destitute Condition, and been concerned to have them if possible supplied, at least by the Three Presbyters taking their Turns among them, till some others could be provided. But there is not one Syllable in all that *Epistle* (or any other) to this Purpose. On the contrary, (a) he supposes these Three Faithful Presbyters and the Deacons to be present with his whole Flock, and capable to corroborate every Member of it by their Exhortations, and to rule and reform the Minds of those that had fallen. He supposes these *Schismatical Presbyters* not to have cast themselves out of their several Congregations, but out of (b) his Church. He nowhere charges them with any Attempt to seduce their several Congregations from their Subjection to his *Episcopal Authority*, but only with their Endeavours (c) to arm a Part of the broken (or divided) Fraternity against the Priesthood of God, and to erect another *Altar* (or *Communion-Table*) in Opposition to his, by pretending to restore the Discipline on more favourable Terms than the Discipline of the Church insisted on. And in the End of the *Epistle* (d) he proposes as the Remedy, that as soon as he should be again present with them, he and the remaining Presbyters his Collegues, would order these Matters by common Counsel according to his Peoples Mind; and declares that none that went over to the Heretical Party and Faction of *Felicitissimus* should be readmitted

(a) Quanquam, fratres carissimi, Britius fidelissimus atque integerrimus Presbyter, item Rogatianus, & Numidicus, Presbyteri, — plenam vobis presentia suæ diligentiam præbeant, & exhortationibus assiduis singulos corroborare, sed & lapsorum mentes consiliis salubribus regere & reformare non desinant, &c. Cyprian. Epist. 43. [Edit. fol. Amstel. 1700. secundum Felicianam edit.] pag. 227.

(b) De Ecclesiâ sponte se pellerent. Ibid. p. 228.

(c) Ne parùm fuisset corrupisse quorundam Confessorum mentes, & contra sacerdotium Dei portionem ruptæ fraternitatis armare voluisse; nunc se ad lapsorum perniciem veneratâ suâ deceptione verterunt, ut ægros & saucios — à medellâ vulneris sui avocent, & intermissis precibus & orationibus, — ad exitiosam temeritatem mendacio captiosâ pacis invitent, Ibid. Cathedra una est super Petrum fundata.

Aliud Altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare & unum sacerdotium non potest. Quisquis aliò collegerit, spargit. Ibid. pag. 229.

(d) Persecutionis istius novissima hæc est & extrema tentatio, quæ & ipso cito Domino protegente transibit, ut repræsentent vobis post Paschæ diem cum collegis meis; quibus presentibus secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, & omnium nostrum commune concilium, sicut semel placuit, ea quæ agenda sunt, disponere pariter & limare poterimus. Si qui autem penitentiam agere & Deo satisfacere derectans, ad Felicitissimi & satellitum ejus partes concesserit, & se hæreticæ factioni conjunxerit; sciat se postea ad Ecclesiam redire & cum Episcopis & plebe Christi communicare non posse. Ibid. pag. 229, 230.

re-admitted to the Communion of the Church. Let any unbiassed Reader then judge, whether these Five Presbyters had before their Schism any Congregations under their Care as distinct from his.

I know indeed, that Dr. Maurice pretends to draw such an Inference from some Passages in Cyprian, as if he had several Congregations to make up his Episcopal Charge. But his Arguments are so fully answered by Mr. Jameson in his *Cyprianus Isotimus*, that I may refer the Reader to him. I shall therefore content myself with a short Answer to them.

One of his Arguments is drawn from the great Sum of 781 l. 5 s. raised by the Church of Carthage for the Redemption of Captives, which he tells us must suppose a considerable Diocese to furnish it, especially after a terrible Persecution: But this Argument his Friend Mr. Dodwell has shewn to be of no Force. [See his *Second Letter to Mr. Baxter*, Sect. 50.] And it were easy to shew him greater Sums raised upon pressing Occasions by single Congregations, whose Members are generally speaking far from being rich. But Mr. Dodwell's Conceit that the Sum was 781250 l. has no other Foundation than his own Imagination. [See *Cypr. Epist.* 62. p. 275. & *Felli* notam in loc.]

Another Argument he draws from the Number of Presbyters in his Church, since when some of them had fallen away, there were yet so many left, that * he advises them to go to the Confessors in Prison by turns to administer the Communion to them, that the changing of the Persons, and seeing new faces daily, might make them less envied.

Ans. I need not here have recourse to what Gregory Nazianzen tells us, concerning the Age he lived in, That the Number of Presbyters was sometimes greater than that of those governed by them. 'Tis evident from the whole Strain of the Epistles that Cyprian had but Eight Presbyters, and this can therefore import no more than his advising those of them that had not fallen away to take turns in administering the Communion to the Confessors, that a Change of Faces might render them less exposed to the Notice and Envy of their Persecutors. If their Enemies were vigilant, this Advice would have signified little, tho' all the Eight had been employed by turns. If they were remiss, this End might be attained by Three taking turns as well as by more.

His next Argument is, "That when Four of his Presbyters had wrote to him about something relating to his Church, he tells his Clergy, he was resolved from the Time he was made Bishop, to determine nothing without advising with his Clergy, Ep. 14. Which intimates (saith he) that they were not of the Clergy residing at Carthage, because 'tis not likely that Four Persons would write to their Bishop without consulting their Brethren, if they lived together with them, and met at the same Altar."

Ans. There is no such Thing intimated, as that those Four Compresbyters of his (as he there calls 'em) Donatus, Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius did not reside at Carthage. Nor does the Reason he alledges prove any such Thing. These Four

might foresee that the other Four Presbyters would be against what they proposed to Cyprian, and they might be willing before they proposed it to the rest to gain him over to their Mind, whose Judgment would sway much both with the Presbyters and the People. But all this is so far from proving several Congregations belonging to the Episcopal Church of Carthage, that Cyprian's Words overthrow any such Inference; since he tells these Four Presbyters, that from the Beginning of his Episcopacy, he determined to do nothing by his private Opinion without their Advice and the Consent of his Flock. But how the Congregations of a Diocese should meet to signify such Consent, Dr. Maurice has never explained to us.

His last Argument is, from the express mention of "One Country-Presbyter and Deacon belonging to the Diocese of Carthage, viz. Gains Diddensis Presbyter, who from several Passages in that Epistle, appears to have been near the City and under his Jurisdiction."

Ans. Dr. Maurice has offered us no Proof at all of Gains being a Country-Presbyter, or Curate of any Village belonging to the pretended Diocese of Carthage. He may be called Diddensis from the Place of his Birth, not from any Country-Village Church he was Curate of. Besides, Dr. Maurice takes it here for granted, That this Gains communicated with the Lapsed in a Place of publick Worship, and that distinct from the Congregations he supposes in Carthage. But there is no Intimation of any such Thing in the Epistle; 'tis much more probable that this was done by him either in Time of Sickness, or in some private irregular Meeting. But that it can imply no such regular distinct Congregations belonging to Cyprian's Episcopal Church, appears from the Epistle itself. Where he saith, † That if any forward Presbyter or Deacon of ours, or any Stranger should communicate with the Lapsed before our Sentence, let him be suspended, and give an Account of his Rashness before us all, when God permitting we shall meet together. And then speaking of the Case of the two Subdeacons and the Acolyte, he saith, * He could not be alone Judge of that Affair, since many of the Clergy were absent; and what concerned these particular Persons, was not only to be treated of and adjudged with his Collegues, but also with his whole People. Let the Reader then judge whether Dr. Maurice have given us any tolerable Proof of several Congregations belonging to the Episcopal Church of Carthage. To this I may add, That though the whole Episcopal Church of Cyprian could meet together, yet in the Heat of Persecution, they might for greater Safety meet in smaller Parties. And so Cyprian himself advises them to do (Ep. 5. p. 176.) *Caute & non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam conveniendum*. But this plainly implies his whole Flock could meet together.

But from this Negative, I pass

2. To a more positive Argument. Cyprian with his Collegues had in his Exile ordained Celerinus, one of the Readers of his Church, (as he had done Aurelius before,) and writing to his Presbyters, Deacons, and his whole Flock, after having alledged

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* Consulite ergo & providete, ut cum temperamento hoc agi [Confessorum visitationem] tutis possit: ita ut presbyteri quoque, qui illic apud Confessores offerunt, singuli cum singulis Diaconis per vices alternent: quia & mutatio Personarum & vicissitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. Cypr. Epist. 5. p. 176.

† Siquis immoderatus & præceps, sive de nostris Presbyteris vel Diaconibus, sive de peregrinis ausus fuerit ante sententiam nostram communicare cum lapsis, à communicatione nostrâ arceatur; apud omnes nos causam dicturus temeritatis suæ, quando in unum permittente Deo convenerimus. Cypr. Epist. 34. p. 217.

* Cui rei non potui me judicem dare, cum multi adhuc de Clero absentes sint, — & hæc singulorum tractanda sit & limanda plenius ratio non tantum cum Collegis meis, sed & cum plebe ipsâ universâ. Ibid.

the Reasons of his doing it, and largely commended the Constancy of Celerinus himself under great Sufferings; he adds, † *What was more fit than that he should be set on the Pulpit, i. e. the Tribunal of the Church, that by the height of the Place he might be seen by the whole Flock, and read unto them the Precepts and Gospels of the Lord, which he had so courageously and faithfully followed, that that Voice of his that had confessed the Lord, might be daily heard in reciting what the Lord had spoken (in his Word.)* And then he adds, *That he had Thoughts also of advancing him to be one of the Presbyters.* And the same is observed in the Ordination of Aurelius another Lector, † that is supposed by Cyprian to read to the Fraternity, and to be Reader to the same Flock to whom he was Bishop.

Had there been several Congregations under Cyprian's Charge as their Bishop, how comes he to give no Intimation, in which of them Aurelius and Celerinus were to officiate as Readers? Nay, how comes he to suppose only one Pulpit for his Church, and that Celerinus's Person might be seen and his Voice heard of the whole Flock? And since the Epistles concerning these Readers are directed to the Presbyters and Deacons, and to the Plebs universa, whole Flock, either Cyprian by the whole Flock means only one Part of his Flock, (viz.) That which is supposed to meet at his own Cathedral, while there were several other Congregations besides;) or all that were under his Episcopal Charge. That he intends only one Part of his Episcopal Flock, (excluding the far greater) is what no Commentators on him ever dreamed of, and is sufficiently disproved from his writing to all his Presbyters and Deacons; and the (Plebs universa) whole Flock must import all under their Presidency and Care, as well as his. If he mean the whole of his Episcopal Charge, then they could be no more than a numerous Congregation, since he supposes that in the Pulpit of his Church, Celerinus might be seen and heard by the same (Plebs universa) whole Flock, to whom his Epistle is directed.

3. Cyprian's whole Church could and did ordinarily join together in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

He did [*Sacramenti veritatem omni fraternitate præsentē celebrare*] celebrate the Sacrament in the Presence of all the Brotherhood, and supposes this to be the Practice of other Bishops as well as his. Cypr. Epist. 63. p. 277.

4. His whole Episcopal Church were ordinarily present in all Acts of Discipline relating to the Censure or Absolution of Offenders.

(a) He determined in general to do nothing by his private Opinion, without the Counsel of his Presbyters, and the Consent of his Flock.

(b) As to the Lapsi, he would consider their Case in a Conference for Joint-Advice with the (neighbouring) Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the Laity standing by.

He would not be (c) Judge alone of the Case of the Subdeacons and the two Acolyte (many of the Clergy being absent and not returned) because their Cause was to be fully treated on and considered, not only with his Collegues, but with his whole Flock itself.

(d) The Lapsi were to plead their Cause not only before the Clergy and the Confessors, but before the whole Flock. Nay, they were to be admitted or (e) excluded according to the Suffrages of the Brotherhood, as well as those of the Clergy.

The Affairs of Discipline were to be concluded (f) according to the Peoples Pleasure or Mind, as well as common Council of the Clergy. They were to be (g) decided, the People being present, and giving their Judgment.

All these, and many more Passages of the like import through Cyprian's Epistles, are very clear and easily accounted for, if we suppose his Episcopal Church to be no more than one numerous Congregation. But we must utterly despair of understanding them, if his Episcopal Charge consisted of many Congregations that could no way meet together, that could not be present together at such mutual Consultations, in order to their forming a Judgment concerning the Cases relating to Discipline that were to be examined and considered before them. And much less could Cyprian's Church be like a modern Diocese, where the hundredth or thousandth Part of the Flock could not be present, when such Causes were to be tried and decided.

And for the Evasion that Dr. Maurice makes Use of to avoid the Force of such Passages as these, viz. That when all the Flock, all the Brotherhood, &c. are said to meet and to be present on such Occasions, it may be understood only of one Congregation, (whatever is done in Publick and before a Congregation that is unlimited, being in the common way of Speaking said to be done by the whole Community,) or it may be understood of the Bishop's Congregation, that was more eminently called the Church, though there were other Congregations under his Charge: I cannot see how 'tis possible to reconcile it with Cyprian's Expressions. For when Cyprian writes to all his Presbyters and Deacons, and to his whole Flock, it were the grossest Absurdity imaginable to suppose that he means only a small (perhaps a sixth or

† Hunc ad nos cum tantâ Domini dignatione venientem, — quid aliud quam super pulpitem, id est, super tribunal Ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, & plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta & Evangelium Domini quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur? Vox Dominum confessa in his quotidie quæ Dominus loquutus est audiat? Viderit an sit ulterior gradus ad quem profici in Ecclesiâ possit. Cyprian. Epist. 39. p. 224.

† Placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat, [in pulpito] à fratribus conspici, hic cum gaudio fraternitatis audiri. — Vos scio & libenter amplecti & optare tales in Ecclesiâ nostrâ quam plurimos ordinari. Cypr. Epist. 38. p. 222.

(a) A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine, consilio vestro [nempe Presbyterorum] & sine consensu plebis, meâ privatim sententiâ gerere. Cypr. Epist. 14. p. 192.

(b) Hoc & verecundiæ & disciplinæ & vitæ ipsi omnium nostrum convenit; ut præpositi cum Clero convenientes, præsentē & stantium plebe, disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus. Epist. 19. p. 198. Audiant quæ-

so patienter consilium nostrum, expectent regressionem nostram, ut cum ad vos per Dei misericordiam venerimus, convocati coepiscopi plures, secundum Domini disciplinam & Confessorum præsentiam, [addunt quædam Editiones, & vestram quoque sententiâ], beatorum Martyrum literas & desideria examinare possimus. Epist. 17. p. 197. *Inscrivitur Epistola, Cyprianus fratribus in plebe consistentibus.*

(c) See Cyprian's Words before Pag. 244.

(d) Acturi & apud nos & apud Confessores ipsos, & apud plebem universam causam suam, Cypr. Epist. 16. p. 196. So — Præpositi cum Clero convenientes, præsentē & stantium plebe. Epist. 19. p. 198.

(e) Olim secundum vestra suffragia, nunc secundum Dei judicia, sententiâ conjurationis & malignitatis suæ subire meruerunt. Epist. 43. p. 229.

(f) Secundum arbitrium vestrum, & omnium nostrum commune concilium. Ibid.

(g) Examinabuntur singula præsentibus & judicantibus vobis. Epist. 17. p. 197.

or eighth Part) of the Christian People under his Episcopal Charge. And yet 'tis his whole Flock that he supposes to be present at, and concerned in the Judgment to be passed in the Case of the Lapsi, and that their Mind was to be followed therein, as well as the Advice of the Presbyters and Deacons. Now had there been Six or Eight Congregations under his Episcopal Care, why should the Judgment of One only be regarded and followed, and all the rest excluded? Where would be the Equity of such a Proceeding, when the other Congregations had their Lapsi, as well as the Cathedral Church, and were equally interested in what should be determined concerning their Restoration to the Communion of the Church; But of this more may occur under the next Head.

5. As Cyprian himself was chosen Bishop of that Church by the Suffrages of the People, so he asserts it as the general Practice of the Churches in his Time, that all the People over whom the Bishop was to preside met to choose him.

Thus in an Epistle directed to the Clergy and Flocks in Spain concerning Martialis and Basilides, he tells them, (b) "That the People should not flatter themselves as free from the Contagion of the Fault when they communicated with a sinful Priest, and gave their Consent to the Presidency of a wicked Bishop.— Wherefore a Flock that is obedient to God's Commands and fears him, ought to separate from a wicked Bishop, and not join in the Sacrifice of a sacrilegious Priest, since the Flock or People has the chief Power of choosing worthy Priests, and refusing unworthy Ones. Which we see comes down to us from Divine Authority, That the Priest should be chosen in Presence of the Flock, and in the Sight of all, that he may be approved as worthy and fit by the Judgment and Testimony of all. This is observed according to Divine Authority in the Acts of the Apostles, when Peter speaks to the People concerning the Ordination of a Bishop in the Place of Judas; 'tis said, Peter rose up in the midst of the Disciples, the whole Company being met together. And we may take Notice, that the Apostles observed this not only in the Ordination of Bishops and Priests, but of Deacons too; concerning which 'tis written in the Acts, That the Twelve gathered together the multitude of the Disciples, and said to them, &c. Which was therefore so diligently and carefully transacted before all the People, lest any unworthy Person should by secret Arts creep into the Ministry of the Altar, or the Sacerdotal Station. This therefore is to be observed and held as founded on Divine Tradition and Apostolical Practice. Which is also kept up with

us, and almost in all Provinces, that in order to the right Celebration of Ordinations, the neighbouring Bishops of the same Province meet with that Flock to which the Bishop is ordained, and that the Bishop be chosen in Presence of the People which knows every ones Life, and is acquainted with their whole Conversation. Which we see was done by you in the Ordination of Sabinus our Colleague, that the Episcopacy was conferred on him by the Suffrage of the whole Brotherhood, and of the Bishops who were met there, and wrote to you concerning him."

And here again Dr. Maurice's Exception will have no great Weight with unprejudiced Persons, That because the like Expressions were used, concerning the Ordinations of the 4th, 5th and 6th Centuries at Rome itself, where there were more Congregations; they cannot import, That in these Ordinations in the Third Century, all the Bishop's Flock did meet and concur in them. I grant indeed, that we are not obliged to take these Expressions in so strict a Sense, as to conclude that every particular Member was present. Some might be absent thro' Sickness or Business, &c. but that the main Body of the People over whom the Bishop was to preside, met together to choose him. And when this is so fully declared in the above-mentioned Passage, (and many other Passages of ancient Writers that might be produced to the same Purpose,) we have no Reason to recede from their obvious Sense on the Account suggested by Dr. Maurice. Because while Popular Elections still continued, the same Forms of Speech might be used concerning the Peoples Choice, where yet the Greatness of their Numbers, rendered them incapable of such a general Concurrence in the Ordination of their Bishops as had been formerly practised. Those Elections might be said to be made by all the People, which were managed by a leading Party among them, the rest not opposing their Choice, but rather acquiescing in it: But this cannot be applied to the Elections, here mentioned by Cyprian, which so expressly declare the Presence of the Bishop's whole Flock, both in Elections, and in all Acts of Discipline, and even in the ordinary Parts of Publick Worship.

And here I cannot but observe, how unreasonable it is to make the Bishop's Churches in a few of the greatest Cities, the Standard and Measure to judge of the rest by. 'Tis as unreasonable as to make those overgrown Parishes that have some Six, some Ten or Twelve Chapels of Ease under them, the Standard by which to judge of the rest: Or as if we should measure the common Stature of Men, from a few that are arrived to a monstrous Height and Bulk. Of which I shall have Occasion to speak more fully afterwards.

I

(b) Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans, & ad injustum atque illicitum præpositi sui Episcopatum consensum suum commodans. — Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens, à peccatore præposito separare se debet; nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maximè habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod & ipsum videmus de divinà auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos plebe præsentē, sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur. — Quod secundum divinā magisteria observatur in Actis Apostolorum; quando de ordinando in locum Judæ Apostolo Petrus ad plebem loquitur: Surrexit, inquit, Petrus in medio discipulorum, fuit autem turba in uno. Nec hoc in Episcoporum tantum & sacerdotum, sed in Diaconorum ordinationibus observasse Apostolos animadvertimus, de quo

& ipso in actis eorum scriptum est: Et convocaverunt, inquit, illi duodecim totam plebem discipulorum, & dixerunt eis. Quod utique idcirco tam diligenter & cautè convocata plebe totà gerebatur, ne quis ad Altaris ministerium, vel ad sacerdotalem locum obreperet. — Propter quod diligenter de traditione divinā, & Apostolicā observatione servandum est & tenendum quod apud nos quoque, & ferè per Provincias tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique convenient, & Episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit. Quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, iudicio; Episcopatus ei deferretur. Cypr. Epist. 67. p. 288, 289.

I now proceed to the

Second Enquiry, viz. Whether Cyprian supposes any real Distinction of Office between him and his Presbyters, by appropriating any spiritual Powers thereto; and whether he supposes the Difference between them founded on Divine Right?

Before I enter on this, I shall consider what Mr. Dr--- alleges from Cyprian, to countenance that Distinction of Order, that he supposes him to make between Bishops and Presbyters.

Cyprian's Words are these, (i) Our Lord, whose Commands we ought to fear and obey, instituting the Honour of a Bishop and the Order of his Church, speaks thus to Peter in the Gospel; I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and what thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound also in Heaven, &c. From whence thro' all the Vicissitudes of Time, the Order of Bishops and Constitution of the Church is so handed down, that the Church is built on the Bishops, and every Act of the Church is ordered and managed by them. Seeing therefore this is founded in the Law of God, I wonder some [of the Lapsi] should be so rash and insolent as to write to me in the Name of the Church, seeing a Church consists of a Bishop, Clergy, and of all that stand faithful [i. e. in a Time of Persecution.]

Mr. Dr--- is indeed aware that I should take some Exceptions against this Argument drawn from St. Peter, and he had very good Reason to be so, for we need only compare this Passage with a Parallel one of the same Author, to overturn the Conclusion that Mr. Dr--- would draw from it. Cyprian sets himself to magnify his Parochial Episcopacy as much as possible, and speaking against such Schismatics as Novatins, that broke the Unity of the Church; (k) "This (saith he) therefore comes to pass (most dear Brethren) because Men return not to the Original of Truth, nor seek the Head, nor observe the Doctrine of our heavenly Master. Which Things if a Man consider and examine, there needs no long arguing about it, there is an easy compendious Way of Truth to confirm our Faith. Our Lord speaks to Peter, I say unto thee, because thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: And what Things soever ye shall bind on

Earth shall be bound in Heaven. And again, after his Resurrection he saith, Feed my Sheep. Upon one he builds his Church: And tho' he gives an equal Power to all his Apostles, and says, As my Father sent me I send you, receive the Holy Ghost, whose Sins soever ye forgive, they are forgiven, &c. Yet that he might manifest Unity [he constituted one Chair, and] by his own Authority he ordered the Beginning (or Original) of that Unity, to proceed from one Person. The rest of the Apostles were the same that Peter was, being endued with the same Fellowship both of Honour and Power. But the beginning proceeds from Unity. [There is a Primacy given to Peter,] that the Church [and Chair of Christ] may be shown to be one. [They are all indeed Pastors, but one Flock is shown that is to be fed by the Apostles with an unanimous Consent.]

Now if we compare these two Passages together, 'tis evident from them, That Cyprian gives no other Primacy or Prebeminence to his Parochial Bishop above his Presbyters, than what he ascribes to Peter above the rest of the Apostles. And since he asserts the Equality of all the Apostles in Point of Honour and Power, he only ascribes to Peter a Primacy of Order, which rendered him as it were the Centre of Unity to the rest of the Apostles. He can therefore pursuant to his Argument, ascribe no Prebeminence in respect of Office or Power to his Parochial Bishop above his Presbyters, but only a Primacy of Order for the more effectual preserving of Unity in particular Churches. And as such a supposed Primacy of Peter, made no Difference in Point of Office and Power between him and the rest of the Apostles; so neither can it constitute any such Difference of Office or Order between his Bishop and Presbyters.

And I may add, since this Argument of Cyprian's is founded on a palpable Mistake of his, as if such a Primacy of Order were given by our Saviour to St. Peter; (In which the Generality of Protestant Writers, and particularly Dr. Barrow have shewn that he had no solid Ground for his Supposition;) So his Argument for the Divine Right of the Primacy, or Prebeminence of a Parochial Bishop above his Presbyters, falls to the Ground with it, and the one Part of his Assertion deserves no more Credit than the other.

For the other Passages cited by Mr. Dr---, wherein Cyprian tells the Deacons who grew insolent to their Presbyters and their Bishops, that they ought to remember, that the Lord had chose Apostles, i. e. Bishops and Presbyters; it

(i) Dominus noster, cujus præcepta metuere & observare debemus, Episcopi honorem, & Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in Evangelio loquitur, & dicit Petro; Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, & super illam petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam, & tibi dabo claves regni cælorum; & quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata & in cælis, & quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta & in cælis. Inde per temporum & successionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio, & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesiæ super Episcopos constitatur: & omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem Præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divinâ lege fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate sic mihi scribere voluisse, ut Ecclesiæ nomine literas facerent; quando Ecclesiæ in Episcopo & Clero, & in omnibus stantibus sit constituta. Cypr. Epist. 32. p. 216. Vid. etiam Ep. 73, nempe, ad Jubaianum, p. 308.

(k) Hoc ed fit, fratres dilectissimi, dum ad veritatis originem non reditur, nec caput quæritur, nec magistri cælestis doctrina servatur. Quæ si quis consideret & examinet, tractatu longo atque argumento opus non est. Probatio est ad fidem facilis compendio veritatis. Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & super

istam petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam: Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum; & quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt soluta & in cælis; & quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta & in cælis. Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit: Pasce oves meas, Super unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat, & dicat; sicut misit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum; si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi; si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur: Tamen ut unitate manifestaret [unam cathedram constituit, & — Ita quidam legunt, omittit Editio Felli-ana] unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur; ut Ecclesiæ una monstretur. Cypr. Tract. de unitate Ecclesiæ. p. 76, — 78. Addunt vulgata Editiones, — Exordium ab unitate proficiscitur.

Primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi Ecclesiæ & Cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur.

is evident, That St. Cyprian by *Præpositus* there intends *Presbyters* as distinguished from *Bishops*, supposing, that the *Bishop* was in the *Confessus* of *Presbyters*, what *Peter* was among the rest of the *Apostles*, and the *Presbyters* were as the *Colleague* of *Apostles*, among whom the *Bishop* had a *Primacy*. And of this Mr. Dodwell was so sensible, that he freely owns, that Cyprian made *Peter* the *Type* of every *Bishop*, and the rest of the *Apostles* the *Type* of his *Presbyters*; and therefore warmly contends for the *Preheminence* of St. *Peter* to support that of the *Bishop*. But we see what *Preheminence* St. Cyprian intended, when he asserts all the *Apostles* to be equal in *Dignity* and *Power*, bating only this *Primacy* for *Order* and *Unity's* sake.

But in order to the fuller Resolution of this Question, I would lay the following Observations from Cyprian before the Reader.

1. We may observe, that Cyprian does on all Occasions divide the Clergy into two Classes, the one including *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, the other the *Deacons*.

Thus (l) he divides those to whom the Discipline of the Church is committed, into *Presidents* (including therein *Bishops* and *Presbyters*) and *Deacons*. And elsewhere speaking of the proud *Deacon* of whom *Rogatianus* had complained, he saith, (m) "The *Deacons* ought to remember, That the Lord hath chosen *Apostles*, i. e. *Bishops* and *Presidents*, [as St. Paul calls them *ἐπισκοποι καὶ προέδρους*, 1 Tim. V. 17.] But the *Apostles* after our Lord's *Ascension* to Heaven constituted *Deacons* as the *Ministers* or *Servants* of their *Episcopacy*, and of the Church.

2. We may observe, that in all Acts of Discipline and Government, his *Presbyters* concurred with him.

Thus he tells his *Presbyters* (n) That he earnestly desired to return to them, that they might treat of, and after due Examination determine by common Advice, what was for the common Good in Matters of Church-Government. And he (o) desires and enjoins them to supply his Place in his Absence, in doing whatever the due Administration of the Affairs of Religion required. And, (p) As to that which our *Com-presbyters* *Donatus* and *Fortunatus*, *Novatus* and *Gordius* wrote to me about, I could write nothing back alone, because from my first Entrance on my *Episcopacy*, I resolved to do nothing by my Private Judgment, without your Counsel and the Consent of my People. But when I shall through the Favour of God return to you, we will consider in common the Things that are done or to be done, as our mutual Respect requires.

So in Reference to the Case of the *Lapsi*, for

whose Restoration the Confessors interceded, he saith to his *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, (q) Which Affair since it requires the Advice and Judgment of us all, I dare not judge in it beforehand, nor challenge to myself the sole Determination of that common Affair.

And in Reference to Ordinations themselves, he declares, (r) In all clerical Ordinations (most dear Brethren,) we are wont to advise with you, and to ponder the Manners and Merits of every one by common Counsel; and therefore apologizes for the Ordination of *Aurelius* in his Exile, because humane Testimonies were not to be waited for, where divine Suffrages did precede. The like (s) Apology he makes for his making *Satyrus* Reader, and *Optatus* Subdeacon, That their Promotion had been in effect agreed on before, and was now through urgent Necessity hastened.

In short Cyprian's *Presbyters* were his *Synbrothi*, his *Colleagues*, they concurred with him in the Absolution of Penitents, in the Suspension and Excommunication of scandalous Members, they presided and judged with him in all Cases wherein the Laity were concerned, or any other Affairs relating to the Congregation were determined.

And from hence, we may judge, whether his Superiority was any greater than that of a *Parish-Rector* over his *Assistant-Curates*, who yet are of the same Office and Order with him, though not equally entrusted with the Care of the Congregation. Nay, if we may judge by common Practice, I think our *Parish-Rectors* assume a much more absolute and independent Power, in managing the Affairs relating to their *Parish-Churches*, than ever Cyprian did; and pay far less Respect and Deference to the Judgment of their *Curates* in such Matters, than Cyprian did to his *Presbyters*.

But these Things are so fully treated of by Dr. Rule in his *Cyprianick Bishop examined*, by Mr. Lauder in his *State of the ancient Bishop considered*, and by Mr. Jameson in his *Cyprianus Isotimus*, that till they are answered, it is needless to insist any longer on Cyprian's Testimony, which is by the Resolution of the Questions I have proposed, rendered wholly unserviceable to the *Diocesan Cause*.

Having resolved to confine myself to Mr. Dr's Testimonies from the Three First Centuries, I shall at present take no further Notice of the few Scraps he has collected from *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, and *Athanasius*, than to suggest the following Particulars.

For *Gregory Nazianzen*, if ever he thought the Office of a *Bishop* above *Presbyters* to be of Divine Right, I know not how to reconcile it with his passionate Wish. (t) "Would to God, there were no Prelacy, no Prerogative of Place, no tyrannical

(l) Cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multo magis Præpositos & Diaconos hoc curare fas est. Cypr. Epist. 4. p. 174.

(m) Meminisse autem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est, Episcopos & Præpositos Dominus elegit: Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini cælos Apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatus sui & Ecclesiæ ministros. Epist. 3. p. 173. — sacerdotes & ministri, qui altari & sacrificiis deserviunt. Epist. 72. p. 305.

(n) Ipse ad vos properare & venire debeo; primò cupiditate & desiderio vestri; — tum deinde ut ea quæ circa Ecclesiæ gubernaculum utilitas communis exposcit, tractare simul & plurimorum consilio examinata limare possemus. Epist. 14. p. 191.

(o) Fretus ergo & dilectione & religione vestrà, quam satis novi, his literis & hortor & mando, ut vos — vice meâ fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit. Ibid.

(p) Ad id quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri Donatus & Fortunatus, Novatus & Gordius, solus rescribere nihil potui; quando à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis, meâ privatim sententiâ gerere; sed cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, tunc de iis quæ vel gesta sunt vel gerenda, sicut honor mutui poscit, in commune tractabimus. Ibid. p. 192.

(q) Quæ res cum omnium nostrum consilium & sententiam expectet, præjudicare ego, & solus mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. Epist. 26. p. 205.

(r) In ordinationibus Clericis, fratres Carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communis consilio ponderare: Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt divina suffragia: Aurelius frater noster, à Domino jam probatus, &c. Epist. 38. p. 222.

(s) Quoniam oportuit me per Clericos scribere; scio autem nostros plurimos absentes esse, paucos verò qui illic sunt vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere, necesse fuit novos aliquos constituere. — Fecisse me autem sciatis Lectorem Satyrum, & Hypodiaconum Optatum Confessorum; quos jam pridem communi consilio Cleri proximos feceramus. — Nihil ergo à me absentibus vobis factum est, sed quod jam pridem communi consilio omnium nostrum cœperat, necessitate urgente promotum est. Epist. 29. p. 208.

(t) Ὅς ὀφείλον γε μὴδὲ ἡμετέρεια, μὴδὲ τις τότε περὶ μῆτις καὶ τυραννικῆς προνομίας, ἢ ἡ ἀρετῆς μὴν ἰγνώσκοντα. νῦν δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ταῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀρετῆς, καὶ τὸ μέσον, καὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον καὶ πρᾶγμα καλῶτερον, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δὲ συνβελίξεν, πολλὰ πεποιθεὶς τὰ συνέμματα ἡμῶν διακεῖν, καὶ πολλὰς αἰτίας βιάσας ὡς, καὶ αἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἰστέον χάριν ἀπύχοναι. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 28. Op. Edit. Morelli, fol. Paris. 1630. Vol. I. p. 484.

"rannical Privileges, that we might be distinguished by Vertue alone. Now this right and left Hand, and middle Rank, these higher and lower Dignities, and this State-like Precedency have caused many fruitless Conflicts and Bruises, have cast many into the Pit, and carried away Multitudes to the Place of the Goats. But the Truth is, the Passages cited by Mr. Dr-- speak nothing to the Point in question.

The same may be said concerning the Passage he cites from *Athanasius*. We will freely grant him, That whoever despises the Office of a Bishop despiseth Christ who ordained it; but what signifies this to prove the Office of a *Presbyter*, to be a distinct Office from that of a *Bishop*?

As to *Epiphanius*, I would not have Mr. Dr-- lay any great Stress upon his Testimony; for he has proved the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters, by Arguments much of the like Weight and Force, as he has proved the Expediency of Praying for the Dead. Besides his Bishops were generally *Parochial* ones, as I shall have Occasion to observe afterwards.

And for his Decree of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which he calls an *Act of the Church*, that determines it to be *Sacrilege to depress a Bishop down to the Degree of a Presbyter*; as it speaks nothing of the Point of *Divine Right*, so it may deserve the Consideration of those *Diocesan Bishops*, that have depressed so many *Parish-Rectors* (the true *Primitive Bishops*) down to the Degree of *Presbyters*, nay, far below that of the ancient *Presbyters*, (after the Distinction between them and Bishops begun.) And if Mr. Dr-- would have this pass for *Sacrilege*, he sees where the Guilt of it is most applicable.

For the Testimonies he boasts of from *St. Austin* and *St. Ambrose*, we shall consider them when he is pleased to produce them; but I would advise him to prove either of them to be properly *Diocesan Bishops* before he makes Use of their Testimony.

But I cannot dismiss this Head of *Antiquity*, without taking some Notice of the Passage where-with Mr. Dr-- concludes it, wherein he pretends, "That *St. Jerome* himself is of his Opinion concerning the Three Orders of the Clergy as of *Divine Right*, and only pleads for the Name of Bishops and Presbyters, being promiscuously used in Scripture, but supposes the supreme Ecclesiastical Power lodged in the Bishops as the Successors of the Apostles, which the Presbyters were never vested in."

Mr. Dr-- must have a mean Opinion of his

Reader's Understanding, or expect that he should resign up his Judgment by an implicate Faith to his *ipse dixit*, or else he would never assert so strange a Paradox as this, with such an Air of Assurance, when he knows how great a Secret all the Divines of the Reformed Churches lay on *Jerome's Testimony*, (as to the Judgment of Antiquity in this Matter) and how entirely they have baffled all the Sophistry wherewith such Learned Jesuits, as *Petavius*, *Ballarmin*, *Bailly*, and others have endeavoured to elude *Jerome's Testimony*; how fully some of the Learned Divines of the Established Church have joined with them herein, in Opposition to the *Papish Writers*; nay, how ingenuously and fairly some of the more candid Romanists have given up the Cause by owning, That *Jerome's Sentiments* were the same with those of *Aerius*, as to the Scriptural Bishop and Presbyter, being the same not only in Name but in Office. After all this, for Mr. Dr-- to persuade us, That he was of a quite different Opinion, without offering one Syllable for the Proof of it, looks as if he had a Mind to impose on our easy Credulity.

I shall therefore lay before the Reader *Jerome's Sentiments* in this Point, not from occasional Passages, but from such wherein he most expressly declares his Judgment concerning it: I shall take some Notice of the Artifices used by the *Papish Writers* in their Defence of the *Divine Right* of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, either to evade his Testimony, or to affix a quite contrary Sense to his Expressions; and shall endeavour to shew what Violence they are obliged to offer to his plain Words; and on what frivolous Grounds they go in perverting the obvious Sense of them. And I choose to do this the rather, because none of the ancient Writers have more accurately observed the first Rise of *Diocesan Episcopacy*, and the Occasion of it, and the Deviation made therein from the *Apostolical Parity*, and have more evidently ascribed this not to any *Divine Institution*, but only to *Ecclesiastical Custom*. So that his Sentiments will greatly illustrate and confirm the Testimonies already produced from the most celebrated Writers of the Three first Ages, and a few Observations thereon shall conclude this Chapter concerning the Testimony of the ancient Fathers in this Controversy.

I shall first cite the Passages wherein *Jerome* most clearly delivers his Judgment in this Matter.

(u) "Let us diligently attend the Words of the Apostle, saying, That thou mayst ordain Elders in every

(u) Diligenter Apostoli verba attendamus dicentis, Ut constituas per civitates presbyteros, sicut ego tibi disposui. Qui qualis presbyter debeat ordinari, in consequentibus disserens, hoc ait: Siquis est sine crimine, unius uxoris vir; & cetera: postea intulit, oportet enim Episcopum sine crimine esse, tanquam Dei dispensatorem. Idem est ergo Presbyter qui Episcopus: & antequam Diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent: & diceretur in populis, ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cepha: communi presbyterorum consilio, ecclesiae gubernantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi: in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris: ad quem omnis ecclesiae cura pertineret: & schismatum semina tollerentur. Putat aliquis non scripturarum, sed nostram esse sententiam, episcopum & presbyterum unum esse; & aliud aetatis, aliud esse nomen officii: relegat Apostoli ad Philipenses verba dicentis: Paulus & Timotheus servi Jesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Jesu, qui sunt Philippis, cum episcopis & diaconis, gratia vobis & pax, & reliqua. Philippi una est urbs Macedonia: & certe in una civitate plures, ut nuncupantur, episcopi esse non poterant. Sed quia eosdem Episcopos illo tempore quos & Presbyteros appellabant; propterea indifferenter de Episcopis quasi de presbyteris est locutus. Adhuc hoc alicui videatur ambiguum,

nisi altero testimonio comprobetur. In Actibus Apostolorum scriptum est, quod cum venisset Apostolus Miletum, emisit Ephesum; & vocaverit presbyteros ecclesiae ejusdem, quibus postea inter cetera sit locutus: Attendite vobis & omni gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos, pascere ecclesiam Domini, quam acquisivit per sanguinem suum. Et hic diligentius observate, quomodo unius civitatis Ephesi presbyteros vocans postea eosdem episcopos dixerit. Si quis vult recipere eam Epistolam, quae sub nomine Pauli ad Hebraeos scripta est: & ibi aequaliter plures ecclesiae cura dividitur. Siquidem ad plebem scribit, Parete principibus vestris, & subiecti estote: ipsi enim sunt qui vigilant pro animabus vestris, quasi rationem reddentes, ne suspirantes hoc faciant. Siquidem hoc utile [leg. inutile] vobis est. Et Petrus, qui ex fidei firmitate nomen accipit, in epistola sua loquitur dicens, Presbyteros ergo in vobis obsecro compresbyter, & testis Christi passionum, qui & ejus gloriae quae in futuro revelanda est, socius sum, pascite eum qui in vobis est gregem Domini, non quasi cum necessitate, sed voluntarie. Haec propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos & episcopos: paulatim verò ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesia consuetudine ei qui sibi propositus fuerit esse subiectos: Ita episcopi

every City, as I have appointed thee. Who discount-
sing in what follows, what Sort of Presbyter is
to be ordained, saith, If any one be blameless,
the Husband of one Wife, &c. afterwards adds,
For a Bishop must be blameless as the Steward of
God, &c. The Presbyter is therefore the same
with the Bishop. And before by the Devil's
Instinct there were Parties in Religion, and
it was said among the People, I am of Paul, I
am of Apollas, I of Cephas, the Churches were
governed by the common Counsel of Presbyters.
But after every one thought those that he bap-
tized to be rather his than Christ's, it was de-
termined (or agreed) in the whole World,
that one of the Presbyters should be set above
the rest, to whom all Care of the Church
should belong, and the Seeds of Division taken
away. If any one should think it our Opi-
nion, and not that of the Scriptures, that Bishop
and Presbyter are the same; and that one is the
Name of Age, the other of Office; Let him read
again the Words of the Apostle to the Philippians,
saying, Paul and Timothy the Servants of Jesus Christ,
to all the Saints in Christ Jesus, that are at Philippi,
with the Bishops and Deacons, Grace be to you, &c.
Philippi is a City of Macedonia; and certainly
in one City there could be no more Bishops
(as they are styled.) But because at that Time
they called the same Persons Bishops that they
called Presbyters, therefore he spake indiffe-
rently of the Bishops as of Presbyters. This may
seem farther doubtful to some, till it be prov-
ed by another Testimony. 'Tis written in
the Acts of the Apostles, that when the Apostle
came to Miletus, he sent to Ephesus, and called
the Presbyters of that Church; to whom a-
mong other Things he said, Take heed to your-
selves, and to all the Flock over whom the Holy
Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed the Church of
God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood.
And observe this diligently, how calling toge-
ther the Presbyters of the one City of Ephesus,
he afterwards calls the same (Presbyters) Bishops.
If any will receive that Epistle which is wrote
in the Name of Paul to the Hebrews, there
also the Care of the Church is equally divided

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among many, since he writes to the People,
Obey them that have the rule over you, and sub-
mit yourselves, for they watch for your Souls as those
that must give an Account, that they may not do
it with Grief, for this is unprofitable for you. And
Peter, who received his Name from the Strength
of his Faith, in his Epistle saith, The Presbyters
among you I entreat, who am also a Presbyter, and
a Witness of the Sufferings of Christ, and a Parta-
ker of the Glory that is to be revealed, feed the Flock
of God that is among you, not of constraint, but
willingly, (1 Pet. v. 1, &c.) These Things are
alleged, that we might shew that among the
Ancients, the Presbyters were the same with the
Bishop; but by little and little, the whole Care
was devolved on one, (that the Seeds of Diffen-
tion might be plucked up.) As therefore the
Presbyters know, that by the Custom of the Church
they are subject to him, who is their President
(Præpositus;) so let Bishops know that they
are above Presbyters more by the Custom of the
Church, than the real Appointment of the Lord,
and that they ought to rule the Church in com-
mon, imitating Moses, who when he might alone
rule the People of Israel, chose Seventy with
whom he might judge the People. Let us
then see, what Sort of Presbyter or Bishop is to
be ordained.

Again, (x) In both Epistles (1 Tim. iii. and
Tit. i.) both Bishops and Presbyters tho' among the
Ancients the Bishops and Presbyters were the same,
for the one is a Name of Dignity, the other of Age;

are to be chosen, only Husbands of one Wife.
In another Epistle, (y) we read in Isaiah, That
the foolish Man will speak foolish Things; I hear
that a certain Person is broke out into such
Folly, that he prefers Deacons before Presbyters,
that is, before Bishops. For when the Apostle
clearly teaches, that Presbyters and Bishops were
the same, who can endure it, that a Minister of
Tables and of Widows should proudly exalt him-
self above those, at whose Prayers the Body and
Blood of Christ is made? Do you seek for Autho-
rity? Hear that Testimony, Paul and Timothy
Servants of Jesus Christ, to all the Saints in Christ
Jesus, that are at Philippi, with the Bishops and
Deacons.

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pi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Do-
minicæ veritate, Presbyteris esse majores: & in commune
debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen: qui cum habe-
ret in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta ele-
git cum quibus populum judicaret. Videamus igitur qualis
Presbyter sive episcopus ordinandus sit. Hieron. Comment.
in Titum, Opt. Edit. Erasmi, fol. Paris. 1546. Tom. 9.
p. 103.

(x) In utrâque Epistolâ, sive Episcopi, sive Presbyteri
(quantum apud veteres iidem episcopi & presbyteri fue-
runt; quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis) jubentur
monogami in clerum eligi. Hieron. Ep. ad Oceanum, Op.
Tom. 2. p. 106.

(y) Legimus in Esaiâ: Fatuus fatua loquetur. Audio
quendam in tantam eripuisse vecordiam: ut diaconos Pres-
byteris, id est, episcopis anteferebat. Nam cum Apostolus
perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quos Episcopos:
quid patitur mensarum & viduarum minister, ut supra eos
se tumidus efferrat ad quorum preces Christi Corpus Sanguis-
que conficitur? Queris auctoritatem? Audi Testimonium.
Paulus & Timotheus servi Christi Jesu, omnibus sanctis in
Christo Jesu, qui sunt Philippis, cum Episcopis & Diaconis.
Vis & aliud exemplum? In Actibus Apostolorum ad unius
Ecclesiæ Sacerdotes ita Paulus loquitur: Attendite vobis
& cuncto gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episco-
pos, ut regeretis ecclesiam Domini, quam acquisivit san-
guine suo. Ac ne quis contentiosè in unâ ecclesiâ plures
episcopos fuisse contendit, audi & aliud testimonium, in quo
manifestissimè comprobatur eundem esse episcopum atque
presbyterum. Propter hoc reliqui te in Cretâ, ut quæ de-
erant corrigeres, & constitueres presbyteros per civitates,
sicut & ego tibi mandavi. Si quis est sine crimine, unius
uxoris vir, filios habens fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ,
aut non subditos. Oportet enim Episcopum sine Crimine

esse, quasi Dei dispensatorem. Et ad Timotheum: Noli ne-
gligere gratiam quæ in te est, quæ tibi data est prophetia,
per impositionem manuum presbyterii. Sed & Petrus in
primâ Epistolâ: Presbyteros, inquit, in vobis precor com-
presbyter, & testis passionum Christi, & futuræ gloriæ quæ
revelanda est particeps, regere gregem Christi, & inspicere,
non ex necessitate, sed voluntariè juxta Deum. Quod qui-
dem Græcè significantius dicitur ἑπισκοπῶντες, id est, super-
intendentes, unde & nomen Episcopi tractum est. Parva ti-
bi videntur tantorum virorum testimonia? Clangat tuba
Evangelica filius tonitru, quem Jesus amavit plurimum, qui
de pectore salvatoris doctrinarum fluentia potavit: Presbyter,
electæ Domini & filiis ejus, quos ego diligo in veritate. Et
in aliâ Epistolâ: Presbyter, Gaio charissimo, quem ego diligo
in veritate. Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris
præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est: ne unusquis-
que ad se trahens Christi Ecclesiam rumperet. Nam & A-
lexandriæ à Marco Evangelistâ usque ad Heraclam & Dio-
nyssium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum,
in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quo-
modo si exercitus imperatorem faciat: aut diaconi eligant
de se, quem indutrium noverint, & archidiaconum vocent.
Quid enim facit exceptâ ordinatione episcopus, quod Presby-
ter non faciat? Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera
totius orbis æstimaanda est. Et Galliæ, & Britanniæ, & Afri-
cæ, & Persiæ, & Oriens, & India, & omnes barbaræ natio-
nes, unum Christum adorant: unam observant regulam ve-
ritatis. Si Auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubi-
cunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Con-
stantinopoli, sive Rhegii; sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis; ejus-
dem meriti, ejusdem est sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, &
paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Epi-
scopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores
sunt. Hieron. Ep. ad Evagr. Op. Tom. 2. p. 109.

Deacons. Would you have another Example? In the Acts of the Apostles, Paul speaks thus to the Priests of one Church, Take heed to yourselves, and to all the Flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, that you govern the Church which he has purchased with his own Blood. And lest any should wrangle about more Bishops being in one Church; hear also another Testimony by which it may most manifestly be proved, That the Bishop and Presbyter is the same. For this Cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in Order the Things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters in every City, as I have appointed thee; if any be blameless, the Husband of one Wife, &c. For a Bishop must be blameless, as the Steward of God. And to Timothy, Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, by laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery. And Peter also in his First Epistle, saith, The Presbyters among you I entreat, who am also a Presbyter, and a Witness of the Sufferings of Christ, and a Partaker of the Glory that is to be revealed, to rule the Flock of Christ, and to inspect it, not of constraint, but willingly according to God, which is more significantly expressed in the Greek *ἐπισκοπῆτε*, i. e. superintending it, whence the Name of Bishop is drawn. Do the Testimonies of such Men seem small to thee? Let the Evangelical Trumpet sound, the Son of Thunder, whom Jesus loved much, who drank the Streams of Doctrine from our Saviour's Breast, The Presbyter to the Elect Lady and her Children, whom I love in the Truth: And in another Epistle, The Presbyter to the beloved Gaius, whom I love in the Truth. But that One was afterwards chosen who should be set above the rest, was done as a Remedy against Schism, lest every one drawing the Church of Christ to himself, should divide (or break) it. For at Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist to Heraclas and Dionysius the Bishops thereof, the Presbyters always named one chosen out of them, and placed in an higher Degree, Bishop. As if an Army should make an Emperor, or the Deacons should choose one of themselves whom they knew to be most diligent, and call him Archdeacon. For what does a Bishop, except Ordination, that a Presbyter may not do? Nor is the Church of the City of Rome, different from other Churches in the World. Both Gaul and Britain, and Africk and Persia, and the East and India, and all barbarous Nations adore one Christ, and observe one Rule of Truth: If Authority be required, the World is greater than the City. Wherever a Bishop shall be, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Regium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, he is of the same Merit, of the same Priesthood. The Power of Riches or the Meannells of Poverty, makes not a Bishop higher or lower, but all are the Successors of the Apostles, &c.

And a little after in the same Epistle, (2) "Presbyter and Bishop, the one is the Name of Age, the other of Dignity; whence in the Epistle to Timothy and Titus, there is mention of the Ordination of Bishop and Deacon, but not of Presbyters, because the Presbyter is included in the Bishop. He that is advanced, is advanced from less to greater, either then let a Presbyter be ordained a Deacon, that the Presbyter may be proved inferior to a Deacon, reckoning his being made a Deacon an Advancement; or if the Deacon be ordained a Presbyter, let him

know that though he be thereby inferior in Point of Gain, he is superior in respect of Priesthood. And that we may know that the Apostolical Traditions are taken out of the Old Testament, what Aaron and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, let Bishops and Presbyters and Deacons challenge to themselves in the Church."

These being the Passages whertin St. Jerome has most fully declared his Sentiments in this Matter, 'Tis evident from them, that 'tis not a bare Community of Names, but Office, that he asserts between Presbyters and Bishops in the Apostles Time. He asserts, That the Churches in the Apostolical Age were governed by the common Council of Presbyters, who were then the same with Bishops. That the Church in the one City of Ephesus was governed by Presbyter-Bishops. That the Care of the Church was then equally divided among many. That the devolving the chief Care of the Church on one was introduced afterwards, and that (paulatim) gradually, by little and little. And therefore, though the Presbyters were by the Custom or Use of the Church, now in some Subjection to Bishops; yet the Bishops ought to know and consider, that this Superiority of theirs was only founded on Ecclesiastical Custom not on Divine Appointment, and therefore ought to rule the Church in common with the Presbyters. That it belonged to Presbyters, *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, to act the Part of Bishops in the superintending the Flock committed to them. That the choosing one to set above the rest was done afterward, as a Remedy against Schism. And yet even in his Age and Time, the Presbyters actually exercised all the same Spiritual Powers that Bishops did, except that of Ordination.

This being the obvious Sense of St. Jerome's Expressions, without any Manner of Force offered to them, I shall take some Notice of the various Artifices which the popish Writers, especially the Jesuits, make Use of to elude this clear Testimony of his, and to ascribe to Jerome the quite opposite Sentiments.

Thus Bellarmine pretends, [*De Clericis*, Lib. I. cap. 15.] "That St. Jerome supposes the superior Office of a Bishop instituted by the Apostles themselves, on the Occasion of the Church of Corinth, because speaking of the Parties in Religion, he uses these Words of the Apostle Paul, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, &c."

But this Objection is so fully answered by Dr. Stillingfleet, that I shall present the Reader with it in his own Words. *Iren.* p. 279, &c.

First, "That it is impossible Jerome's Meaning should be restrained to that individual Time, because the Arguments which Jerome brings, that the Name and Office of Bishops and Presbyters were the same, were from Things done after this time. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, wherein he reproves their Schisms, was written according to *Ludovicus Capellus* in the 12th Year of Claudius, of Christ 51. after which Paul wrote his Epistle to Titus, from whose Words Jerome grounds his Discourse, but most certainly Paul's Epistle to the Philippians was not written till Paul was Prisoner at Rome. The Time of the writing of it is placed by *Capellus* in the third of Nero, of Christ 56, by *Blondell* 57, by our *Lightfoot* 59, by all long after the former to the Corinthians; yet from the first Verse of this Epistle Jerome fetcheth one of his Arguments. So Paul's Charge to the Elders at Miletus, Peter's Epistle to the dispersed Jews, were after

(2) Presbyter & Episcopus, aliud ætatis, aliud dignitatis est nomen. Unde & ad Titum & ad Timotheum de ordinatione Episcopi & Diaconi dicitur: de presbyteris omnino reticetur: quia in Episcopo & Presbyter continetur. Qui provehitur, à minori ad majus provehitur. Aut igitur ex presbytero ordinetur diaconus, ut presbyter minor diacono com-

probetur, in quem crescit ex parvo: aut ex si diacono ordinatur presbyter, noverit se lucris minorem, sacerdotio esse majorem. Et ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento, quod Aaron & filii ejus atque levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi & presbyteri & diaconi vendicent in ecclesiâ. Ibid.

ter that Time too, yet from these are fetched two more of *Jerome's* Arguments. Had he then so little Common Sense, as to say that Episcopacy was instituted upon the Schism at *Corinth*, and yet bring his Arguments for Parity after the Time, that he sets for the Institution of Episcopacy? But Secondly, *Jerome* doth not say, *cum diceretur apud Corinthios, ego sum Pauli, &c.* but *cum diceretur in populo, ego sum Pauli, &c.* so that he speaks not of that particular Schism, but of a general and universal Schism abroad among most People, which was the Occasion of appointing Bishops; and so speaks of others imitating the Schism and Language of the *Corinthians*. Thirdly, Had Episcopacy been instituted on the Occasion of the Schism at *Corinth*, certainly of all Places we should the soonest have heard of a Bishop at *Corinth* for the remedying of it; and yet almost of all Places, those Heralds that derive the Succession of Bishops from the Apostles Times, are the most plunged whom to fix on at *Corinth*. And they that can find any one single Bishop at *Corinth*, at the Time that *Clemens* writ his Epistle to them, (about another Schism as great as the former, which certainly had not been according to their Opinion, if the Bishop had been there before,) must have better Eyes and Judgment than the deservedly admired *Grotius*, who brings this in his Epistle to *Bignonius*, as one Argument of the undoubted Antiquity of that Epistle: *Quod nusquam meminit exortis illius Episcoporum auctoritatis, quæ Ecclesiæ consuetudine, post Marci obitum Alexandria, atque eo exemplo alibi introduci cepit; sed plane ut Paulus Apostolus ostendit Ecclesiis communi Presbyterorum qui iidem omnes Episcopi ipsi Pauloque dicuntur, consilio fuisse gubernatas.* What could be said with greater Freedom, that there was no such Episcopacy then at *Corinth*? Fourthly, They who use this Argument are greater Strangers to *Jerome's* Language than they would seem to be: Whose Custom it is upon incidental Occasions to accomodate the Phrase and Language of Scripture to them: As when he speaks of *Chrysostom's* Fall, *cecidit Babylon, cecidit*; of the Bishops of *Palestine*, *multi utroque claudicant pede*; of the *Roman* Clergy, *Pharisæorum conclamarunt Senatus*; but which is most clear to the Purpose, he applies this very Speech of his own Time; *Quando non id ipsum omnes loquimur, & alius dicit ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego Cepha, dividimus spiritus unitatem, & eam in partes & membra discerpimus.* All which Instances are produced by *Blondell*, but have the good Fortune to be passed over without being taken Notice of.

And to these solid Reasons alledged by that learned Person, I may add, That *Jerome* speaks of those Schisms that were occasioned by the People's Difference about those Presbyters, whom he supposes to have governed them before by common Consent; he supposes those Presbyters themselves to be instrumental in promoting those Schisms, and that the giving one of the Presbyters themselves a Presidency above the rest, was the Remedy found out and used to prevent them; but this can no way agree to the Schism at *Corinth* mentioned by the Apostle. For the Schism at *Corinth* was occasioned by some of them preferring one Apostle before another, as the Head of their Party; whereas the Apostles themselves had no Hand at all in these factious Sittings. Nor was the Preference of any one Apostle above the rest, ever then thought or proposed as a Remedy against such Divisions.

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Others argue from those Words of *Jerome*, "It was agreed or decreed in the whole World, that one should be set above the rest, to whom all the Care of the Church should belong, &c." That since there was no general Council that met to make any such Decree, his Words must imply that it was a Constitution of the Apostles themselves."

To this I answer,

1. This Exposition of *Jerome's* Words supposes him to contradict himself.

For he had told us just before, That the Churches were at first governed by the common Council of their Presbyters; he afterwards produces as a Proof of it, That the Church of *Philippi* and *Ephesus* was so governed in the Apostle's Time. And that the Care of those Churches was there equally divided among many, to whom St. Paul directs his Epistle to the Hebrews; and so were those to whom St. Peter writes, and he cites St. John himself as herein concurring with them. How come the Apostles then first to establish one Form of Government, and then of a sudden overturn it, and set up another? And how comes St. *Jerome* to suppose this Alteration to be brought in gradually, and that upon the Inconveniencies he supposes to be found by Experience in that Parity, from the Contest and Sittings of the Presbyters, if on the contrary it was by a general Agreement and Appointment of the Apostles themselves? And Dr. *Stillingfleet* has here well observed, that the Words themselves will not admit of this Sense. *Irenic.* p. 282. "The Matter of the Decree being, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris. One chosen not only out of, but by the Presbyters, should be set above the rest; for so *Jerome* must be understood. For the Apostles could not themselves choose out of the Presbyteries one Person to be set above the rest. And withal, the Instance brought of the Church of *Alexandria*, makes it evident to be meant of the choosing by the Presbyters, and not by the Apostles: Besides, did *Jerome* mean choosing by the Apostles, he would have given some Intimation of the Hand the Apostles had in it, which we see not in him the least Ground for."

2. The same learned Divine gives us the true Account of *Jerome's* Meaning, *Irenic.* p. 280. viz. That his *toto orbe decretum est*, relates not to an antecedent Order which was the Ground of the Institution of Episcopacy, but to the universal Establishment of that Order, which came up on the Occasion of so many Schisms. It is therefore something consequent to the first setting up of Episcopacy, which is the general obtaining of it in the Churches of Christ, when they saw its Usefulness in order to the Churches Peace; therefore the Emphasis lies not in *decretum est*, but in *toto orbe*, noting how suddenly this Order met with universal Acceptance, when it first was brought up in the Church after the Apostles Death. Which that it was *Jerome's* Meaning, appears by what he saith after, *paulatim vero, (ut dissolutionum plantaria evellerentur) ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam.* Where he notes the gradual obtaining of it, which I suppose was thus according to his Opinion: First, in the Colledge of Presbyters appointed by the Apostles, there being a Necessity of Order, there was a President among them, who had *Ἀυτοκρατορίαν* as the President of the Senate, i. e. did moderate the Affairs of the Assembly by proposing Matters to it, gathering

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ing Voices, being the first in all Matters of Concernment; but he had not *Audientiam* *τῶν οὐκ ὄντων*, as *Casaubon* well distinguisheth them, i. e. had no Power over his Fellow Presbyters, but that still resided in the College or Body of them. After this when the Apostles were taken out of the Way, who kept the main Power in their own Hands of ruling the several Presbyters, or delegated some to do it; (who had a main Hand in the planting Churches with the Apostles, and thence are called in Scripture sometimes Fellow-Labourers in the Lord, and sometimes Evangelists, and by *Theodoret*, Apostles, but of a second Order;) after, I say, these were deceased, and the main Power left in the Presbyteries, the several Presbyters enjoying an equal Power among themselves, especially being many in one City, thereby great Occasion was given to many Schisms, partly by the bandying of Presbyters against one another, partly by the sidings of the People with some against the rest, partly by the too common Use of the Power of Ordinations in Presbyters, by which they were more able to encrease their own Party, by ordaining those who would join with them, and by this means to perpetuate Schisms in the Church; upon this, when the wiser and graver Sort considered the Abuses following the promiscuous Use of this Power of Ordination; and withal, having in their Minds the excellent Frame of the Government of the Church under the Apostles, and their Deputies, and for preventing of future Schisms and Divisions among themselves, they unanimously agreed to choose one out of their Number, who was best qualified for the Management of so great a Trust, and to devolve the Exercise of the Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction to him, yet so as that he act nothing of Importance, without the Consent and Concurrence of the Presbyters, who were still to be as the common Council to the Bishop. This I take to be the true and just Account of the Original of Episcopacy in the Primitive Church according to *Jerome*.

Again, *Petavius* (the Jesuit) from these Words of *St. Jerome*, *Philippi is a single Town of Macedonia; and truly in one City there could not be (as they are called) more Bishops*, infers "That it may hence be evidently demonstrated, that *Jerome* believed, that Bishops and Presbyters were not one and the same Order even in the Age of the Apostles. For had he so believed, he had never said, there could not be a Plurality of Presbyters."

Ans. 'Tis (quite contrary to what the Jesuit alleges,) manifest, that when *Jerome* saith, *There could not be more Bishops than one (as they are called) in one City*; he speaks not of the Apostles Age, but of his own, when the Name of Bishop was appropriated to one set over the rest of the Presbyters, and by his *Πρεσβεία* or Presidency among them distinguished from the rest. But he is so far from supposing such a Distinction and Superiority established in the Apostles Age, that his next Paragraph is designed to prove, that it was otherwise in the Apostolical Age, when the Church in the one City of *Ephesus* was governed not by one, but by a Plurality of Bishops. So that we cannot admit the Jesuit's Inference from *Jerome*'s Words without making him guilty of the grossest Self-Contradiction, and even of Asserting and yet Disproving the same Thing in the same Breath. Whereas there is no Shadow of any such Self-repugnancy, if we understand him as speaking of his

own Times, when such a Distinction between Bishop and Presbyters obtained in every Church, as rendered it impossible, that the same Church should at once have more than one Bishop to preside among the Presbyters in it.

Others catch at an Argument for the Divine Right of the Episcopal Superiority from these Words, *Wherefore as the Presbyters knew, that by the Custom of the Church, they are subject to their Propositus or President, so let Bishops know that they are superior to Presbyters, rather by Custom than by any real Appointment of the Lord*; and that they ought to rule the Church in common, imitating *Moses*, who when he might rule the People of *Israel* alone, chose Seventy with whom he might judge the People. Here (say they) as *Moses* did rule the People by a Divine Right, so *Jerome* supposes that Bishops rule the Church by the same Right."

Ans. This Inference from *St. Jerome*'s Words, has the same Disadvantage with the former, of making him guilty of a gross Self-contradiction. First, To deny the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters to be of Divine Appointment, and to ascribe it to no higher Original than Ecclesiastical Custom, and then in the very next Words, to overthrow what he had said by recommending the Example of *Moses* to their Imitation. But *Jerome* is very easy reconciled with himself, if we suppose him to argue a *majori ad minus*: That if *Moses*, to whose Government the People of *Israel* were committed by God, did yet from a just Sense of the Difficulty of the Work choose Seventy Elders to join with him in the Government, How much more does it become Bishops to rule the Church in common with Presbyters, whom only Ecclesiastical Custom has raised to a Superiority and Presidency among them, not any Divine Appointment. And thus *Jerome*'s Sense is clear and consistent, and his Argument strong and forcible.

Bellarmino and others argue from that Passage; But that one was afterwards chosen who should be set above the rest, was done as a Remedy against Schism, lest every one drawing the Church of Christ to himself should divide it. For at *Alexandria*, from *Mark* the Evangelist to *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* the Bishops thereof, the Presbyters always named one (chosen out of (or by) themselves, and placed in a higher Degree) Bishop; as if an Army should make an Emperor, or the Deacons should choose one of themselves whom they knew to be industrious, and call him Archdeacon. For what does a Bishop, except Ordination, that a Presbyter cannot do?

From the former Part of this Paragraph, 'tis argued, "That since *St. Jerome* traces up this Episcopal Superiority at *Alexandria*, as high as *Mark* the Evangelist, he must suppose it to be of Apostolical Institution; and since he appropriates the Power of Ordination to Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters, he must suppose this peculiar Power to be of Divine Right. Nay some go so far as to infer, that he ascribes a Monarchical Power to Bishops in the Church, by comparing them to those Roman Emperors whom their Armies chose."

Ans. How groundless these Inferences are, will fully appear upon the following Considerations.

1. Nothing can be more absurd, than to suppose that *Jerome* should first produce the clear Testimonies of the Apostles, (*St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, and *St. John*;) concerning the Identity of Bishop and Presbyter both in Name and Office, and then make him overturn all he had said, by ascribing the Superiority

Superiority of Bishops to Apostolical Institution; when he himself had told us, *The Churches were in the Apostles Time governed by the common Council of their Presbyters, who were the same with Bishops.* And that afterwards one was chosen who should be set above the rest of the Presbyters, and that this Superiority came in (*paucalim*) by little and little, as Schisms and Contentions gave Occasion for it. This is still to make him perfectly inconsistent with himself.

2. St. Jerome is so far from ascribing this Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters at Alexandria itself to any Apostolical Institution, that he supposes the raising one of the Presbyters above the rest, to be the voluntary Act of the Presbyters themselves. It was they that chose one out of their Number to preside over the rest, and appropriated the Name of Bishop to him, and it was their Election that gave him all the Superiority he had. As when the Roman Armies chose their Emperors, they had no other Power than what they received by the Length of the Sword; and when the Deacons chose their Archdeacon, they had no other (superior) Power than what was merely conferred by the Choice of the College of Deacons. Nay, we are told by Eutichius Patriarch of Alexandria, in his *Origines Ecclesie Alexandrine*, published in Arabick by our learned Selden, that the twelve Presbyters constituted by Mark upon the Vacancy of the See, did choose one out of their Number to be Head over the rest, and the other Eleven laid their Hands upon him and blessed him, and made him Patriarch. See *Stillington. Irenic. p. 274.*

3. When Jerome therefore speaks of this Custom obtaining in the Church of Alexandria from the Time of Mark the Evangelist, he cannot be reasonably supposed as including Mark the Evangelist himself; for he is said to plant that Church itself, and to constitute Presbyters in it; and was so far from being chosen by them for their Bishop, that he left them to plant other Churches in Lybia, Marmorica, and other Parts of Egypt. And no one will suppose that he could derive the Authority of an Evangelist, (or a Bishop either,) as a Matter of Divine Right from their Choice. And St. Jerome gives [not the least Intimation of St. Mark's having any Hand in this Constitution, but makes it the voluntary Act of the Presbyters themselves. All therefore that his Words can reasonably imply is, that this Custom begun very early at Alexandria, perhaps soon after Mark left them; for by making this a singular Instance, he rather intimates, that Alexandria herein differed from other Churches, among whom this Custom did not obtain so soon as it did there. So that Alexandria gave the first and most early Precedent and Example, which other Churches in some Time after followed, being by Dissentions led to this Remedy for the Prevention of them. And St. Jerome expressly affirms this to be after the Death of the Apostle John, whose Testimony he had immediately before cited.

4. For those Words of St. Jerome, which Bellarmine, Petavius, and others so much insist on, *For what does a Bishop, except Ordination, which a Presbyter may not do?* They plainly refer to the Times wherein St. Jerome lived, not to the Apostolical Age; and therefore cannot imply, that the appropriating this Power to the Bishop, was owing to any Apostolical Constitution in St. Jerome's Opinion. On the contrary, St. Jerome supposes Timothy himself to be ordained, by the laying on of the Hands of Presbyters in the Apostles Time, in this very Epistle to Evagrius; and makes that one of his Proofs, that Bishops and Presbyters were the

same in the Apostles Time, so that without gross Self-contradiction, he cannot suppose the Apostles to have appropriated this Power to Bishops as then distinguished from Presbyters. Nay, in the Instance of Alexandria itself, he supposes the Power of the Bishop as President of the Presbytery, to be conferred by the Presbyters themselves. And whereas a learned Doctor pretends, that the Presbyters did only make Choice of the Person, but the Ordination was performed by other Bishops: Dr. Stillington well replies, *Iren. p. 273.* "The learned Doctor (*sic*) should tell us, "First, who and where those Bishops of Egypt were, who did consecrate and ordain the Bishop of Alexandria after his Election by the Presbyters, especially while Egypt remained but one Province, under the Government of the *Præfectus Augustalis.* Secondly, How this had been the least pertinent to St. Jerome's Purpose, to have made a particular Instance in the Church of Alexandria, for that which was common to all other Churches besides. Thirdly, This Election in Jerome must imply the conferring the Power and Authority by which the Bishop acted. For First, The setting up this Power is by Jerome attributed to this Choice, as appears by his Words; But that after wards one was chosen that should be set above the rest, was done as a Remedy of Schism, lest every one drawing the Church of Christ to himself should break it. Whereby 'tis evident, that Jerome attributes the first Original of that exors potestas (as he calls it elsewhere) in the Bishop above Presbyters, not to any Apostolical Constitution, but to the free Choice of the Presbyters themselves, which does fully explain what he means by *Consuetudo Ecclesie*, viz. that which came up by a voluntary Act of the Governors themselves. Secondly, It appears that by Election he means conferring Authority, by the Instances he brings to that Purpose, &c."

The true Sense then of this Passage in St. Jerome is, That as the Superiority of the Bishop above Presbyters, was at first conferred on him by the voluntary Act of the Presbyters themselves; so even in his Time itself, Presbyters did actually exercise all spiritual Powers in common with the Bishop, except that of Ordination, which was now by current Custom appropriated to the Bishop as distinguished from them. But he is so far from supposing this to be a Matter of Divine Right or Apostolical Constitution, that he supposes it posterior to the first humane Constitution of Episcopacy itself at Alexandria.

And I may add, That unless the Church of Alexandria can be proved during the Two First Centuries to be more than a Parochial Church, even this Testimony of Jerome can prove no more than the early Institution of Parochial Episcopacy, and that as an humane Ordinance; which may be freely granted without doing the least Service to the Cause of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy.

Again, Bellarmine argues, "That St. Jerome must needs have owned the Divine Right of the superior Order of Bishops, because he asserts Bishops to be all Successors of the Apostles."

Ans. That St. Jerome asserts Bishops to be Successors of the Apostles, is true; but that he asserts that Succession to be any peculiar Privilege belonging to them as they are supposed to be by Divine Right an Order distinct from Presbyters, is utterly false. 'Tis not only contrary to the whole Scope of his Reasoning from the Apostolical Writings, concerning the Identity of the Bishop and

and *Presbyter* in the *Apostolical Age*, but from his expressly ascribing the Privilege to all *Priests* in common. For having Occasion to speak of the Clergy, without Distinction, he saith, (2) "Far be it from me to speak any thing to the Disadvantage of those, who succeeding to the Degree of the Apostles consecrate the Body of the Lord with their sacred Mouth, by whom we are Christians, who having the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, do in some Measure represent the Day of Judgment; who preserve the Church of Christ in sober Chastity. And a little after he saith, "I ought not to sit before a *Presbyter*." (it seems neither he nor *Helidorus* were then ordained, though they were both so afterwards) "For he, if I offend, has Power to deliver me to Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus." And indeed he that makes *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, the same by *Divine Right*, could not in consistency with himself, do otherwise than make all *Priests* in the Christian World the Successors of the Apostles.

But the strongest Argument that *Bellarmino* makes Use of, is from the Words of *Jerome*,—

And that we may know, that the *Apostolical Traditions* are taken out of the Old Testament, what *Aaron* and his Sons, and the *Levites* were in the Temple, let *Bishops*, and *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* challenge to themselves in the Church. See before.— Hence he would infer, that *Jerome* supposes the Jewish Church to be the Model of the Christian, that as there were Three Orders in the Jewish Church of High-Priest, and *Priests*, and *Levites*, so there must be Three Orders in the Christian, viz. *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. And that all this is owing to *Apostolical Tradition*.

But *Dr. Stillingfleet* has so fully answered this Argument when insisted on by *Dr. Hammond*, that I shall present it to the Reader in his own Words.

"From these Words, (saith he, *Iren.* p. 265.) a Learned Doctor and Strenuous Assertor of the *Jus Divinum* of Prelacy, questions not but to make *Jerome* either apparently contradictory to himself, or else to assert that the Superiority of *Bishops* above *Presbyters*, was by his Confession an *Apostolical Tradition*. For, saith he, *Nihil manifestius dici potuit*; and S. 2. *Quid ad hoc responderi possit, aut quo modo paganus artificio deliniri aut deludi tam disertis affirmatio, fateor ego me divinando assequi non posse; sed ed contra ex iis quæ David Blondellus, quæ Walo, quæ Ludov. Capellus hac in re præstiterunt, mihi persuasissimum esse, nihil uspiam contra apertam lucem obtendi posse.* In a Case then so desperate as poor *Jerome* lies in by a Wound he is supposed to have given himself, when the *Priest* and the *Levite* hath passed him by, it will be a piece of Charity in our passing by the Way a little to consider his Case, to see whether there be any Hopes of Recovery. We take it then for granted, that *Jerome* hath already said, that *Apostolus* perspicue docet eosdem esse *Presbyteros* quos esse *Presbyteros* quos & *Episcopos*, in the same Epistle, which he proves there at large; and in another Place, sicut ergo *Presbyteri* sciunt se ex *Ecclesiæ consuetudine* ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit, esse subiectos, ita *Episcopi* noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis *Dominicæ* veritate *Pres-*

byteris esse majores, & in commune debere *Ecclesiæ* am regere. The Difficulty now lies in the reconciling this with what is before cited out of the same Author: Some solve it by saying, that in *Jerome's* Sense, *Apostolical Tradition* and *Ecclesiastical Custom* are the same; as *ad Marcellum*, he saith, the Observation of Lent is *Apostolica Traditio*, and *advers. Luciferam* saith, it is *Ecclesiæ consuetudo*; so that by *Apostolical Tradition*, he meant not an *Apostolical Constitution*, but an *Ecclesiastical Custom*. And if *Jerome* speaks according to the general Vogue, this Solution may be sufficient, notwithstanding what is said against it; for according to that common Rule of *Austin*, Things that were generally in Use, and no certain Author assigned of them, were attributed to the Apostles. Two Things therefore I shall lay down for reconciling *Jerome* to himself: The first is, the Difference between *Traditio Apostolica* and *Traditio Apostolorum*; this latter doth indeed imply the Thing spoken of to have proceeded from the Apostles themselves, but the former may be applied to what was in Practice after the Apostles Times; and the Reason of it is, that whatever was done in the Primitive Church, supposed to be agreeable to *Apostolical Practice*, was called *Apostolical*. Thence the *Bishop's See* was called *Sedes Apostolica*, as *Tertullian* tells us, *ob consanguinitatem doctrinæ*. So *Sidonius Apollinaris*, calls the See of *Lupus* the *Bishop of Tricassium* in France, *Sedem Apostolicam*. And the *Bishops* of the Church were called *Viri Apostolici*, and thence the *Constitutions* which go under the Apostles Names were so called, saith *Albaspineus* *ab antiquitate, nam cum eorum aliquot ab Apostolorum successoribus (qui, Teste Tertulliano, Apostolici viri nominabantur) facti essent, Apostolorum primum canones, deinde nonnullorum Latinorum ignorantia, aliquot literarum detractio, Apostolorum dicti sunt.* By which we see whatever was conceived to be of any great Antiquity in the Church, though it was not thought to have come from the Apostles themselves, yet it was called *Apostolical*; so that in this Sense, *Traditio Apostolica* is no more than *traditio antiqua*, or *ab Apostolicis viris profecta*, which was meant rather of those that were conceived to succeed the Apostles, than of the Apostles themselves. But I answer, Secondly, That granting *Traditio Apostolica* to mean *Traditio Apostolorum*, yet *Jerome* is far from contradicting himself, which is obvious to any that will read the Words before, and consider their Coherence. The Scope and Drift of his Epistle, is to chastise the Arrogance of one who made *Deacons* superior to *Presbyters*. Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, ut *Diaconos Presbyteris*, i. e. *Episcopis anteferebat*, and so spends a great Part of the Epistle to prove that a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are the same, and at last brings in these Words, giving the Account why *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus* mentions no *Presbyters*, Quia in *Episcopo* & *Presbyter* continetur, aut igitur ex *Presbytero* ordinatur *Diaconus*, ut *Presbyter* minor *Diacono* comprobetur, in quem crescat ex parvo, aut si ex *Diacono* ordinatur *Presbyter*, noverit se lucris minorum, sacerdotio esse majorem. And then presently adds, & ut sciamus traditiones *Apostolicas* sumptas de veteri testamento, quod *Aaron* & filii ejus atque *Levitæ* in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi *Episcopi* & *Presbyteri*

(2) Absit ut de his quicquam sinistrum loquar: qui apostolico gradui succedentes, Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt: per quos & nos Christiani sumus. Qui claves regni cælorum habentes, quodammodo ante judicii diem judicant: qui

sponsam Domini sobria castitate conservant. — Mihi ante *Presbyterum* sedere non licet: illi, si peccavero, licet tradere me *Satanæ* in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit. Hieron. Ep. ad *Heliodor.* de laude vite solitaria. Op. Tom. 1. p. 1.

byteri atque Diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia. Is it imaginable that a Man who had been proving all along the Superiority of a Presbyter above a Deacon by his Identity with a Bishop in the Apostles Times, should at the same Time say, that a Bishop was above a Presbyter by the Apostles Institution, and so directly overthrow all he had been saying before? Much as if one should go about to prove, that the *Præfectus urbis* and the *Curatores urbis* in Alexander Severus his Time were the same Office, and to that End should make use of the Constitution of that Emperor, whereby he appointed fourteen *Curatores urbis*, and set the *Præfectus* in an Office above them. Such an Incongruity is scarce incident to a Man of very ordinary Esteem for Intellectuals, much less to such a one as *Jerome* is reputed to be. The plain Meaning then of *Jerome* is no more but this, that as *Aaron* and his Sons in the Order of Priesthood were above the *Levites* under the Law; so the Bishops and Presbyters in the Order of the Evangelical Priesthood are above the Deacons under the Gospel. For the Comparison runs not between *Aaron* and his Sons under the Law, and Bishops and Presbyters under the Gospel, but between *Aaron* and his Sons as one Part of the Comparison under the Law, and the *Levites* under them as the other; so under the Gospel Bishops and Presbyters make one Part of the Comparison answering to *Aaron* and his Sons, in that wherein they all agree, viz. the Order of Priesthood; and the other Part under the Gospel is that of Deacons, answering to the *Levites* under the Law. The Opposition is not then in the Power of Jurisdiction between Bishops and Priests, but between the same Power of Order, which is alike both in Bishops and Presbyters, (according to the Acknowledgment of all,) to the Office of Deacons, which stood in Competition with them. Thus I hope we have left *Jerome* in perfect Harmony with himself, notwithstanding the Attempt made to make him so palpably contradict himself.

These being the principal Arguments used to elude the clear Testimony of St. *Jerome*, it is scarce worth the while to take notice of the broken Scraps from that Author that are made use of to countenance this Pretension of a Divine Right of Episcopacy, as a distinct Order from that of Presbyters. And therefore I shall content myself with a few short Remarks on two of the most plausible of them.

Thus some conclude, That St. *Jerome* must have believed the Divine Right of Episcopacy, because in his Catalogue of Bishops he mentions St. *James* as the first Bishop of Jerusalem.

To this Objection the learned *Junius* justly replies, by shewing, that the common Reading of that Place in *Jerome's* Catalogue is corrupted; and that as St. *James* resided at Jerusalem as an Apostle, so *Jerome* (after the Manner of the Ancients) speaks of the Apostles in the Style of his own Times, giving St. *James* the Title of Bishop on the Account of that Presidency among the Elders of that Church, that belonged to him on the Account of his Apostolical Character and Authority. This ought not therefore to be so understood, as to contradict what he so professedly declares to be his Judgment concerning the Scriptural Bishops and Presbyters being the same both in Name and Office.

Dr. *Pearson* objects St. *Jerome's* calling the Office of a Deacon the Third Degree. *Ep. ad Heliod.*

To this the same Answer may be returned, That in that he speaks only according to the

Style of his own Age. For when he expounds 1 Tim. III. and 1 Tit. he manifestly asserts the Office of Bishop and Presbyter to be the same, and could not therefore, without gross Self-Contradiction, by calling that of Deacons a Third Degree intend, that the Apostle himself had made Two Orders or Degrees of Bishop and Presbyter: But there being a Difference of Degree in his Age, between Bishops and Presbyters, he calls the Deaconship a Third Degree, according to the common Language of the Time wherein he lived which he supposes in this Point to have received from the Custom and Practice of the Apostolical Age. Not to mention, That this Epistle to *Heliodorus* was wrote in his younger Years, when himself was not ordained a Presbyter; whereas the Passages I have cited before, contain his Judgment in his riper Years. Nay in that very Epistle (as I have shewn before) he makes all Priests Successors to the Degree of Apostles, and therefore could not make Bishop and Presbyter two distinct Degrees by Divine Institution, without supposing two different Orders and Degrees among the Apostles themselves.

I shall conclude what relates to St. *Jerome's* Judgment, with that judicious Remark of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, *Iren.* p. 277. "Among all the fifteen Testimonies produced by a learned Writer out of *Jerome* for the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters, I cannot find one that does found it upon Divine Right, but only on the Convenience of such an Order, for the Peace and Unity of the Church of God. Which is his Meaning in that Place, most produced to this Purpose, *Ecclesie salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam, & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesia efficiuntur Schismata quot Sacerdotes.* Where nothing can be more evident, than that he would have some supereminent Power attributed to the Bishop for the Prevention of Schisms in the Church. But granting some Passages may have a more favourable Aspect towards the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters in his other Writings, I would feign know whether a Man's Judgment must be taken from occasional and incidental Passages, or from designed or set Discourses? Which is as much as to ask, whether the lively Representation of a Man by Picture may be best taken, when in haste of other business he passes by us, giving only a Glance of his Countenance; or when he purposely and designedly sits in Order to that End, that his Countenance may be truly represented?

The Truth is, This Testimony of St. *Jerome* has so perplexed the papal Defenders of the Divine Right of the Hierarchy, that *Medina*, *Alphonsus de Castro*, and *Benedictus Justinianus* and others, give him up, and are forced to own, that his Judgment was herein the same with that of *Aerius*, tho' he did not, as *Aerius*, proceed to any Separation on the Account of it. And *Bellarmino* after all the Pains he has taken to elude his Testimony, does at last pretend him to be unstable and Self-contradictory. But upon how slight and unjust Grounds he advances that Charge against him, we have already seen. And it is very observable, that very Age wherein Episcopacy in many of the larger Cities begun to swell beyond the Parochial Bounds, and Ambition begun to make more sensible Advances in the Church, we should have so clear and full a Testimony to the Identity of Bishop and Presbyter in the Apostolical Age; and so just an Account of the Superiority of Bishops having its rise from Ecclesiastical Custom, and not from Divine Appointment. And herein St. *Austin* his Contemporary was of the

the same Mind, when he asserts the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters, to be according to the Name of Honour which the Custom of the Church had then brought in. *Quamquam secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, Episcopus Presbytero major sit, &c.* Ep. 19. ad Hieron.

Having gone through the Testimonies of the most celebrated Writers of the Three First Centuries, I shall make a few Reflexions on them in order to the clearing the true State of the Controversy. And here I shall distinctly consider Matter of Fact, and Matter of Right.

As to Matter of Fact, I think it does sufficiently appear, that no such Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter obtained in the Apostles Time, nor had obtained in the Church of Corinth when Clement wrote his Epistle to it, which seems to be the most valuable and uncontested Monument of Primitive Antiquity.

If the Epistles of Ignatius published by Vossius from the Florentine Copy be genuine, 'tis certain that some Superiority of a Bishop above Presbyters had then obtained in the Eastern Churches; but then 'tis as certain, that this Episcopacy was only Congregational or Parochial. The Bishop's Church, for the Two First Centuries at least, was no larger than a single Congregation, whose Members were capable of Personal Communion, and each Episcopal Church had but one Altar or Communion-Table belonging to it. Nor does there appear any Evidence, that Episcopal Churches did in the Third Century generally exceed those Bounds. And even in such great Cities as Rome and Alexandria, the Episcopal Church appears not to be larger than one of our over-grown Parochial Churches, that has several Chapels of Ease belonging to it, nor perhaps to have more Members belonging to it than some large Parishes in London. But for the far greatest Part of Episcopal Churches in that Age, (even St. Cyprian's Church at Carthage not excepted,) they appear to be no larger than such Parochial ones, where all the Members of it are capable of joining together at once in all Acts of Publick Worship, and in all Affairs that related to the Government of those Churches. And for the Truth of this I appeal to the full Evidence that has been laid before the Reader.

I also freely grant as to Matter of Fact, that when the great Increase of Christians did toward the End of the Third, and in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, occasion the setting up of several distinct Assemblies or Congregations in the greater Cities distinct from the Original or Mother Church, the Bishops did keep them still in a Dependence on, and Subjection to their Authority; and as to that, the Dispute is not about Matter of Fact, but Matter of Right. And though this was the first Step towards setting up Diocesan or Provincial Episcopacy, yet while the Communion of those Christians, that attended these lesser Assemblies in the Lord's-Supper, was confined to the Bishop's Altar or Communion-Table, those Episcopal Churches were no more than those very large Parochial ones among us, that have a considerable Number of Chapels of Ease belonging to them, while all the Parishioners are obliged to be Communicants in the Parish-Church. And therefore as to Matter of Fact, I shall freely allow what Bishop Stillingfleet saith in his Sermon against Separation, "That though when the Churches increased, the Occasional Meetings were frequent in several Places, yet still there was but One Church, and One Altar, and One Baptistry, and One Bishop with many Presbyters assisting him. Which (saith he) is so plain in Antiquity as to the Churches planted by the Apostles themselves, that none but a great Stranger to the History

"of the Church can call it question." I here suppose the Bishop means only, that the Churches planted by the Apostles themselves, had each of them but One Altar and One Baptistry. For if he intends here to assert, that those Churches had in the Apostles Time other subordinate Congregations, or had then One Bishop as a distinct Officer from the Presbyters, I take the former Part of the Assertion to be fully confuted from the Account we have of the Two First Centuries, which mention no Churches that exceeded the Bounds of single Congregations; and the latter Part of it to be directly contrary both to the Apostle, and the Judgment of St. Jerome, concerning the Practice of the Apostolical Age. And he adds, "Tis true, after some Time in the greater Cities, they had distinct Places allotted, and Presbyters fixed among them, and such Allotments were called *Tituli* at Rome, and *Laura* at Alexandria, and *Parishes* in other Places. But these were never thought then to be new Churches, or to have any independent Government in themselves, but were all in Subjection to the Bishop and his College of Presbyters; of which Multitudes of Examples might be brought from the most authentick Testimonies of Antiquity, a Thing so evident needed any Proof at all. And yet this Distribution even in Cities, was looked on as so uncommon in these elder Times, that Epiphanius takes Notice of it as an extraordinary Thing at Alexandria; and therefore 'tis probably supposed that there was no such Thing in all the Cities of Crete in his Time."

I come now to consider Matter of Right. And here I would observe,

1. That the Superiority of these Primitive Congregational or Parochial Bishops above their Presbyters, does no way appear to be of Divine Right from any Thing that occurs in the Writings of the New Testament. (As I shall more fully shew in the following Discourse in Confirmation of what Mr. B—— has already offered in the Postscript.) And St. Jerome does most expressly ascribe it to no higher Original than the Custom of the Church, disclaiming any Divine Institution for it, and owning, that it came in gradually after the Apostolical Age by a general Agreement, as a Remedy against Schisms.

2. Much less is it of Divine Right, when a single Congregation was planted in any City or Town, (consisting of the Christians then living in the City and the Villages about it,) and was under the Government of a Bishop and Presbyters, like our Parish-Rector and his Curates, that upon such an Increase of Converts as rendered it necessary to erect more Congregations, all those new erected Congregations were to have no Bishop and Presbyters of their own, but were to be perpetually subject to the Bishop of the Original or Mother-Church. This is no more of Divine Right, than 'tis of Divine Right, that when a Parish comes to have too many Inhabitants for one Congregation, all the other Congregations to be erected in it, must be only Chapels of Ease or Oratories to the first Parish-Church, supplied by mere Curates. Whereas a Division of one over-grown Parish-Church into two or three more under their several Parish-Rectors, would be much more agreeable to the Pattern of the Apostolical and truly Primitive Churches, and much more conducive to the Edification of the People.

3. Much less is it of Divine Right, that the Government of all the Parochial Churches in a whole Province or Shire (or perhaps several Shires) under their Parochial Bishops should be put down, and engrossed into the Hands of one Provincial or Diocesan Bishop. And that these Parochial Bishops should only turn Curates to such a Diocesan; much less is it

it of Divine Right, that these *Parochial Bishops* should be divested of all that Share in the Government of the Church, which even the *Parish-Presbyters* had. And that all Ecclesiastical Discipline should be reserved to the *Diocesan's* Court; and least of all, that the Exercise of it should be delegated to a *Lay-Chancellor*, and other Officials of that Court, that are not so much as vested with any proper Ecclesiastical Authority.

We may therefore from the Premises relating to Antiquity, infer in Reference to the Subject of this Controversy,

1. That if we may believe St. Jerome, this *Parochial Episcopacy* is only of Ecclesiastical Custom, not of Divine Appointment.

2. That should we grant, that *Ignatius, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian*, and such other Writers in the Three First Centuries, did not only own such a *Parochial Episcopacy*, but believed it to be of Divine Right, or even to be a *Laudable Constitution*; because the *Parochial Bishop* was then vested with all the Spiritual Powers, (such as Excommunication and Ordination,) that are now appropriated to a *Diocesan* or *Provincial Bishop*: So if *Parochial Episcopacy* be of Divine Institution, *Diocesan Episcopacy* cannot be so. For some Scores or Hundreds of such *Parochial Bishops* must be divested of these Spiritual Powers, in order to the setting up one *Diocesan Bishop*. And his Power is plainly destructive of theirs.

3. We may hence see, That there is little or no Conformity between the Government of the Church under the Primitive *Parochial* and the present *Diocesan Episcopacy*.

The Charge of a Primitive *Parochial Bishop* was a single, though often numerous Congregation; but the Charge of a *Diocesan one*, is no less than all the Congregations through one or more large Counties. (The Diocese of Lincoln is said to have 1100 of them.) The Primitive *Parochial Bishop* was chosen by the Suffrages of his People or Flock, who are supposed personally acquainted with his Life and Manners, as well as Abilities: The Nomination of *Diocesan Bishops* is usually in the Prince, the Shadow of an Election in the Dean and Chapter, not one in many Hundred of his Flock knowing any thing of the Matter, and none having any decisive Suffrage at all in it. The Primitive Bishop was ordained by neighbouring *Parochial Bishops*; the present *Diocesan ones* are consecrated by such County or *Provincial Bishops*, as the Primitive Ages knew nothing of.

The Primitive *Parochial Bishop* reckoned himself entrusted with the particular Souls of all that belonged to his Episcopal Church or Flock, and accountable for them; and was therefore supposed capable of a Personal Converse with them, and Inspection over them. But no *Diocesan Bishop*, that makes Conscience of what he does, would undertake such a particular Care of all the Souls in his Diocese, when 'tis not possible he should be able to inspect or know One of a Hundred, not to say One of a Thousand of them. Nor do I find, that they think themselves obliged thereto.

The Primitive *Parochial Bishop* sat with his Presbyters in the same Congregation, and ordinarily performed the usual Offices of Religion every Lord's-Day, while they were present (as Preaching, Praying, administering the Lord's-Supper,) the Presbyters only performing them either in the Bishop's occasional absence, or with his Allowance when present. But should all the Presbyters of the Diocese be every Lord's-Day with the Bishop, what would become of their neglected and desolate Congregations?

The Primitive *Parochial Bishop* ordinarily exercised no Act of Ecclesiastical Discipline, but in the Presence, and with the Consent and Concur-

rence of his Presbyters, none being excluded. Nay, he passed the highest Censures of the Church always in the Presence of his Flock, and according to their Mind and Judgment, as well as that of the Presbyters. But 'tis impossible, that the whole *Diocesan Church*, or any considerable Part of it, can be present at such Consultations, can hear such Causes debated, or give their Opinion concerning them; nor indeed could the Presbyters of the Diocese attending the Bishop's Court join in such Censures, (supposing the Strictness of the ancient Discipline restored,) without neglecting the Care of their particular Congregations; nor can one Bishop hear the Causes of all the scandalous Church-Members in a County or Province, if they were brought before him.

The Primitive *Parochial Bishop* never delegated his Chief (though not Sole) Power in inflicting Church-Censures to any other Person, much less to a Layman. But Dr. Burnet tells us, "That our Ecclesiastical Courts are not in the Hands of our Bishops and their Clergy, but put over to the Civilians, where too often Fees are more strictly looked after than the Correction of Manners.—Excommunication is become a kind of secular Sentence, and is hardly now considered as a spiritual Censure, being judged and given out by Laymen, and often upon Grounds, which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a Sentence." Dr. Burnet's Pref. to 2d Vol. of the Hist. of the Reformation.

By the present *Diocesan Model*, all the *Parish-Rectors* (the true Primitive Bishops) are not only deprived of that Pastoral Authority that the Primitive Bishops had over their Flocks, but reduced to a Degree of Subjection below that of the Primitive Presbyters. For they neither concur with the Bishop in the Passing of the Ecclesiastical Censures: Nor does he so much ordinarily as consult or advise with them concerning them; nay, they are subjected to the Jurisdiction and Censures of those Lay-Chancellors that have the *Diocesan Bishop's* Authority deputed to them, and who, though they always act in his Name, do not always act with the Bishop's Leave, (as we may see in Bishop Bedel's Case.)

Now when there is so essential a Difference in such important Instances as these, between the Primitive *Parochial* and the present *Diocesan Episcopacy*, and between the Government of the one and that of the other, to argue from the bare Name of Bishop and Presbyters, and a bare Superiority of the former above the latter, for a Conformity between the present and the primitive Church-Government, is but to impose on the unthinking Part of Mankind, by a weak but fallacious Way of Arguing. We are unjustly charged with Sophistry, under Pretence, that we argue from the Bishop and Presbyters being the same from a mere Community of Names; whereas we argue from their Qualifications and Characters, their Work and Office being the same as well as their Names. But these Gentlemen argue for the *Diocesan Bishop* and Clergy being the same with the Primitive Bishop and his Presbyters, from a mere Community of Names, when their Charge, their Way of Government, their Offices are not only very different, but as I have shewn inconsistent and incompatible.

4. We may hence see, That those Reformed Churches that want the *Diocesan Form* of Government, do yet retain the true Primitive *Parochial Episcopacy*.

Every one of their Churches has its Bishop and Deacons, and in their numerous Churches, the Bishop has usually one or more Collegues. 'Tis true, these Collegues that assist the first Pastor of the Church are not reckoned of any distinct Office from him;

him; nor has he any other Superiority over them than what Difference of Age or Abilities may entitle him to. And in this, they come nearer to the Simplicity of the Apostolical Age, when there was no such Inequality among the Presbyter-Bishops; and when particular Churches had no other Officers (as St. Clement tells us) than Bishops and Deacons. For these Subject-Presbyters, they do with St. Jerome ascribe the rise of them to Ecclesiastical Custom, not to Divine Appointment. But all that officiate as Pastors in their Churches, have all Spiritual Powers by their Ordination conveyed to them, and do accordingly exercise them in their several Flocks according to the Model of the Primitive Parochial Churches. And these Parochial Bishops of theirs are so far from setting up Independency, (in any criminal Sense of that Word) that they are as much for all the regular Associations of neighbouring Parochial Bishops, in order to the Preservation of Concord and Harmony, Order and Peace, as those Primitive Bishops were. As we may see in the Conformity between the Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France, and that of the ancient Church, wrote by the learned Monsieur L'Arroque. I confess many of the Reformed Churches have a sort of Elders, that are not the same with the Presbyters of the Primitive Church, because the latter were properly ordained to the sacred Office of the Ministry; and empowered thereby to baptize, preach and administer the Sacraments, when desired by the Parochial Bishop, whose Curates they were. But even these very Elders in the Reformed Churches do very well answer to the Seniores Plebis, that were distinct from the Presbyters, and were of laudable Use in the Primitive Church, (as Blondell has fully shewn in his Book *De jure Plebis in regimine Ecclesiastico*.)

And I may add, That the Ordinations of such Pastors in the Reformed Churches, are truly Episcopal ones in the Primitive Sense of that Expression. They are performed by true Parochial Bishops, such as the Primitive Churches had, and usually by a greater Number of them than the ancient Canons made necessary, and that in the Presence and with the Consent of the People: Whereas the Diocesan Ordinations are performed by a Sort of Bishop that was unknown in the Two First Ages at least, and I think I may say in the Third Century too. And though with us some Parish-Rectors (the Primitive Bishops) join therein with the Diocesan Bishop; yet Mr. Dr— and others of his Stamp tell us, 'tis merely as Approvers of the Bishop's Act, by which alone he supposes the Office conveyed to the Person ordained. Now these Ordinations are not the Episcopal Ordinations of the Primitive Church. The first Thing that looks any thing like them, was, when the Bishop of the Metropolis first claimed a chief Hand in the Ordination of all the Parochial Bishops within such a Province.

5. We may hence see, That the main Controversy lies about the Extent of the Bishop's Charge.

For the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy Mr. B— had shewn, that there is no Ground for it from the Holy Scriptures; and I have now shewn, that there is as little from the Judgment of the Primitive Church in its first and purest Ages. For Parochial Episcopacy, we do entirely own the Divine Right of it; only we cannot see, that these Subject-Presbyters are properly of Divine Institution. But as to that, if the Parish-Rectors were restored to their true Episcopal Power, we should easily for peace sake allow of these Curate-Presbyters: Nay, for Diocesan Bishops themselves, so far as the Prince intrusts them with Power to perform what belongs to his Office *circa sacra*, as he is *Custos universae Tabulae*, 'tis what we should not much object against. Nor did the Nonconformist Divines at the Savoy-Conference oppose the Diocesan Bishops having some Superintendency over the Parochial Bishops as General Visitors, provided their Power were only cumulative to, and not destructive of the Power of the Primitive Parochial Bishops. Nor did they object against their being, during Life, Moderators of Diocesan Synods, (according to Archbishop Usher's Model.) But 'tis the depriving the Parish-Rectors (the Primitive Bishops) of their governing Power over their Flocks, and the engrossing it for so large a District into one Hand, (when we think that the most judicious and laborious Pastor would find Work enough to do in governing his own Flock; so that where 'tis monopolized into one Hand, it must in a great Measure be left undone;) and 'tis the depriving the Exercise of one of the highest Ecclesiastical Powers, viz. that of Excommunication to Laymen, that appears to us in the present Model of Diocesan Government, wholly disconformable to the Pattern of the Primitive Church. And this we not only despair of seeing any Divine Right produced for, but cannot regard it as any other than a manifest Deviation from the Simplicity of the Primitive Church-Government, and inconsistent with that Primitive Episcopacy, that is vainly alledged to countenance and support it. And indeed till this Account of the Primitive Episcopacy be disproved, we must beg Leave to think, that those are the truest Friends of it, and most zealous for its Restoration, who are now run-down on all Occasions as perverse Enemies to it; and those that make the greatest Noise in crying it up, are the very Persons that truly oppose it, and would with the utmost Scorn and Violence obstruct any Attempts for the Revival of it. In short, if the Primitive Episcopacy was only Parochial, the Cause of Diocesan Episcopacy must be given up as to any Pretension of Primitive Antiquity, and much more as to any Pretension of Divine Right.

REMARKS on Chap. III.

HAVING gone through Mr. Dr—'s Testimonies, I now proceed to the Third Chapter, wherein he proposes to shew, That there are Three Ministerial Acts that are by Scripture and Antiquity appropriated to Bishops as a distinct Order from Presbyters, viz. Confirmation, Excommunication and Ordination; from whence he pretends to prove the Divine Right of Episcopacy, as an Order distinct from, and superior to that of Presbyters.

Before I enter on the particular Examination of what he has offered, I must here premise, That if Mr. Dr— would defend the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, he ought to prove that these Powers of Excommunication, Confirmation and Ordination, are by Scripture and Antiquity appropriated to such a Bishop as has many Churches or Congregations under his Government. For we never doubted but every Bishop or Pastor of a particular Church is

is vested with these Powers, and 'tis their being deprived thereof, and these Powers being engrossed into the Hands of a *Diocesan*, that we think has no Countenance either from *Scripture* or *Antiquity*. But however, let us see what he has offered on this Head.

He begins with *Excommunication*.

As to this he tells us, "That it was appropriated to the *Apostles* while they were alive, or such as they placed in particular Churches to rule in their stead. He tells us, none joined with St. Paul in the *Excommunication* of Alexander and Hymenæus, whom he delivered to Satan; this he tells us was the Case of the incestuous Corinthian, who was excommunicated by St. Paul without any other Assistance. And whereas Mr. B. had told him, that the Apostle blames the Teachers of the Church of Corinth for not excommunicating the incestuous Person, he tells us from 1 Cor. V. 3, 4, 5. "That the Apostle alone passed the Sentence of *Excommunication* upon him by delivering him up to Satan, and ordered them to assemble, that the Sentence might be made publick."

Ans. That the *Apostles* appropriated this Power of *Excommunication* to themselves while alive, is an utterly groundless Assertion. That they committed it to such *Presbyter-Bishops* as they constituted in particular Churches, (such as those of Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, &c.) is what we freely own: But that they ever appropriated this Power to one single Person for all the Churches of a Province, is what Mr. Dr--- should prove indeed, if he would defend his Cause; but what I believe, when he comes to try, he'll absolutely despair of.

But as to this Case of the Incestuous Corinthian, Mr. Dr--- is so far from answering the Argument Mr. B. had used, that he does not so much as consider where the Force of it lies.

The Charge that Mr. B. supposes given by the Apostle to the Teachers of the Church of Corinth, to excommunicate the Incestuous Person, is not contained at all in the 3, 4, 5 v. where he looks for it, but in the 7 v. where the Apostle requires them to purge out the old Leaven, that they may be made a new Lump; and especially at v. 12 and 13. Do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth; therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked Person. And if he will consult the learned Dr. Whitby's Commentary, he will find, 'tis in these Passages that the Apostle speaks of the Sentence of *Excommunication*, and supposes at v. 12. that they had a Power to judge those that were within, and were Members of their Body or Society, which Power of Judging he therefore requires them to exercise, by casting out that wicked Person, and thereby purging out that old (or sour) Leaven from among them. And that he was actually excommunicated by them, seems plain from what the Apostle in his Second Epistle speaks of this Censure, when he calls it the Punishment inflicted on him by many, 2 Cor. 11. v. 6. [Ἐπιτίμια αὐτῷ ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πλείονων:] Not [αὐτῷ] before, but [ὑπὸ] by many. I am not concerned in what Dr. Whitby does here contend for, that the Censure was inflicted by all the Members of that Church; and he supposes their Case singular, because they had then no ordinary settled Governors or Pastors; but Divine Offices were performed among them by Prophets. And therefore that this Practice of the People's inflicting such Censures was not to continue, when Bishops and Pastors were settled: But I must confess, that I see no Ground at all for his Supposition, that that Church wanted its ordinary Teachers. I am sure what the Apostle saith to them, 1 Cor. xii.

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28, 29. seems more strongly to imply the contrary. Besides had there been only Prophets among them, they who are named next to Apostles, Ephes. iv. 11. had sure an Authority equal to that of any succeeding Pastors or Bishops; and therefore the Authoritative Exclusion of the Incestuous Person, may be justly ascribed to them; and yet the Laity concur in the Sentence by their Approbation and Suffrage, as that learned Doctor owns they did in the Primitive Church. (Of which afterwards.)

But for the Passage from whence Mr. Dr--- would prove, That the Apostle appropriated to himself, the passing the Sentence of *Excommunication* on the Incestuous Corinthian, it is not very probable, that it does refer to that Sentence at all. And therefore the foresaid learned Commentator observes, "That those Words of delivering up to Satan, are to be understood of that Miraculous Power the Apostles had of delivering Men to Satan, to inflict Corporal Distempers on them for the Punishment of the Flesh. (The Word *Δυναμις*, or Power at v. 4. referring to some extraordinary miraculous Power, and not to any simple Act of Discipline.) This Power (saith he) seems to be peculiar to the Apostles, and therefore here St. Paul prescribes the doing of it, the Authority or Power of his Spirit being present with them. That this is indeed the Import of delivering up to Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh, is evident not only from the concurring Exposition of the Ancients, [such as Theodoret, Chrysostome, Theophylact,] who all interpret it of some Disease to be inflicted on him by Satan; but also from the End of that Delivery to him, the Destruction of the Flesh; and in the Case of Hymenæus and Alexander, That they might learn not to blaspheme. Now Bodily Afflictions plainly tend to mortify the Flesh, and to awaken Men as oft as they come thus from a miraculous Power, to consider their Ways, and quit those Courses that thus subject them to the Hand of God. Whereas *Excommunication* hath no apparent Tendency to these Ends, when no such dreadful Issue follows from it; and therefore seems not to be all that is intended by this delivering up to Satan, &c." I take therefore the Matter to lie plainly thus, the Apostle requires this Church of Corinth to cast out this wicked Person from their Society according to the Power they had of judging those within. (This was to be done authoritatively by their Teachers, but with the Consent of the People.) And this the Apostle calls the Punishment inflicted on him by many; and he here determines to enforce their Sentence on him, by using his miraculous Power in delivering him up to Satan to inflict some Corporal Disease on him. But hearing of his Sorrow and Repentance, he urges them to forgive him, (by restoring him to their Communion,) and intimates, that he should forgive him, by taking off the Penalty inflicted by the Use of his extraordinary Power.)

And the same Answer may serve as to Hymenæus and Alexander, the delivering them to Satan importing the Exercise of a miraculous Power; 'tis no wonder we read of none joining with the Apostle in it.

Mr. Dr--- adds, "That as the Apostles did without all doubt exercise this Power themselves; so likewise, it was appropriated to such Persons as we call Bishops in after Ages. This is the Reason of that Super-eminent Power, which Ignatius, St. Cyprian, and all the Canons and Councils of the first Ages of Christianity ascribe to Bishops. And I believe Mr. B---, will not be able to produce one Instance, wherein

" wherein the Sentence of Excommunication was passed on any Delinquent without a Bishop.

Answ. This Paragraph is made up of several Mistakes, and yet were the main of what is alledged in it true, does but destroy Mr. Dr---'s Cause instead of supporting it.

'Tis made up of several Mistakes.

1. 'Tis not true, That the Apostles appropriated the Power of Excommunication to themselves during their Life, the contrary appears from the Charge given to the Church of Corinth; and indeed the Reason of the Thing confutes any such vain Pretence. For the Apostles planted many Churches whom they never had the Opportunity to visit again afterwards: And unless we should suppose there were no scandalous Delinquents in their Communion, either the Power of Excommunication must be lodged in the Hands of those Presbyter-Bishops which the Apostles fixed among them; or else, they were left without any Remedy for preserving the Purity of those Churches by the Exclusion of their scandalous Members. Unless we suppose the Apostles excommunicated such Offenders by mere *implicite Faith*, without any particular Trial or Examination of their several Causes. Nay 'tis doubtful to me, whether the Apostles ever excommunicated any Person at all, at least in any Church which they had settled, and furnished with Presbyter-Bishops to govern them.

2. 'Tis utterly untrue, That the Apostles ever appropriated the Power of Excommunication to such as we now call Bishops, if Mr. Dr--- mean Diocesan ones. For I challenge him to produce one Instance of such a Diocesan Bishop for the two first Centuries.

3. 'Tis as untrue, That after the Parochial-Bishop begun to be distinguished from his Assistant-Presbyters by some Superiority over them, that the Power of Excommunication was appropriated to the Parochial-Bishop. There is no such Thing suggested in the Epistles of Ignatius. St. Cyprian is so far from appropriating this Power to himself, that he frequently declares, that he would do nothing in the Case of Censuring scandalous Delinquents, without the concurrent Judgment of his Presbyters, and without the Consent of his People. (As may be seen in the Passages before cited.) Nay his Parochial Presbyters did censure scandalous Delinquents in his Absence.

Nay to go lower, St. Jerome himself asserts the Power of Excommunication to belong to the Presbyters Office, in the Place fore-cited, *Licet Presbytero, si peccaverit, Satanæ me tradere in interitum carnis, &c.* The Presbyter may if I offend deliver me to Satan, &c. I grant that Jerome does there understand that Phrase concerning Excommunication, tho' others as ancient Writers, as I have shewn, more truly understood it of the Exercise of a miraculous Power: But 'tis evident that he supposed the Power of Excommunication a Branch of the Presbyters Office. Theodoret not only declares that (a) *πρεσβυτεία*, i. e. the Power of Ruling the Church belongs to Presbyters; but gives this Reason, why the Apostle would not have an Accusation admitted against an Elder under two or three Witnesses, because he having [*ἐκκλησίας πρεσβυτείας*] the

Government of the Church, and in the Exercise of it often grieving Delinquents, they being ill-affected to him, will be apt to bring false Accusations. Chrysostome (b) while a Presbyter threatens some of his Auditors that he would excommunicate them. And in the sixth Age, || Justinian forbids Bishops and Presbyters to exclude any from Communion, till such Cause was declared for which the Canons appointed it to be done; and will have the Sentence of Excommunication passed by Bishops or Presbyters without Cause to be rescinded. And as the Presbyters joined in Excommunication, so they did in the Absolution of Penitents. Their Hands were laid on with those of the Parochial Bishop on the Head of the Person absolved.

But I add,

That the main of what Mr. Dr--- alledges, is so far from serving the Diocesan Cause that it overturns it.

Mr. Dr--- saith, " That Mr. B. will hardly produce one Instance of the Sentence of Excommunication being passed without a Bishop.

Answ. If he mean a Diocesan Bishop, 'tis utterly untrue; I must desire him to produce us one Instance of such a Diocesan Bishop in the two first Centuries; and much more one Instance of such a Bishop engrossing this Power of Excommunication over all the Churches in a large Province or County. If he mean a Parochial Bishop as distinguished from his Assistant-Presbyters or Curates, I am under no Obligation in the Defence of my Cause to produce him any such Instance; tho' I have already produced him an Instance of St. Cyprian's Presbyters censuring Delinquents in his Absence. But I must on the other Hand, desire Mr. Dr--- to produce me any Instance in the three first Centuries, wherein even a Parochial Bishop passed this Sentence, without the Concurrence of his Presbyters therein. And if he could no more Excommunicate without his Presbyters, than they without him, this plainly shews, That the Power was common to both, only the Bishop had, as the Praeses or Moderator of the Parochial Presbytery, the chief Hand therein. But he was so far from having a sole Power of Excommunication, that his Sentence without the Concurrence of the Presbyters in it was null and void. Let us see then what Mr. Dr--- will make of this Argument. The Presbyters could not excommunicate without the Bishop; therefore the Power of Excommunication was appropriated to the Bishop. And why may not I at this Rate argue, the Bishop could not excommunicate without the Presbyters; therefore the Power of Excommunication was appropriated to the Presbyters. I might parallel it with another, The Bishops of the Province were required by the Council of Nice, Can. 6. not to ordain without the Leave of the Metropolitan. Therefore, according to this way of Reasoning the Power of Ordination was appropriated to the Metropolitan.

But if the Primitive Bishop was only a Parochial one, then the Argument turns upon Mr. Dr--- to the utter Subversion of his Cause. In the Primitive Church, the Sentence of Excommunication was passed by the Parochial Bishop and his Assistants, (i. e. the Parish Rector and his Curates) therefore

(a) Theodoret in 1 Timoth. V. 19.

(b) *Καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντάς ἰδω, ἀπαγορεύσω λοιπὸν ὑμῖν ὥς ἰσχυρὸν τῶν ἐπιβουλεύων πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ὥς ἀδελφῶν μεταξὺ μυστηρίων.* Chrysost. Hom. 17. in Mat. Op. Tom. 2. p. 125. That these Homilies upon Matthew were deliver'd when he was a Presbyter at Antioch; See the Notes in Tom. 8. p. 145. Savil indeed adds, *Loqui videtur ut Episcopus*; but allows it most probable they were written by him at Antioch.

(c) *Omnibus Episcopis & Presbyteris interdicimus segregare aliquem à sacra communione, antequam causa monstretur propter quam sanctæ regulæ hoc fieri jubent. Si quis autem præter hoc à sancta communione quenkumque segregaverit; ille quidem qui injuste segregatus est, solutus excommunicatione à majore sacerdote, sanctam meretur communionem.* Novel. 123. cap. 14.

therefore it cannot be appropriated to a Diocesan, without destroying the Rights of all the Parochial Bishops in his Diocess. And if the Power do of Divine Right belong to the Parochial Bishops, it cannot belong to a Diocesan one, his Authority being founded on the Ruin of theirs.

The next Act that Mr. Dr--- appropriates to a Diocesan Bishop, is that of Confirmation; and to prove that it peculiarly belongs to such a one, Mr. Dr--- alleges two things.

1. That we read constantly in Scripture, "That the Apostles alone confirmed baptized Persons. For St. Philip, who was an Evangelist and a Presbyter, (as Mr. B. has observed from Grotius,) yet after he had baptized the Men of Samaria, he could not confirm them, but the Apostles were forced to send Peter and John to lay their Hands upon them, Acts viii. 14.

Ans. Mr. Dr--- should first explain to us, what he means by Confirmation. For he either means by Confirmation, the laying on of Hands on baptized Persons, to confer on them the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit; or the laying Hands on them to confer the ordinary sanctifying Operations of the Holy Spirit: Or he means, The Admission of adult Persons that had been baptized in their Infancy to the Communion of adult Members, upon a personal Recognition of their Baptismal Vow.

If he mean by it the First of these, this no doubt was peculiar to the Apostles; but this is never called in Scripture Confirmation. And it were absurd for any Bishops whatever, whether Parochial or Diocesan, to pretend to imitate the Apostles in this, when they have no such Power of Conferring the Holy Ghost in its extraordinary Gifts; and therefore Mr. Dr---'s Argument from Acts viii. 14. is miserably weak and inconclusive. For 'tis manifest, that Passage refers entirely to the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost, (such as the Gift of Tongues, of Miracles, of Prophecy, &c.) for unless we suppose all whom Philip baptized, to have been such Hypocrites in their Profession as Simon Magus was, some of them must have already received the Holy Ghost in its renewing and sanctifying Operations. For all the living Members of Christ are partakers thereof; and if any Man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his, Rom. viii. 9. But we read, That the Holy Ghost was yet fallen upon none of them. And therefore it was upon the Imposition of the Apostles Hands, that they received the Holy Ghost in these extraordinary Gifts. And it was to purchase the Power of bestowing these extraordinary Gifts, that Simon Magus offered Money to the Apostles, being sensible that these miraculous Gifts and Operations of the Holy Spirit, were as preferable to his delusive Sorceries, as the most precious Jewels are to false and counterfeit Stones. Whereas the sanctifying Operations of the Holy Spirit are inward and indiscernible and such as that vile Sorcerer would have offered nothing for the purchase of.

Mr. Dr--- may thus easily see what his Argument will amount to; Philip the Evangelist could not bestow the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but only the Apostles; therefore Bishops now only have the Power of bestowing these Gifts. And for this Conclusion we shall believe it, when we see it exercised.

For the laying on of Hands to confer the ordinary sanctifying Operations of the Holy Spirit, I find no such Thing practised by the Apostles themselves, (as Monsieur Daillé has at large demonstrated against the Papists in his Treatise of the Sacrament of Excommunication;) nor do I find any Promise in all the New Testament of those sanctifying Operations to be annexed to the Use of that Rite;

and much less that Diocesan Bishops Hands have the sole Vertue of conveying them. And if Mr. Dr--- pretend to any such Thing, let him produce us some Proof of it, and it shall be considered.

For the Admission of Persons baptized in their Infancy, when grown up, to the Communion of adult Members, upon a publick Recognition of their Baptismal Vow, this I own is a Practice very conformable to the general Rules of the Holy Scripture: But this properly belongs to those Pastors who receive them into the Communion of the Church. And as I do not find that the Apostles ever practised this Confirmation themselves, so I find no Shadow of Proof, that they appropriated the Power of doing it to any Diocesan Bishop, for all the Churches in a Province or County. The Pastors of particular Churches are capable of judging concerning such adult Persons, whether they have a competent Knowledge of the Principles of Religion, and whether their Conversation be suitable to their Profession, and free from such scandalous Crimes as would blast the Credibility of it. And if a Diocesan Bishop confirm them, it must be by a mere implicate Faith in the Judgment and Integrity of the Parochial Pastors, and not upon any personal Enquiry and Examination of his own. Let any unprejudiced Man then judge on whom the Work should in all Reason be devolved? Upon the Parish Pastor that proceeds upon personal Enquiry and Evidence concerning the Person's Fitness to be received to the Communion of adult Members? Or on the Diocesan Bishop, who must act only by implicate Faith in the Parochial Pastor's Word, having neither Leisure nor Capacity to do it on any personal Enquiry?

2. Mr. Dr--- next appeals to Antiquity, but by what I have already fully proved, Antiquity is entirely against him. For the Confirmation in use among the Primitive Christians of the three first Centuries, was performed by the Parochial Bishop, who (as I observed before) was capable of judging of the Persons Fitness for the Communion of an adult Member; not by a Diocesan, who must needs be an utter Stranger to the far greatest Part of those whom he confirms, and must wholly rely upon the Testimony and Knowledge of another, whether the Person be fit to be confirmed, or no. And if the Judgment of Primitive Antiquity must be followed; to appropriate this Power to a Diocesan, is to rob some Scores or Hundreds of Primitive Bishops of what was then accounted their Right. But this Confirmation which consisted in the laying on of Hands on the Person baptized, was by the Ancients always practised immediately after Baptism: The Person baptized being after Baptism anointed and signed, and Hands laid on him. Now 'tis manifest that Presbyters in the Primitive Church did frequently baptize; and therefore must perform this Rite of Imposition of Hands, which was then judged a necessary Appendix to Baptism. But to speak the Truth, it was one of the early Errors and Weaknesses of the Primitive Christians, to take this Imposition of Hands on the Person baptized, in order to the conferring on him the sanctifying Operations of the Holy Spirit, for a Rite of Divine Appointment, and a Sacrament of equal Necessity with Baptism itself. They observed, that the Apostles laid their Hands on such as were baptized, and that thereupon the Holy Ghost is said to fall on them. And not considering that this Rite was used only in conferring his extraordinary Gifts, they used it as a Means for conveying his ordinary sanctifying Influences. But this Mistake is so fully confuted by the forementioned Monsieur Daillé

Dail'e, in his *Treatise concerning the Sacrament of Confirmation*, (as the Romish Church calls it) that I shall refer the Reader thither, who would be fully satisfied how vain the Pretensions to a *Divine Right* for it are. And indeed the Error of the Ancients in reference to this Rite of Confirmation, carried a tacit Reflection on the *Virtue and Efficacy of Baptism* itself. For they reckoned that Baptism only prepared the Person baptized for receiving the Holy Ghost, but that the Holy Spirit was actually conveyed by this additional Rite of Imposition of Hands; which is quite contrary to the Strain of the Holy Scripture, that makes Baptism the Sign of our New-Birth, and speaks of it as the *Laver of Regeneration*, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and asserts all true Christians to be baptized into one Spirit. But that being no Part of the present Controversy, I shall not enlarge on it.

I now come to the

Third Act which Mr. Dr--- appropriates to the Bishop's Office, viz. that of Ordination; and here Mr. Dr--- renews his Challenge to Mr. B. to shew him, where a mere Presbyter even so much as laid claim to it, either in the Apostles Days, or some hundreds of Years after it?

But before Mr. Dr--- enters on his Proof of this Point, he is pleased to quarrel with Mr. B's Notion of Ordination.

Mr. B. had said in Answer to that Objection against Timothy's being ordained by Presbyters [that Timothy being a superior Officer (i. e. an Evangelist) could not be ordained by Presbyters, who are supposed to be an Office inferior to his;] That 'tis built on a Mistake, as if the Ordainers gave the Power to the Person whom they ordain, whereas the Power is derived from Christ, and flows from his Charter that constitutes the Office, and describes the Qualifications of those that shall be admitted to discharge it. And the Ordainers no more give that Power, than the Recorder gives the Lord-Mayor his Power when he invests him in his Office, or the Lord-Chancellor gives any Officer of State his Power, when he sets his Seal to his Patent, (to use Mr. King's [now the Archbishop of Dublin's] Comparison, *Answer to Dean Manby*, p. 19, &c.) This plainly shews that the Ordainers, only for Order sake, recognize the Authority which the Charter of Christ conveys to the Person ordained, upon his being qualified for the Office, consenting to undertake it, and being (by the Election of those he is to minister to, if he take a particular Flock as his Charge,) called to it.

This Notion Mr. Dr--- charges with Inconsistency and Self-Contradiction. And thus reasons against it; "If this be all, and if the other (i. e. of the Ordainers giving the Power) be a Mistake, I confess I do not understand, how our Blessed Saviour could say to his Apostles, as my Father sent me, so I send you. From whence it is evident to me, that Christ gave the Apostles the same Power to ordain and commission others for the Ministry, as he had received from his Father; and I suppose Mr. B. will own that Christ had more than Ministerial Power over his Church, &c. I confess the Ordainers do not give the Original Power, for that is lodged in, and flows from Christ. But then according to Christ's Command, they gave them Power, i. e. upon Trial and Examination of their Qualifications, they authorize them to go and preach the Gospel, which they cannot do without such a Commission, or an Extraordinary Call.

Ans. The Charge of Inconsistency and Self-contradiction that Mr. Dr--- advances against the Notion of Ordination which Mr. B. had laid down, may I think with much greater Justice be re-

torted upon himself. As will appear by examining his Objections against it.

As to his First Objection, he had been already told, That those Words, [As my Father sent me, so send I you] have no direct Reference to the Power of Ordination at all. That they only imply, that as Christ received his Commission immediately from the Father, so he did immediately send them to disciple all Nations, and to teach them whatever he had commanded. But this by no Means implies, that whatever Power Christ had himself, he invested the Apostles with, or gave them the same Authority and Dominion in his Church that belonged to himself. His Power was Despotical, their's only Ministerial. And he himself warned them against aspiring any higher than a Ministerial Power, Mat. xx. 25. &c. He did not therefore make over his Despotical Authority of Commissioning others to them; but only a Ministerial Authority of investing such in the Office as his Charter should authorize and oblige thereto. Mr. Dr--- himself confesses, that the Ordainers do not give the Original Power, but yet saith, they authorize those they ordain to go and preach the Gospel. What he means by the Original Power which is lodged in Christ, and flows from him, I do not well understand. The Ordained Person is doubtless authorized and obliged to all the Parts of his Ministerial Function. I would gladly then know from whom he derives that Authority and by whom that Obligation is laid upon him. If he derive that Authority and Obligation from the Charter of Christ, (as the Mayor of a Town-Corporate derives his Authority from the Royal Charter,) then the Ordainers have no more to do than to judge of his Qualifications; and upon his Consent, to give him a solemn Admission to the exercise of the Office by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, (as the Recorder invests the Mayor.) If he derive his Authority and Obligation from the Ordainers, he is then properly their Minister, acts by a Commission derived from them; so that 'tis the Bishop's Letters of Ordination, not the Charter of Christ that gave him his Authority. But does he really think, that any Minister of Christ can satisfy himself with deriving his Authority, from no higher Original than that of his Ordainers? If therefore Mr. Dr--- by the Original Power mean that Power which gives every Minister his Authority, then if this be lodged in Christ, and flow from him, Mr. Dr---'s Notion is wholly overturned, and 'tis Christ that gives the Power, the Ordainers being only the Instruments of Conveyance. But if by the Original Power being lodged in Christ, Mr. Dr--- mean no more than that Christ had once indeed the Power of authorizing and obliging Men to preach his Gospel: But he has made it over to the Apostles, and they to Bishops; then the forementioned Absurdity follows, that the Bishop's Letters of Ordination are all the Charter and Commission by which a Minister acts, and that he is more properly the Bishop's Minister than Christ's. He should therefore in all Reason preach the Gospel, and baptize in the Bishop's Name, from whom he has his Commission.

But saith Mr. Dr--- "If the Ordainers only recognize the Authority, which the Charter of Christ conveys to the Person ordained, this seems a full Commission to preach without Ordination. And he sees no Reason why the Person should be hindered from putting his Authority in Execution, because some will be so refractory as not to recognize it."

Ans. Mr. Dr--- need here only to apply the obvious Distinction in *foro Dei*, & in *foro Ecclesiae*. He that has all the Qualifications requisite by the Charter for the Ministerial or Pastoral Office; he whose

whose Qualifications are approved by other Pastors, who are the most proper Judges of them, and (if he be ordained to a particular Flock) by the People whom he is to take the Oversight of; he who voluntarily devotes himself to this special Service of Christ, is by him actually authorized and obliged to the Office. But he is by the same Charter obliged not to enter on the actual Exercise of it, without the Solemnity of Publick Prayer and Fasting to recommend his Labours to the Blessing of God, and Imposition of Hands in order to the publick Recognition of this Authority in the Face of the Church, wherever this solemn Inauguration can be had; and till then, he is not a Minister in *foro Ecclesie*, nor to be received and regarded and obeyed as such. 'Tis the like Case as in Baptism; he that was an Infidel, but becomes a sincere Convert to the Christian Faith, is in the Estimate of Christ, a real Member of his Church, and has a Right to the Privileges of it: And his Baptism does not give, but suppose that Right, and solemnizes his Admission into the Church. But the Church is not obliged to own him as a Member till he is baptized; and he cannot regularly partake of its external Privileges, till he has taken upon him this external Badge of his Profession. So, to use my former Similitude, The Mayor upon his Election is, by the Charter, authorized and obliged to the Government of a Town-Corporate: But he is not, for order sake, to exercise his Authority without a publick Installation by such Officers as the Charter appoints; nor is the Corporation till then obliged to receive and obey him as such; And yet his Authority is derived from the Charter, not from those that instal or invest him. So here, the same Charter of Christ that authorizes and obliges such a Person to be one of his Ministers, does also oblige him for Order sake, to enter by this solemn Rite upon the actual Exercise of it, wherever he can have such Ministerial Ordination and Investiture, and till then the Church is not obliged to pay him the Respect due to his Character; but still his Authority is derived from the Charter, not from his Ordainers; and none but Christ himself can really authorize and oblige him to the Ministerial Office. And for any others to pretend to do it, is but to usurp his Sovereign Authority as the Head of his Church, and the Fountain of all Power exercised by all that minister in it. 'Tis the like Presumption, as a Recorder would be guilty of, if he should pretend that all those derive their Power from him whose Patent he seals; or that a Lord Chancellor would be guilty of, if he should pretend that all those derive their Power from him whose Patent he seals. So an Elective Prince derives his Authority from his Election: But if the Constitution oblige him to be crowned in order to the publick Exercise of it, it will not thence follow, that those who perform the Ceremony of his Coronation, give him the Royal Authority.

And that Mr. Dr— may not think this Account of Ordination any peculiar Notion of Mr. B—'s, I shall present it to him in the Words of a judicious Writer of the Established Church, which I have lately perused, and whose Sentiments he will find entirely conformable to what I have here laid down. Mr. Ollyffe in his Answer to Mr. Calamy, undertaking to treat of the Nature of the Ministerial Call or Ordination, thus explains it; Defence. of Min. Conf. 8^{vo}. Lond. 1702. Postscript, p. 128, 129. "The Call to the Ministry is from Christ, which he gives by conferring an Ability for it, and Inclination to it. Ordination is the Investiture into this Office before Men, by a Declaration or publick Approving a Man to be a Minister; or is a solemn Allowance of his preceding Call, and is a Rite to give a Man

"the current Repute and Valuation of a Minister; and an Authority to exercise the Function with Freedom and Acceptation in the Church of God. It is a Confirmation of a Man's Call from Christ to the Ministry, (which is his Commission *coram Deo*;) by the solemn Godspeed or Approbation of such who are in Authority, to give him the Reputation and Power of a Minister *coram Hominibus*, to its due Intents in the Church where he is sent. It is Christ that hath appointed such an Office to be; furnishes a Man with Endowments for it, and gives him a Will, so that he dedicates himself to the Work, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 4, 7. Acts xx. 28. And for the Trial hereof, the Question is put, Do you think that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this Office and Ministration? And do you think in your Heart, that you are called according to the Will of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. And what then doth Man do, but upon Trial finding this to be so, he authoritatively approveth and declareth him to be a Minister, and to have Christ's Commission for the Work of the Ministry by the Solemnity of Ordination, and so adds to him an Authority of exercising his Function towards Man, which he had not before? This is necessary for the preserving of Order among Men, and to prevent the Intrusion of incompetent and unqualified Persons into the Office, and to give an Esteem in regard of Men, many of whom will not, and others for certain Reasons cannot hold one for a true and legal Minister otherwise. Ordination (*saith Amesius*) *nihil aliud est quam solennis Declaratio, ut Coronatio Regis & Inauguratio Magistratus. De Conf. Lib IV. cap. xxv. Est solennis quadam Introductio Ministri in ipsius functionis liberam functionem. Med. Theol. Lib. I. cap. xxxix. An Adjunct consequent to his Call from Christ to make it current among Men. Est Persona Introductio, qua publicis precibus premissis Ecclesie commendatur, eique vocatio impositis manibus confirmatur. Wolleb.* It declareth him before Men, and giveth him Authority for the Exercise of the Ministry among them, and commits him to the Grace of God for the Discharge thereof." Thus far that Learned Divine.

But, saith Mr. Dr—, "If Ordination be no more than a bare Designation of the Person to whom Christ's Charter shall convey the Power and Authority, the Approbation of his Qualifications, and the Investiture of him or solemnizing his Admittance; I can see no Reason why the People who are to elect (according to this Author's Notions) should not always ordain likewise? And why they may not as well design him whom Christ has thus qualified, and solemnize his Admittance? This is such a Way of making a Clergyman, as I believe was never heard of in the Christian World before."

Answer. Tho' we suppose Ordination to include no more than is here mentioned, there is very good Reason, why it should in all ordinary Cases be performed only by such as are already Pastors in the Christian Church; partly because those who themselves faithfully discharge that Office, are the best Judges of the Qualifications of those that are Candidates of it, (even though the People be allowed to judge of the Suitableness of their Gifts to their Edification.) Partly because they have a particular Concern in the Person ordained, to whom they must give the Right Hand of Fellowship, and whom they must admit as a Colleague in managing the common Interest of the Churches under their Care: Partly, because they only are empowered to officiate in all such Acts of publick Worship: And to

to add no more, because the Scriptures never mention this *External Solemnity*, as performed by any that were not themselves dignified with the *Ministerial Office* when they invest others in it.

All these *Reasons* are sufficient to exclude the *People* from performing this *Solemnity*, wherever there are *Ministers* or *Pastors* to be employed in it; and yet all this is consistent with what is asserted, that the *Ordainers* do not give the *Power* or *Authority*, but *Christ* by his *Charter*. And whereas *Mr. Dr---* seems to insinuate, as if the *Peoples Power* of electing their own *Pastors*, were some peculiar *Notion* of *Mr. B---*'s, he must either be a great *Stranger* to the ancient *Writers*, or he must own it to be the current *Judgment* and *Practice* of all *Antiquity*; and the *Exclusion* of the *People* from this *Privilege*, to be a manifest *Deviation* from it. Of which he may see that *Learned Treatise* of *Mr. Clarkson's*, *No Evidence of Diocesan Churches in Primitive Antiquity*.

I know not what other *Way* *Mr. Dr---* would have a *Clergyman* made, than what I have described, unless he suppose some *Clergymens Hands* to have some peculiar *Virtue* of imprinting an *indelible Character* that the *Hands* of others have not; or unless he set the *Ordainers* in the *Place* of *Christ*, and make them *Fountains* of *Ecclesiastical Power*, instead of being the mere *Instruments* or *Channels* of *Conveyance*. For *Mr. B---* himself, he was invested in the *Pastoral Office* by several *Congregational Bishops*, (such as the *Primitive Church* accounted *Bishops*;) and that upon the free *Electi*on of the *Church* whom he took the *Charge* of; and if this be not *entering in at the Door*, he would be glad to know what is.

Mr. Dr--- objects, That *Mr. B.* had said in a former printed *Discourse*, that *Ordination* by *Pastors* is not of *absolute Necessity* to the *Being* of the *Ministry*. There have been, and may be such extraordinary *Cases*, wherein a *Man* may be a *Minister* without it. As in the *Case* of a *Number* of *Christians* cast upon the *Shore* of a *Pagan Nation*, or that of the present *Pastors* of a *Nation* turning *Hereticks*, and refusing to *ordain* any that will not joyn with them in their *Heresy*.

To this *Mr. Dr.* replies, "That as no *Man* can preach or meddle with sacred *Offices*, except he be called of *God* or sent, so no *Man* is to call or send as from *God*, but he that is authorized by him for that *Purpose*. It is the highest *Presumption* to appoint *Embassadors* for *God Almighty* without his *Orders*. And there is the same *Reason* for *Mens* acting in *Christ's House* as his *Ministers* without any *Commission* at all, as to pretend to derive a *Commission* from them that had none themselves."

Ans. Since 'tis from the *Charter* of *Christ*, (describing the *Ministerial* or *Pastoral Office*, and the *Qualifications* of all that exercise it,) that all *Ministers* derive their *Authority*; and since the *Interposal* of *Ministerial Investiture* is only a *positive Institution* for *Order* sake, chiefly to prevent the *Intrusion* of *unqualified Persons*: The *Question* is, Whether the *Charter* of *Christ* does not sufficiently authorize such *qualified Persons* to discharge that *Office*, when the *Necessities* of *Souls* call for it, and when this *positive Institution* for *Order* sake, cannot in the present *Circumstances* be observed. To say, it does not, is to prefer a *positive* before a *moral Precept*, and a *Precept* that relates only to *Order*, to the great *End* of it, the *Salvation* of *Souls*; which is quite contrary to our *Saviour's Rule*, That *God will have Mercy rather than Sacrifice*. And *Mr. Dr---* here takes that for granted, which *Mr. B---* denies, viz. That *Christ's Charter* in such extraordinary *Cases*, does not sufficiently *Commission* a *qualified*

Man to *minister* in his *House* when called thereto, by such as absolutely need the *Assistance* of his *Abilities*. And since *Mr. B.* confines this to *Cases* of *absolute Necessity*, nothing can be more weak than to argue against it from *Cases* where there was no *absolute Necessity*, and where *Ministerial Ordination* might be had. And as to such *Cases* *Mr. Dr---* should consider the *Arguments* *Mr. B.* had offered, before he pretend to censure his *Assertion*.

Mr. Dr--- at last proceeds, *Seet. IV. p. 57.* to prove, "That the *Imposition of Hands* in *Ordination* was always appropriated to one of the *Clergy* superior to *Presbyters*, and whom we call *Bishop*, and that no mere *Presbyter* can with any *Reason* pretend to it."

This he pretends to prove;

1. *From Scripture*; and here he tells us of the "Apostles ordaining the *Deacons*, *Acts vi. 8.* And neither the *People* nor the *Seventy* laid their *Hands* on them." To this *Purpose* he cites *Acts xix. 6.* Tho' the *Place* has no *Reference* to *Ordination* at all. And he concludes with the *Apostles Directions* to *Timothy* and *Titus*.

Ans. That the *Apostles* ordained *Deacons*, and ordinary *Presbyters* in every *Church*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were directed to ordain *Bishops* or *Elders* where there were none before, is freely granted. But what signifies this to prove, That an *Officer* superior to *Scriptural Bishops* or *Elders*, is for all succeeding *Ages* to be entrusted with the *sole Power* of *Ordination*; or, which is the same, that a *Diocesan Bishop* is so? Of such a *Bishop*, the *Scriptures* are entirely silent, whereas they do mention the *laying on of the Hands* of the *Presbytery*, and that upon *Timothy* himself. So that the *Scriptures* do expressly mention the *Ordination* of *Presbyters*, but no where of *Bishops* as superior to, and distinct from *Presbyters*. And for mere *Presbyters* as distinguished from, and inferior to *Bishops*, the *Scriptures* mention no such *Officers*; and therefore 'tis no wonder that they speak nothing of their *Authority* to ordain: Nor have the *Dissenters*, whose *Ordinations* this Gentleman arraigns, any such mere *Presbyters* at all.

2. *Mr. Dr---* argues from *Antiquity*; and here he tells us, "That sacred *Action* was so inherent in the *Person* of the *Bishop*, that it was looked on as *Sacrilege* and *Madness* for any of an inferior *Order*, for any mere *Presbyter* to pretend to it."

Because *Mr. Dr---*'s *Plea* is here the most plausible and popular of any he has yet offered, I shall in order to convince him of the utter *Invalidity* of it to serve his *Cause*,

First shew, That were it true, that the *Ancients* had appropriated the *Power* of *Ordination* to their *Bishops* as distinguished from *Presbyters*, it would no way be prejudicial to the *Cause* I plead, but is utterly destructive of his.

Secondly, I shall shew, that the *Ancients* did neither wholly exclude their *Presbyters* from the *Power* of *Ordination*, nor did think what *Confinement* they laid on the *Exercise* of it a *Matter* of *Divine Right*.

First, Were it true, That the *Ancients* had appropriated the *Power* of *Ordination* to their *Bishops* as distinguished from *Presbyters*, it would be no way prejudicial to the *Cause* I plead, but is utterly destructive of his.

For if the *Primitive Bishop* for the two first *Centuries*, (nay generally thro' the third,) was no more than a *Congregational Pastor* or *Parish Rector*, and the *Presbyters* his *Assistent Curates*, (as I have fully shewn :) Then 'tis manifest, that all those reformed *Churches* *Abroad* and those *Dissenting*

senting Churches at Home, that are not under Diocesan Bishops, are yet under the Government of Congregational or Parochial Bishops, and all their Ordinations are performed by as great a Number of neighbouring Parochial Bishops as the ancient Canons did require. So that all those Ordinations which this Gentleman has the Confidence to declare null and void, are in the Sense and Language of the Primitive Church Episcopal Ordinations, and performed by proper Bishops. 'Tis true indeed we have not the Primitive Presbyters or Curates. For where the Congregation is numerous, the Pastor or Bishop usually takes in a Coadjutor or Colleague, as Valerius took in St. Austin. And for these Subject-Presbyters, we find nothing of them in the Holy Scriptures and the first Century, tho' they do occur in the Second; and therefore we use them not, but employ only such Presbyters as are as truly Bishops as ever Polycarp, or Ignatius or Irenæus was.

On the other Hand, if every Church that had its Altar or Communion Table, had its Bishop too, and if the Power of Ordination was then lodged in such Congregational Bishops: Then 'tis manifest, That the depriving all the Congregational or Parochial Bishops thro' a large Province of this Power, and the engrossing it into the Hands of the Diocesan Bishops, must in the Judgment of the Ancients be regarded as an Invasion on the Rights of the Primitive Bishops, who are hereby degraded into what Mr. Dr--- calls mere Presbyters, and excluded from a Power which they enjoyed, while the Church retained its primitive Simplicity, and kept free from the Infection of that Ambition that begun in the fourth and fifth Centuries, and in the succeeding ones came to so monstrous an Height both in the Eastern and Western Churches. So just is that Remark of the Bishop of Sarum, *That the enlarging of Dioceses had altered the whole Figure of Primitive Episcopacy*; and the Truth is, this Enlargement being gradually made, was the less perceived. The Bishops Charge in greater Cities, was long within the common Bounds of an overgrown Parish, and did but by several insensible Steps swell to the Bulk of a modern Diocese. And even this gradual Enlargement did not escape the Notice and Complaint of some of the best Men in those very Ages wherein this Ambition first appeared, as the Reader may see in those two excellent Treatises, Mr. Clarkson's *Treatise of Episcopacy*; and *No Evidence of Diocesan Churches in Primitive Antiquity*. Upon the whole, since the Rights of Parochial and Diocesan Bishops, are in this Point of Ordination inconsistent and incompatible; if Antiquity supposed the former vested with the Power of Ordination, they could not suppose it by a Divine Right appropriated to the latter. So that Mr. Dr---'s Cause stands condemned, if the Judgment of Antiquity be allowed.

But

Secondly, I shall shew, That the Ancients did not wholly exclude the Presbyters from the Power of Ordaining, nor did look on the Confinement they laid on the Exercise of it as a Matter of Divine Right.

The Ancients did not wholly exclude their Curate-Presbyters from the Power of Ordaining.

Mr. Dr--- himself has furnished me with a convincing Proof of it, which I shall mention and vindicate from the Attempt he has made to elude the Force of it. 'Tis the third Canon of the Council of Carthage which requires, *That when a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing him, and holding his Hands on the Party's Head, all the Presbyters that are present should hold their Hands near the Bishop's Hand on his Head*. By which we see,

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it was the general Practice that the Presbyters (i. e. the Parochial Curates) should join with the Bishop (or Parish Rector) in the Ordination of a Presbyter (or Assistant Curate.) And 'tis in Imitation of this general Practice of the ancient Church, that in the Established Church, such as are now called Presbyters, (viz. the Parish Rectors, who were the ancient Bishops) now join with the Diocesan in the Imposition of Hands on the Person ordained.

But as to this Mr. Dr--- tells us, "That all the Presbyters had to do, was only to give their Consent; and to let the Church know, that so sacred an Action was not done rashly nor out of Favour and Affection: That they had no divine Right to concur with the Bishop, that the Power of Ordination was in the Bishop alone, the Presbyters were only allowed to perform a Share in the outward Ceremony, &c."

Ans^r. This is indeed magisterially asserted, but nothing that I see brought for the Proof of it, but a slender Argument that Blondell has fully answered already, though our Author takes no Notice of it. The Argument is, that if there was any Irregularity in the Ordination, the Bishop alone (not the Presbyters) was called to an Account, and punished for it by the Canons of the Church, which would not have been just, if all were concerned alike in the Ordination. As to this Blondell has shewn, That neither is the Matter of Fact here supposed clear and certain, that the Bishop alone was accountable for the Irregularity of such Ordinations: Nor is the Consequence valid, if the Matter of Fact were true. For since the Bishop or Parish-Rector had the chief hand in ordaining such Assistant Curates, it was no way unreasonable to make him (rather than those Assistant Curates that joined with him therein) accountable for any such Irregularity, in those provincial Synods made up of Parochial Bishops and Presbyters of the Province where such Matters were examined. He that presided in that sacred Action, was chiefly concerned to see that the Canons agreed on in their Provincial Synods, were observed duly in the Management of it. But that the Ancients did not suppose the Presbyters concerned as mere Consenters to what the Bishop did, and merely to let the Church know that the Bishop did not act rashly, nor out of Favour and Affection; but from their Judgment, that all that were dignified with the Evangelical Priesthood had such an inherent Power of Ordination, whatever Restraints Ecclesiastical Canons might lay on the Exercise of it; is I think evident from that Passage in Firmilian (who may justly be supposed to understand the Judgment of the African Churches) wherein he tells us, *All Power and Grace is placed or constituted in the Church where Seniors (maiores natu) preside, who possess the Power both of baptizing and laying on of Hands and ordaining*. And who these Seniors (or Maiores natu) are, may be justly expounded by that Parallel Passage in Tertullian, where speaking of those Churches Assemblies in which their Ecclesiastical Discipline was exercised, he saith, *Præsident probati quique seniores honorem istum non pretio sed merito adepti*, those approved Elders preside who had obtained that Honour by Merit not by Price. And that the Presbyters as well as Bishops are included in his Maiores natu, is hence evident, that they were among the Seniores and Præpositi, that were the Members of those yearly Provincial Councils mentioned in that Ep. Sect. 3. [See for Proof hereof Iren. p. 354, 355. and Blondell's Apol. p. 200, &c.] And I have already shewn him from Cyprian that he accounted his Presbyters to be as truly concerned as himself in all Clerical Ordinations, and therefore apologizes

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apologizes for himself, even for ordaining a Reader without their concurrence, and that in a Case of Necessity. And indeed if their Presbyters had no Divine Right to concur in Ordinations, or had no Power of Ordaining, there were no manner of Reason for their laying on of Hands with the Bishop therein. The People's Consent to the Persons being ordained, was as requisite as the Presbyters; and yet they were no way allowed either by themselves, or by any as delegated by them, to lay on Hands. The Presbyters were to declare publicly their Approbation of the Person to be ordained, so that they needed not to lay on Hands for any such End, as to shew the Church that the Bishop did not act rashly. So that this Gentleman makes their Imposition of Hands not only a bare Ceremony, but a very insignificant and useless one, nay, a dangerous one too, since it carried all the outward Appearance of their exercising a Power which it seems they never had at all.

Mr. Dr--- tells us indeed, That there is a notable Instance in Antiquity of Presbyters ordaining Presbyters, viz. of Colluthus ordaining Presbyters, and particularly Ischyra, and of those Ordinations being nulled by the Patriarchal Synod of Alexandria; and this with Bishop Bilson he makes to be an Argument of the universal Consent of the Church, That a Presbyter could not ordain a Presbyter.

Ans. But why does not Mr. Dr---, who pretends to be so well versed in Blondell, take Notice of what he has said to overthrow the Force of this Objection? or what Dr. Stillingfleet has given us, as the Epitome of Blondell's Answer? For *Iren.* p. 381. The learned Doctor mentioning this Objection tells us, there is no great Difficulty in answering it, "For, First, The pronouncing such an Ordination null, does not evidence that they looked on the Power of Ordination, as belonging of Divine Right only to Bishops; for we find by many Instances, that acting in a bare Contempt of Ecclesiastical Canons, was enough to degrade any from being Presbyters. Secondly, If Ischyra had been ordained by a Bishop, there were Circumstances enough to induce the Council to pronounce it null. First, as done out of the Diocese, in which Case Ordinations were nulled by *Concil. Arel. c. 13.* Secondly, Done by open and pronounced Schismatics. Thirdly, Done sine Titulo, ἀπολειμμένως, and so nulled by the Canons then. Thirdly, Colluthus did not act as a Presbyter in ordaining, but as a Bishop of the Meletian Party in Cynus, as the Clergy of Marcotis speaking of Ischyra's Ordination ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῷ Πρεσβυτέρῳ φανταζόμενοι ἐπισκοπῶν, by Colluthus a Presbyter making shew of being a Bishop, and is supposed to have been ordained Bishop by Meletius. More concerning this may be seen in Blondell, who fully clears all the Particulars here mentioned; so that notwithstanding this Instance nothing appears, but that the Power of Ordination was restrained only by Ecclesiastical Laws."

To this I may add, That to make the Practice of a Patriarchal Alexandrian Synod, an Argument of the Consent of the universal Church, is but an ill way of Reasoning: When 'tis manifest, that as Ambition early prevailed in such Synods, (according to Gregory Nazianzen's just Observation concerning them,) so the greatest

Deviations from Primitive Simplicity and Purity usually begun there.

But if Mr. Dr--- had a Mind to see Instances of Presbyters ordaining, Why did he take no Notice of those mentioned by Dr. Stillingfleet, viz. Paphnutius the Presbyter's ordaining Daniel Deacon in the Desert of Scetus, as *Joh. Cassianus* informs us, *Collat. 4. c. 1.* And that of Pelagius Bishop of Rome? There were only two Bishops concurred in his Ordination, and one Presbyter: Whereas according to the Fourth Canon of the Council of Nice, three Bishops are required to the Ordination of a Bishop. Either then (as the Doctor well argues) Pelagius was no Canonical Bishop, and so the grand Point of Succession fails thereby in the Church of Rome; or else a Presbyter has the same intrinsic Power of Ordination with a Bishop, but it is only restrained by Ecclesiastical Laws. He may see other Instances in the same excellent Author, So he may in Blondell see an Instance of the Gothic Churches, that for near seventy Years had no other Government and Ordination, but what was in the Hand of Presbyters. And Hilary the Deacon mentions it as a common Practice in Egypt, for the Presbyters to ordain where there was no Bishop, or in his Absence. If Mr. Dr--- had given us any tolerable Answer to such Instances as these, which he may find in Blondell, *Apol. p. 157, 158, &c.* He might have had a better Pretence to make the Challenge he does on this Occasion. But as to the Cause I plead, 'tis little concerned in this Dispute at all; for if Parochial Bishops have an undisputed Power of Ordination, 'tis sufficient to justify ours, whether the Curate-Presbyters were or were not allowed that Power by the Ancients; though I have already shewn him, even they were not excluded from it.

And for the Restraint layed upon the Curate-Presbyters themselves, I do not find that the Ancients did found it upon any higher Ground than Ecclesiastical Customs and Canons. I have already shewn, that Jerome meant no more by his *Quid Facit Episcopus &c.* And when St. Chrysostom saith, *There is no great Difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, for they are also admitted to teach and rule the Church, for the Bishops only seem to excel them in Ordination; he speaks nothing here of any Divine Right.* And by the way Mr. Dr--- may see from these two passages, that both St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom utterly overthrow what he has advanced in this Chapter, that the Power of Excommunication and Confirmation are appropriated to the Bishop, for they only appropriate this Power of Ordination. As for St. Ambrose's Assertion, *That the Inferior could not ordain his Superior*, I have already shewn the Weakness of it; and 'tis no Argument at all against a Presbyter ordaining a Presbyter, for that is but ordaining one to the same Office in which he is vested himself. And for Epiphanius's Argument against the Equality of Bishops and Presbyters, because (d) the former beget Fathers to the Church in Ordination, whereas the latter beget only Sons by Regeneration in Baptism, and have not received Power to ordain; I must again tell Mr. Dr---, That this Argument is much of a Piece with those he produces to prove Prayers for the Dead; for Epiphanius here miserably begs the Question instead of any Attempts to prove it. For as to the Reason of the Thing, why may not a Presbyter make a Presbyter, as well as a Man beget a Man? Does there need one of a higher Rank of

Creatures

(d) Ἡ μὲν [ἐπισκοπῶν] δὲ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις πατέρας δὲ υἱὸν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ δὲ [πρεσβυτέρων] πατέρας μὴ δυναμένῃ γεννᾶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀγίου πάλι γεννησίας τέκνα

ἔχοντα χάρισμα τῷ χειροτονῶν; Epiphanius adv. Hæc. Lib. iii. Vol. I. p. 908.

Creatures to produce a Man? Why then should Presbyters be incapable of constituting a Presbyter? Why may not the College of Physicians license one of their own Profession? But if Mr. Dr--- only insist on the Testimony of Epiphanius as an Argument of what was the common Judgment of the Church in his Time, we may justly set St. Jerome's Judgment in Opposition to his, who was every way his Superior in Learning and Abilities. And 'tis certain in Matter of Fact, that in earlier Ages than that of Epiphanius, Presbyters did concur with their Bishop in the Ordination of Presbyters, and so did as truly beget Fathers as Children to the Church. 'Tis true indeed, That Presbyters did not concur usually in the Ordination of Parochial Bishops, but neighbouring Parochial Bishops. But I have already shewn Mr. Dr---, that all that can be made of that, is, That when one of the Presbyters of a Parochial Church was advanced to such a Superiority over his Brethren, as the Parish Rectors have over their Curates; then the Presbyters or Curates were only allowed to concur in the Ordination of their Fellow Curates or of Deacons or Readers, but the Rector or Bishop was to be ordained by neighbouring Parochial Rectors. And as this itself had only its rise from Ecclesiastical Custom, not any Divine Institution, (no such mere Curates being to be found in Scripture,) so it signifies nothing to the Diocesan Cause, according to which some Scores or Hundreds of Parochial Bishops are in a great Measure deprived of the Power of Ordination they anciently enjoyed, though some Remains of their ancient Right still appear in some of the Parish Rectors still being allowed to join with the Diocesan in Ordinations. But sure such a palpable Deviation from Antiquity itself, should never pretend to any Thing like a Divine Right by those that insist on the Testimonies of the Ancients for the Proof of it.

Having thus rendered the Testimony of Antiquity unserviceable to the Diocesan Cause in this Point, I shall proceed to vindicate that Argument from the Holy Scripture, Mr. B. had alledged from Timothy's being vested in his Office, by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery. Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

To evade the Force of this Argument, Mr. Dr. had insisted on three Different Pleas.

1. That by Presbytery is not meant a Company of ordinary Pastors, but of Apostles or Bishops.

To this Mr. B. had answered, that the Apostle should by Presbytery understand a Company of other Apostles joining with him, is an Exposition that carries no manner of Probability with it. The Apostles in the Council of Jerusalem are manifestly distinguished from the Elders. And tho' Peter and John stile themselves Elders, yet the Word Presbytery is never used in any such Sense in the Holy Scriptures, (or indeed in any ancient Writer,) as to signify the College of Apostles. Nor is it probable that if other Apostles had joined with St. Paul in Timothy's Ordination, he would have omitted the mention of them, when he speaks of the laying on of his Hands. Nay, 'tis much more probable, That the Apostle himself laid his Hands on Timothy, only for conferring some extraordinary Gift upon him, (which, as Dr. Barrow has observed, was the peculiar Power of an Apostle,) not in Order to the investing him into his ministerial Office, of which there is no Intimation there given, 2 Tim. i. 6. Whereas the Presbytery could not confer such Gifts, and therefore their Imposition of Hands must be for vesting him in his Office.

Let us consider, then, what Mr. Dr--- replies to this.

He alledges, That St. Chrysostom, Theophilus, Theodoret, Occumenius, understand by Presbytery a Company of Bishops or Apostles. And why may not I oppose to their Opinion that of St. Jerome, who from this very Passage infers, that Bishops and Presbyters were the same both in Name and Office in the Apostle's Time? Does Mr. Dr--- think those Authors he mentions more infallible in their Expositions than St. Jerome? If bare Authority then cannot determine this Question, we must come to the Reasons that may be alledged for countenancing the one or the other Exposition. And here Mr. Dr--- very gravely asks Mr. B---, whether he thinks in his Conscience that he has said any thing that has the least Colour or Shadow of Reason to invalidate the Opinion of those holy Fathers? And I must tell him, I think Mr. B. has offered very convincing Reasons for it, and must put it to his Conscience, whether he has said the least Syllable to invalidate them? He has offered to shew us no Place, where the Word Presbytery is taken for a Company of Apostles. He has not taken the least Notice of the next Reason, That it is utterly improbable, that the Apostle, who elsewhere speaks in that humble Style of himself, as one born out of due Time, as the least of the Apostles, as one that was not meet to be called an Apostle because he persecuted the Church, 1 Cor. xv. 8, 9. should have the Vanity of ascribing Timothy's Ordination to himself, (as 2 Tim. i. 6.) as if it were his sole Act, when other Apostles joined with him in it; or should speak of them (as 1 Tim. iv. 14.) under no other Denomination than that of a Presbytery; a Phrase no where used to signify the College of Apostles. Besides the History of the Apostle's Travels renders this Exposition utterly improbable; because it was, when Paul and Barnabas departed asunder one from the other, (Acts xv. 39.) that he first met Timothy at Lystra, and circumcised him, and upon the good Report he had from the Brethren, resolved to have him go forth with him as Companion in his Labours and Travels; and as it is most probable that he was then ordained, so there was then no other Apostle, and much less any College or Company of Apostles to join with the Apostle Paul therein. The Presbytery then that laid their Hands on him was not a Company of Apostles, but of such Presbyters as the Apostles constituted in every City and Church. And whereas Mr. Dr--- tells us, it might be a Company of Bishops; if he mean Diocesan Bishops, we still renew the Demand of shewing us one Instance of such a Diocesan Bishop either in Scripture or in the Two First Centuries.

For the Objection against the Presbyters laying their Hands on Timothy, viz. That he was vested in an Office superior to theirs, (i. e. that of an Evangelist;) Mr. B. had shewn him, that the Ordainers do not give the Power, they are only Instruments of Conveyance; as the Lord-Chancellor does not give the Power to those whose Patents he seals; nor does the Archbishop give the King or Queen their Royal Authority, when he performs the Ceremony of their Coronation. Now as in such Cases, an Inferior may vest his Superior in a Civil Office, so may an Inferior Officer in the Church invest a Superior. As Mr. Dr--- must own it to be so, when Bishops consecrate an Archbishop, and so must those of the Romish Church when the Cardinals create a Pope.

Mr. Dr--- refers us here to what he had already offered against this Notion of Ordination, and so shall I to what has been answered on that Head; only he here pretends a mighty Difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution. The Business of Civil Government (he

tells

tells us) depends on the Law of Nature and Nations; but the Ordination of Pastors is founded on a Divine and positive Institution: And that Christ gave this Power to none but the Apostles, and none can receive this Power but from those that have it themselves.

Ans. That the Power of Ordination is a Matter of positive Institution, I freely grant; but that this Power was granted to the Apostles alone, Mr. Dr--- has no where proved. The Apostle Paul himself supposes the quite contrary, when he directs Timothy to commit the Things he had heard of him (i. e. the Christian Doctrine) to faithful Men, who shall be able to teach others also, 1 Tim. ii. 2. Whoever is a publick Depositary of those Divine Truths himself, has a Right to commit them to other faithful Men. And there is no positive Divine Institution that confines this Power to any one particular Order of Teachers excluding the rest from it. And 'tis certain, the Apostles could not transmit this Power to Diocesan Bishops, much less appropriate it to them, because there were no such Bishops for Two Centuries or more after their Decease: So that unless it was transmitted to Parochial Bishops, it is utterly lost and extinguished, and the pretended Line of Succession gone.

Besides, How comes Mr. Dr--- to tell us, "That Timothy was vested in an Office superior to Presbyters, and yet tell us, that Presbytery signifies the Office of a Presbyter?" If he was only ordained a Presbyter, then the Objection is gone; for Presbyters may convey to others the Power they have received themselves.

But the Truth is, the Objection is founded on his Mistake of the Ordainer's properly giving the Power: Whereas it will vanish, if we consider the true Reason of any Man's being concerned in the Ordination of others, viz. the more effectual Prevention of unqualified Intruders. Since then all that are themselves the faithful Publick Depositaries of the Christian Faith, are capable Judges of the Qualifications of those that undertake to preach it, they are thereby sufficiently authorized to commit it to them. And 'tis not material, whether those they commit it to, be designed to be the stated Teachers of a particular Church, or itinerant Teachers that labour for the Conversion of the Infidel World, and planting and settling Churches among them. The Teachers as well as Prophets of the Church of Antioch, joined in the separating Paul and Barnabas to a particular ministerial Service, by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3. And therefore no positive Institution could debar the Presbyters of the Church where Timothy was ordained, from laying their Hands on him, and committing the Christian Doctrine as a Depositum to him, even though he was to be not a fixed, but an itinerant Teacher of it. There needed no more to qualify him for the latter Office, than a more eminent Degree of the same Qualifications that would have capacitated him to discharge the former, and those who were capable Judges in the one Case, were so in the other too.

I am glad to find, that Mr. Dr--- owns the Authority that Archbishops have over Bishops to be altogether Civil, and owing only to human Institution. If he will please to add, that the Authority of Diocesan Bishops over Parochial Rectors, (the true Primitive Bishops) is also Civil, and owing to human Constitution, there will be an End of the Dispute. I am sure those Laws of ours that assert their Authority to be derived from our Princes, suppose it be as much Civil as that of the Archbishops. And if Mr. Dr--- pretend a Divine Right for it, he must bring us other Evidence both from Scripture and Antiquity than he has yet done: But I hope enough has been said to convince him,

that a Diocesan Bishop is as great a Stranger to Primitive Antiquity as it is to the Bible.

Mr. Dr--- next insists on it, That by Presbytery is meant the Office or Dignity of a Presbyter or Bishop: And to that Purpose alleges the Opinion of St. Jerome, Ambrose, Primasius, Haymo, Lynanus.

Ans. If by Presbytery be there meant the Office of a Presbyter, then Timothy was ordained by the Apostle to the Office of a Presbyter. And since in this very Epistle where his Ordination to the Presbyter's Office is recorded, Timothy himself is directed by the Apostle in exercising his ordaining Power, it will thence follow, to the utter Subversion of Mr. Dr---'s Scheme, that the Power of Ordination belongs to the Office of a Presbyter, and is an essential Branch of their Ecclesiastical Authority. And this Consequence Mr. Dr--- must allow, unless he can prove that Timothy had a second Ordination to an higher Office than that here mentioned of a Presbyter, and by Virtue of that Second Ordination only, received his Power of ordaining others. And if so, How comes the Apostle to omit all mention of his Second Ordination, and the higher Office he received thereby? Why does he not urge him to stir up that higher Gift he must be then supposed to receive? Would it not look strange in giving Counsel to a Diocesan Bishop concerning Ordination, to advise him only to be mindful of the Office of a Presbyter, in which he was invested, without ever taking any Notice of the higher Episcopal Office to which he was advanced?

As to the Fathers, whom Mr. Dr--- cites as countenancing this Exposition, viz. Jerome, Ambrose, Primasius and Haymo: I shall only add, If he has no better Grounds for ascribing this to the Three Last than to the First, he greatly wrongs them. For I have already shewn him, That St. Jerome cites this very Passage to prove, that the Scriptural Bishop and Presbyter were the same both in Name and Office, which he could not have done with any Reason, but that that Power of Ordination was here ascribed to Presbyters, which in his Age the Bishop by Ecclesiastical Custom had in a great Measure engrossed. And whereas Mr. B--- had alledged to him, that the Word *Πρεσβυτεριον* is never used in the Scripture to signify the Office of a Presbyter, and is always used by the earliest Writers to signify a Bench of Elders, he refers Mr. B--- for the Disproof of the latter, to the Council of Nice, Antioch, and Africa, to Eusebius and Socrates; whereas Mr. B--- has pointed him to the Use of the Word in the Writers that flourished long before them, such as Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Cyprian, Cornelius, &c. of which he takes no manner of Notice. And whereas Mr. Dr--- refers Mr. B. for the Use of the Word to the 5th Verse of the History of Susanna, I have read it over, and can find no such Thing. I find indeed at the 50th Verse, the Word *Πρεσβυτεριον* used in that Sense, but not the Word *Πρεσβυσιον*, concerning which the Dispute is.

Mr. Dr--- as his last Refuge betakes himself to a desperate Shift, and tells us, "That tho' he should grant that the Presbyters did join with St. Paul in laying their Hands on Timothy, yet it was St. Paul only ordained, who called to his Assistance some inferior Officers in this one Instance for the greater Solemnity of the Action, or perhaps to give countenance to Timothy's Youth. And he thinks this evident from Paul and Barnabas ordaining Presbyters in every Church, where (as he well observes) there were no Presbyters before to join with them." Nay, he has the Confidence to tell us, that though in the Established Church, some Presbyters join with the Bishop in laying on of Hands, 'tis the Bishop only that ordains.

Ans.

Ans. That the *Apostles* could alone ordain *Presbyters* in Churches where there were none before, I freely grant: But if where *Presbyters* were constituted, they concurred with them in Ordinations, 'tis a plain Demonstration, that the Power of Ordaining did belong to them. And therefore Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Remark carries another Force and Weight with it, than our *Author's* precarious Supposition. Having told us, "That every one who is himself advanced to the Authority of a Church Governor hath an internal Power of conferring the same on Persons fit for it. To which Purpose (saith he) the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, is no wise impertinently alledged, although we suppose St. Paul to concur in the Action (as it is most probable he did.) Because if the Presbytery had nothing to do in the Ordination, to what Purpose were their Hands laid on him? Was it only to be Witnesses of the Fact, or to signify their Consent? Both these might have been done without their Use of that Ceremony. Which will scarce be instanced in to be done by any, but such as had Power to confer what was signified by that Ceremony, *Irenic. p. 275.* Mr. Dr--- indeed here tells us, "That all the Difficulty will be reconciled, if St. Paul be suffered to enjoy the Honour of giving unto Timothy, by the Imposition of Hands, the Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit, which were necessary to enable him to perform the Work of a Minister of Christ, and the Presbytery be permitted not to want their Share in the Performance of the outward Ceremony." And to that Purpose he cites Bishop *Bilson*.

Ans. If none have the Power of Ordaining but such as can by the Imposition of their Hands give the Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit, I am afraid, that 'tis wholly lost in the Church. For I do not find that *Diocesan Bishops* themselves pretend to it; at least we are sure it does not appear by the Character of too many whom they ordain, both with respect to their *Intellectuals* and *Morals*, that they exert any such Power, if they have it: So that if an Ability of bestowing such Gifts be requisite to the Power of Ordaining, there are now no Ordinations at all. If it be not, what shall we make of Bishop *Bilson's* and Mr. *Drury's* Reasoning on this Head? But I had thought that Ordaining does imply, not the giving those Gifts and Graces, but the setting apart such to whom there is reasonable Ground to believe that they are already given, to the Work of the Ministry, which those Gifts and Graces qualified them for. And this may be done by those that pretend to no Power of giving such Gifts and Graces at all: This therefore can be no Reason, why the *Presbyters* should be only allowed a Share in performing the outward Ceremony; Which is indeed only to make the Imposition of their Hands an insignificant Cypher. They had (as Dr. *Stillingfleet* observes,) other Ways enough to signify their Consent, and to let the Church know that such a sacred Action was not done rashly, or out of Favour and Affection. There was no Need of the Imposition of their Hands to that End, if they had no Power of setting others apart to the like Ministerial Work in which they were engaged themselves; and therefore if the *Apostle* joined with them herein, 'tis much more reasonable to conclude, that this was a Work that belonged to all ordinary Pastors, viz. to commit that Doctrine to others which they were impowered to preach themselves. 'Tis no Wonder indeed for such a Papist as *Estius* to tell us, That the *Presbyters* only performed the outward Ceremony, but St. Paul what was essential to the Sacrament of Orders. But for Mr. Dr--- to deliver such a Popish Figment for an Oracle, is not much for his Credit, and looks too like countenancing the Dream of an Indelible Character.

Again, Bishop *Bilson's* and Mr. Dr---'s Reason-

ing is very weak, when they argue, that because St. Paul could have ordained Timothy alone, that therefore their joining with him could no way argue the *Presbyters* ordaining Power, but only their bare performing the outward Rite. By the ancient Canons Three Parochial Bishops were reckoned a sufficient Number to ordain a Parochial Bishop; will it thence follow, that when two or three more concurred in the Ordination, that their Imposition of Hands was the bare Performance of the outward Ceremony, and signified nothing to investing the Person ordained with Episcopal Authority. I doubt not but in Cases of Necessity one Pastor may ordain, but it does not thence follow, that when more join with him in the Imposition of Hands, that they are not as Instrumental in conveying Ministerial Authority as he. And indeed none should lay on Hands at all, but such to whose Office it belongs to commit the same Doctrine to others, which themselves are publick Teachers of: No more than any should consecrate the Elements in the Eucharist, who were never impowered to administer that Sacrament. The *Presbyters* Concurrence with St. Paul in the Imposition of Hands on Timothy, is therefore as solid a Proof of their ordaining Power, as the Charge given to Timothy to lay on Hands, is of his ordaining Power. Nay, as I observed before, 'tis not certain, that St. Paul laid Hands on Timothy in order to the ordaining him at all; because it might be in order to the conferring some extraordinary Gifts on him: Whereas if the *Presbyters* laid theirs on him, it must be in order to his Ordination, because they had no Power of conferring such Gifts, though they had of setting him apart to that ministerial Work wherein he was to be exercised. And to conclude this Head, the *Presbyters* of the Established Church, have just Reason to resent this Indignity offered them by Mr. Dr--- and those of his Principles, for making their joining with the Bishop in the Imposition of Hands, a mere Cypher and empty Formality. For by this Account, the laying on of their Hands signifies no more to the Conveyance of ministerial Authority, than if the Hands of so many of the Laity were imposed. How therefore they will relish Mr. Dr---'s scurvy Complement upon them, I must leave to themselves.

The Result of this Matter then is in short; All Antiquity allows the ordaining Power of Parochial Bishops; the earliest Ages allowed even the ordaining Power of Parochial Curates or *Presbyters*; the Scripture expressly mention the Concurrence of *Presbyters* in Ordination. Both Scripture and Antiquity do therefore warrant our Ordinations that are performed by Parochial Bishops; But neither of them so much as mention a *Diocesan Bishop*, much less do they appropriate the Power of Ordination to any such Bishop. And yet this Gentleman would persuade us, that Ordination does by Divine Right belong to them only, and that the Concurrence of Parochial Bishops with them therein, is a mere Cypher.

This being the true State of the Case, I need not insist long on the Vindication of that Passage of Dr. *Burnet's*, viz. "That since the Sacramental Actions are the highest of sacred Performances, those that are impowered for them must be of the highest Office in the Church." All Bishop *Taylor's* Answers to it, are but a plain begging the Question. And he has not offered the least tolerable Reason, why he that is himself authorized to teach in the Church may not commit that Doctrine to others, and why he that is impowered to dispense the Sacraments himself, may not ministerially invest others in the same Office? Why may not Physicians license a Physician? And that this Ordaining Power is by Divine Right, appropriated to any Order of Men distinct from Congregational Pastors or *Presbyter-Bishops*, is an Opinion

Opinion that (as I have shewn him) has no Foundation either in Scripture or Antiquity.

Mr. Dr--- concludes this Chapter, by considering the Case of the *Chorepiscopi* among the *Ancients*. On which I need only make the following Remarks.

1. 'Tis utterly untrue, that these *Chorepiscopi* or Rural Bishops, were not heard of in the Church till the Fourth Century. *Clement Romanus* assures us, that the Apostles constituted Bishops and Deacons not only in the Cities but Country, (e) wherever there was a sufficient Number of Christians to make up a Church. These Rural Bishops are mentioned in the Council of Antioch, held A. D. 270. And in Africa they were so numerous, that as several Antiquaries well observe, almost every good Village had a Bishop.

The Truth is, while the Churches retained the Simplicity and Humility of the Apostolical Age, wherever there were Christians enough to make up a Church, they had their Bishop or Pastor, and usually some Assistants, whether in City or Country. No Cities for above Two Centuries (if we except Rome and Alexandria,) had more Assemblies than one under the Bishop's Government; and few Country-Villages had Numbers enough of Converts to make up a Church. But as Christianity made a greater Progress, and a competent Number of Converts occasioned the Erection of new Assemblies in Country-Villages; so they had their Rural Bishops. But as the Bishops placed in Cities and Towns, begun in the latter end of the Third and in the Fourth Century, to lay some Claim to those Country-Villages as dependent on them, so they first by Canons endeavoured to bring those Rural Bishops into some Subjection to them; and as Ambition encreased, they gradually put them down to enlarge the Extent of their own Districts.

2. 'Tis not true, That any Rural Bishops had several Churches under them in the three first Centuries, nor generally in the Fourth or Fifth. Nor do the Words of the Council of Ancyra cited by Mr. Dr--- prove any such Thing.

3. I am not therefore at all concerned in the Dispute, whether these Rural Bishops are to be ranked among Presbyters, or among Bishops, according to the Distinction between them, that obtained in the three first Centuries. I doubt not they were as truly Bishops as any planted in Cities, and had the same Power. And the Canons that first subjected them to the City Bishops, and those that afterwards forbad the constituting Bishops in Villages, lest the Name of a Bishop should grow cheap and contemptible, I take to be the first Steps

of that Ambition, that in the following Ages made so swift Advances by one Parochial Bishop's swallowing up several smaller Parishes to enlarge his own, by Metropolitans subjecting the City Bishops to them, and by the Patriarchs bringing them under their Power, till at last the Roman Bishop overtopped them all, and brought so great a Part of the Christian Church into a miserable Vassalage to his own usurped Supremacy. A Consideration that should make all considerate Persons, cautious of applauding such Deviations from the Humility and Simplicity of the Apostolical Age, and much more of pretending a Divine Right for the first Steps and Attempts of that human Ambition, that has in the Progress of it proved so fatal both to the Purity of the Church, and even to that Unity and Peace of it, which was the most plausible Pretence for the greatest of these Incroachments and Usurpations.

Upon the whole, Mr. Dr--- may see, how lame and defective his Argument drawn from the Power of Ordination is. He has not proved, that the Presbyters or Parochial Curates were excluded from the Power of Ordination; much less that they were so by Divine Right. He has not one Syllable to prove, that Congregational Bishops or Parochial Rectors were excluded; for these are the Primitive Bishops that were chiefly concerned in Ordinations. All the Ordinations in the Dissenting Churches at Home, and in the Reformed Churches Abroad that are not under Diocesan Episcopacy, are performed by such Congregational Bishops or Parochial Rectors. Mr. Dr--- should therefore have shewn us by what Divine Right these Parochial Bishops are deprived of their Power of Ordination, and the Diocesan Bishop appropriates it to himself. But this I do not find that he has in the least attempted: Whereas without solidly proving this, his Cause is given up; for whether mere Curates have the Power of Ordination, is not a Matter we are concerned in, who have no such among us. But that the Established Church does own such a Power of Ordaining in Parochial Rectors, is evident from appointing their Concurrence with the Diocesan in his Ordinations. And 'tis no better than an Assault to the Established Church, to suppose her guilty of so great an Absurdity, as that of ordering their Concurrence in the external Rite, who have no Manner of Interest or Right in the Ministerial Conveyance of the Thing signified by it: For their Concurrence on that Supposition, is (as I observed before) not only useless but dangerous.

REMARKS on Chap. IV.

I NOW come to consider Mr. Dr---'s Fourth Chapter, wherein he pretends to prove, the Bishops to be the immediate Successors of the Apostles.

And here Mr. Dr--- undertakes to prove, I. "That the Apostolical Office in the Ordinary and Essential Parts of it was to continue for ever. And II. That those whom we now call Bishops do succeed the Apostles in their Apostolical Office. And III. To consider Mr. B---'s Objections against it.

He begins with the

I. To prove, That the Apostolical Office in the Ordinary and Essential Parts of it was to continue for ever in the Church.

What he means by the Ordinary and Essential Parts of it, he explains p. 70. viz. The supreme Spiritual Power and Authority, and a Power of Ordaining, i. e. the transmitting this Authority to others; and this he calls the whole Plenitude of Ecclesiastical Power.

Answer.

(e) See Clement's Words before,

Ans. What are we the wiser for all this, when he never tells us, wherein this *supream Power* and *Authority* consists? I shall therefore briefly go through their several Powers, and shew which were common to them with ordinary Pastors, and which were peculiar to the Apostles, and distinctive Characters of their superior Office.

They had a Power of being Teachers in the Christian Church. But all Divines have been wont to distinguish between such extraordinary Teachers, as had the Promise of the perpetual unerring Assistance of the Holy Spirit in delivering the Doctrine of Christ, and whose Doctrine is therefore represented as the Foundation on which the Church is built, *Eph. ii. 20.* And between ordinary Teachers that have no such unerring Assistance, and to whose Doctrine we are no farther obliged to assent, than we find it agreeable to that of these inspired Teachers. That the Apostles have Successors in the Office of Teaching the Christian Doctrine in general, we freely grant; that they have Successors as inspired Teachers, to whom the same Promise of the perpetual unerring Assistance of the Holy Spirit belongs, is indeed strongly pleaded by all the Sticklers for the Infallibility of Popes and General Councils, but is denied by all Protestants, and particularly by the Church of England in her 19th and 20th Articles. Here then is an Authority in Teaching, founded upon a peculiar Privilege and Promise, that is peculiar to the Apostles, and can be derived to no Successors; but the Power of Teaching in general is derived to all Pastors whatever.

They had a Power of admitting Men into the Christian Church by Baptism. Herein we freely allow, that the Apostles are to have Successors. But this Power Mr. Dr--- himself will not pretend to be peculiar to any distinct Order or Pastors in the Church, any more than the former of Teaching.

There is a Power of being Guides in Acts of Publick Worship. In this we also grant, that the Apostles have Successors, and Mr. Dr--- himself will not suppose this confined to any distinct Order of Pastors in the Church. But here I must subjoin, that there is a Power or Authority of delivering such positive Institutions to the Church as they received from Christ, *1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.* which the Apostles claimed, and wherein they can have no Successors, unless any such pretend to the same immediate Inspiration as they had: So that here is another distinguishing Character of their Apostolical Office.

There is a Power of censuring scandalous Offenders, and casting them out of the Church. In this also we grant, that the Apostles were to have Successors: But as to this Power I have already shewn him, that there were such Rulers in every Christian Church as were authorized to judge those that were within, and to cast out any notoriously wicked Person, nay to forgive and restore such a one upon a credible Profession of their Repentance, *1 Cor. v. 11, 12.* and *2 Cor. ii. 7.*

But there was a miraculous Power of Delivering up some notorious Sinners to Satan, in order to the inflicting bodily Diseases, or other Punishments; And this was peculiar to the Apostles, and another distinctive Character of their Office. And it was by the Exercise of this Power that they did in some Cases enforce that Sentence past on heinous Offenders whereby they were cast out of the Communion of the Church.

There is a Power of censuring scandalous or grossly erroneous Pastors themselves. If it be meant only of a Declarative Power, whereby their Crimes or Errors are to be publicly notified, they declared without Repentance or Recantation unfit for their Office, and the People warned against owning them as Pastors, and adhering to them;

in this also the Apostles have Successors, viz. those Neighbouring associated Pastors, to whose Cognizance such Matters properly belong, and who are concerned to maintain a Fraternal Communion with the Accused Pastor, or to renounce it, accordingly as they find him guilty or innocent. But if it be meant of such a Judicial Power, whose Censure is to be absolutely submitted to; this none can claim but such who are secured from erring in their Sentence by an unerring Assistance: And in this Judicial Power the Apostles have no Successors, because they have none in that unerring Assistance, that is the only warrantable Ground of it. But the Apostles not only might claim such a Judicial Power but an unlimited one in the Extent of it, equally reaching to all Pastors through the Christian Church, and that could be bounded by no human Agreements and Compacts. And in this Power both considered as Judicial and not merely Declarative, and as thus unlimited in the Exercise of it, we deny the Apostles to have any Successors at all; nor do any Bishops now pretend to it, unless the Bishop of Rome, or the Popish Bishops in their falsely pretended General Councils.

There is a Power of making Laws or Canons relating to the Circumstances and Modes of Worship or Discipline that are necessary in general, but left undetermined in particular. Now either this Power must be supposed Obligatory to the whole Christian Church, or to particular Churches, and those either single Congregations, or Diocesan, or Metropolitane, or National Churches.

For the Catholick Church, None can without usurping that Headship of Christ, make Laws or Canons obligatory to it, unless it be such as are made by immediate Inspiration, and delivered in the Holy Scriptures; and then, they are as much the Laws of Christ himself as any other delivered there. For Provincial, or Metropolitan, or National Churches, that had Diocesan Bishops or Archbishops, or any such Rulers as the Ecclesiastick Head, or *Pars Imperans* of such governed Societies, we can find none such in the Apostle's Days, nor for two or three Centuries after them; and therefore can find no such Successors appointed to the Apostles in this Power. We find indeed Parochial or Congregational Pastors (at first endued with equal Authority, but by Degrees some of them brought into the like Subjection to one, as the Chief Pastor, that Curates are to Parish-Rectors.) And by these Parochial Bishops, and their Assistant Presbyters, such Circumstances were at first determined for their particular Congregations, and that with great Variety and Liberty; till for Unity sake several such Parochial Bishops and Presbyters met in Provincial Synods, and agreed on common Rules or Canons about such Matters. And after Constantine's Time Imperial Councils (falsely called General or Oecumenical, for they had not so much as Deputies from the Extra-Imperial Churches,) often made such Rules for all the Churches within the Bounds of the Roman Empire. And in this they pretended the Apostolical Council at Jerusalem *Acts xv.* for their Pattern. But since the Apostles had no other Successors for about three Centuries, than Parochial Pastors (distinguished probably in the second Century into Bishops and Presbyters, as now into Rectors and Curates;) if this Power be derived from them, it must devolve on Parochial Pastors and their Assistants, who are indeed chiefly concerned in the Determination of such undetermined Circumstances: But then this Power must be duly limited, and no associated Body of such Pastors must claim an implicit and blind Subjection to their Decisions, unless they could pretend to such an unerring Assistance as that Apostolical Council had, when they could say,

say, It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, Acts xv.

For the Power of Ordination, I have already shewn Mr. Dr—, That the Apostles never appropriated it to themselves, or to any particular Order of Men. That Presbyters and ordinary Teachers are supposed by them vested with it, and did actually exercise it. That all such Parochial Bishops as (with Deacons) were constituted in every Church, are supposed by St. Clement to be possessed of it. That it was, after the Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter, exercised by the Parochial Bishops (the Presbyters concurring with them when a Presbyter was to be ordained.) This Power being common to ordinary Teachers, as well as Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, was therefore no distinctive Character of any particular Order.

From this brief Enumeration of Particulars, it appears, that the Apostles had several Branches of Ecclesiastical Power peculiar to themselves, distinguishing them from all ordinary Pastors, and founded upon the Promise of extraordinary Assistance, that are therefore no more derivable to any Successors than that extraordinary Assistance is; and therefore the Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power is not communicable to any Successors.

But for those Branches of Spiritual Power that are not founded on such extraordinary Assistances and peculiar Privileges, we freely grant they have Successors in them. And Mr. Dr— needed not to have taken any Pains to prove it.

But if he still insist upon it, that as to these ordinary Powers, such as that of being Teachers, Guides in publick Worship, Rulers and Ordainers of others, the Apostles divided these Powers, and left all of them to one Sort of ordinary Pastors, and only some of them to others; this is what he has brought us no tolerable Evidence for. Nay, that Power of Ruling in the Church, which he had supposed the most distinctive Character of a Superior Office, the Apostle Paul supposes on the contrary, to belong to all Presbyters that labour in Word and Doctrine, and to be but an inferior and less honourable Branch of their Power, 1 Tim. v. 17. And therefore when he enjoins, that double Honour should be paid to the Elders that rule well, he adds, but especially to them that labour in Word and Doctrine. From whence it evidently follows, that there are no Teachers in the Christian Church, that are not also Rulers in it. And I have already vindicated that Passage, wherein the Apostle supposes these Presbyters invested with the Power of Ordination.

That upon the Death of Judas, one was to be substituted in his Place, is true; but nothing to the Author's Purpose. For that Number of Twelve had a peculiar Relation to the Jews, to whom the Apostles were first sent with the Offers of Salvation.

Whether Barnabas was as truly an Apostle as St. Paul, is not a Matter that the Cause is at all concerned in. When the Gospel was to be propagated to the Gentile World, our Blessed Lord might give others as well as St. Paul the same extraordinary Commission and Gifts that he had. That Paul was first ordained a Presbyter by Ananias, and then an Apostle by the Prophets and Teachers of Antioch, is but a precarious and improbable Supposition: And 'tis, I think, sufficiently confuted by the Apostle himself. For it was before he came to Damascus and had ever seen Ananias, that he had his Commission from Christ himself, who said unto him, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest, but rise and stand upon thy Feet, for I have appeared unto thee for this Purpose, to make thee a Minister and Witness, both of these Things which thou hast seen, and of those Things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the People and the Gentiles, unto whom I now SEND thee, [Ἀποστέλλω σε] To open their Eyes, and to turn them from

Darkness to Light, &c. Acts xxvi. 15, 16, 17, 18. And if this be not a Commission sufficient to constitute him an Apostle, we may as well doubt whether Christ constituted any Apostles at all. For Ananias, we read indeed of his putting his Hands upon him, but it was neither to ordain him a Presbyter, nor an Apostle; (for he had already received his Apostolical Commission from our Blessed Lord personally appearing to him for that End,) but that he might receive his Sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. See Acts ix. 12, compared with ver. 17, 18. He was indeed at Acts xiii. 2, 3. set apart to a peculiar Service by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands; but his Apostolical Commission was given before. But should we suppose him then ordained an Apostle, there is a material Circumstance mentioned that would entirely ruin Mr. Dr—'s Cause, viz. That the ordinary Teachers of the Church of Antioch concurred with the Prophets in that Ordination, and that by the Direction of the Holy Spirit. And if they could ordain an Apostle, 'tis absurd to think them incapable of ordaining such ordinary Teachers as themselves. Nay, 'tis a Demonstration, that the Ordainers give not the Power, but may ministerially invest a Man in an higher Office than what themselves have in the Church: Whereas I plead for no more at present, than for their Capacity to vest a Man in the same Office.

Mr. Dr— in his Third Section of this Chapter, before he attempts to prove Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, premises, "That the Extent of a Diocese is not essential to a Bishoprick." And when he says, "The Bishops succeed the Apostles, he does not mean, that 'tis necessary, that they should succeed to this or that particular District, but in their Power and Jurisdiction, so that they had a Commission given them of doing something that Presbyters could not do by their Commission."

Ans. I have already distinguished between the ordinary Powers common with the Apostles to all the Pastors they constituted in particular Churches, and the extraordinary Ones founded on their extraordinary Assistances and Gifts. That any succeed them in those extraordinary Powers is evidently confuted by Experience, because none succeed them in the extraordinary Assistances and Gifts on which they were founded. For the ordinary Powers, Mr. Dr— has brought no manner of Proof that they divided them, and gave all to one Order of Ecclesiastical Persons, and some only to others. On the contrary, I have shewn him, the Power of Ruling is inseparable from that of Teaching, and only subservient to it; and so does the Power of ordaining belong to ordinary Teachers. Presbyter-Bishops are mentioned in Scripture as exercising both; but of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, the New Testament (as the Authors of the Erudition of a Christian Man, and of the Declaration of their Function, &c. have well observed) makes no mention at all.

But if the Extent of a Diocese be not essential to a Bishoprick, if a Man may be a Bishop that has only a single Congregation as his ordinary Charge, then what hinders all the Pastors of the Reformed Churches Abroad that want the Diocesan Form of Government, and all those of Dissenting Churches at Home from being Bishops? For their Ordainers invested them in all those ordinary Powers that any Man can succeed the Apostles in. How comes then all this Outcry against them as Rejecters of Episcopacy? For they have the same Episcopal Power that the Bishops of Ephesus, or those of Philippi had, they are invested therein by such Bishops, they have all the Powers the ancient Parochial Bishops claimed; they have only laid aside that Diocesan Episcopacy that would deprive these Congregational Bishops of several Branches of their Power, to engross it into their own Hand. They have only disclaimed what they

account

account an Invasion of their own Rights which they can see no Divine Warrant for. So that this Concession entirely ruins Mr. Dr---'s Cause, and he will prove but a miserable Defender of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, if he grant that 'tis not of Divine Right, that their Authority should extend to several Congregations; and the Teachers or Pastors of them. To state therefore the ordinary Extent of the Bishop's Power, is so far from darkening the Cause, that 'tis thereby brought into a true Light. And Mr. Dr--- by telling us, that it signifies nothing to the Bishop's Power, whether he exercise it in a large Diocese or single Congregation, has evidently given it away: For if the Bishop's exercising it over a large Diocese, be wholly owing to human Compact and Agreement, that Compact may be broken, and all Parish-Pastors resume their ancient Rights, without the violation of a Divine Right. And on this Supposition, the Established Church of North Britain, has only broke what they reckoned an unreasonable human Compact, and restored Episcopacy to its Primitive Parochial Bounds: But for what he calls the Plenitude of the Apostles Ecclesiastical Power, they had all the ordinary Branches of the Apostolical Power (that can be transmitted to any Successors) committed to them in their Ordination, and actually exercised them. Mr. Dr--- has therefore, I confess, set Mr. B--- right in this Controversy; but 'tis by fairly giving up the main Point in Dispute.

For what he pretends to have proved in the former Chapter, viz. That Confirmation, Excommunication, and Ordination, were Acts peculiar to the Apostles, and by them conveyed to Bishops, as distinct from mere Presbyters, I have already considered it, and shewn him that no such mere Presbyters are to be found in the Bible; much less a Diocesan Bishop, though Presbyter-Bishops are manifestly extant there.

That the Apostolical Office is called *ἐπισκοπή*, an Episcopacy or Inspection, I freely grant. And so do the Apostles call themselves Presbyters, nay, Fellow-Presbyters with such Presbyters as had the Inspection of particular Flocks, which Presbyters they require *ἐπισκοποι*, to act the Part of Bishops, or to take Inspection of those Flocks; but how this should prove Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters, to be the Apostles Successors in the Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power, I cannot understand.

Mr. Dr---'s Arguments from the Scriptures being utterly defective, he endeavours to support them from Antiquity.

That the Apostles divided the known Parts of the World among them by Lots, is a mere precarious Supposition, which Mr. Dr--- may see so fully confuted by the Learned Dr. Stillingfleet, by no less than Eight unanswerable Arguments, that I shall refer the Reader to them. He will find them, *Irenic*. Part II. Chap. vi. p. 233,---237. But because I take the Controversy to be little concerned in this Matter of Fact, I shall take no further Notice of this Dream. But if Mr. Dr--- will shew us any other Bishops the Apostles left in the Churches they settled, as the stated Governors of them, than Parochial Pastors, or shew us one Diocesan

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Bishop they constituted, his Proofs shall be considered.

To prove that the Apostolate and Episcopate signified the same Ecclesiastical Power and Authority, to continue for ever in the Church,

His First Evidence is *Irenæus*.

Now, because I would set this Matter in its true Light, I must premise, That the Question is not whether the Apostles have Successors in the Ordinary Branches of their Power, such as Teaching, Administering the Sacraments, exercising Church-Censures, Ordaining, &c. But,

I. Whether the Ancients did think, that they divided these Powers so as to appropriate some of them to a peculiar Order of Men? And,

II. If they supposed them appropriated to one Order, viz. That of Bishops, whether it was Parochial or Diocesan Bishops that they supposed them appropriated to? For Mr. Dr--- must prove both these, if he would make any Use of the Testimony of Antiquity in the Cause he has undertaken.

For *Irenæus*, I shall (to give the Reader a true Account of his Judgment) set all I can meet with of any Moment in that ancient Author, at once before the Reader's View, because the several Passages give Light to one another.

Thus speaking of some Hereticks, he saith, (f) "When again, we challenge them by appealing to that Tradition which is from the Apostles, which is preserved in the Churches by the Succession of Presbyters; they oppose Tradition, and say, that they being wiser not only than the Presbyters, but than the Apostles, have found out the uncorrupted Truth, &c."

(g) "All therefore who would see the Truth, may observe in every Church the Tradition of the Apostles manifested in all the World; and we can reckon up those who were appointed Bishops in the Churches by the Apostles, and who were their Successors to our Time, who neither taught nor knew any such Thing as these Men dream of. For had the Apostles known any hidden Mysteries, which they had a Mind to deliver to such as were perfect, privately, and apart from the rest, they would have chiefly delivered them to those to whom they committed the Churches themselves: For they would have them to be very perfect and unblameable in all Things, whom they left as Successors, delivering to them their own Place, of being Teachers, or as some render it, their own Place of Authority: But because 'tis long to reckon up the Succession of all Churches; by pointing out the Tradition and declared Faith of that greatest, and most ancient and noted Church founded at Rome by two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, which she has from the Apostles, and is come to us by the Succession of Bishops, we confound all those, &c." And then he mentions the Succession of Linus, Anacletus, Clemens, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius: And afterwards Polycarp Bishop of the Church of Smyrna.

N n

(b) "Where-

(f) Cum autem ad eam iterum Traditionem, quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per Successiones Presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos; adversantur Traditioni, dicentes se non solum Presbyteris, sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem. *Irenæi advers. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. ii. p. 200.*

(g) Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesiâ adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint videre, & habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim & latenter ab reliquis perfectos do-

cebant, his vel maximè traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valdè enim perfectos & irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quod & successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes. Sed quoniam valdè longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ & antiquissimæ & omnibus cognitæ, à gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundatæ & constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis Traditionem, & annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, &c. *Ibid. cap. 3. p. 200, 201.*

(b) "Wherefore we ought to obey those Presbyters that are in the Church, that have their Succession from the Apostles, (as we have shewn,) and who with the Succession of Episcopacy, have received the certain Gift of Truth, according to the good Pleasure of the Father.

(i) Having described wicked Presbyters, he adds, "From such we ought to depart, but to adhere to those who keep the Doctrine of the Apostles, and with the Order of Presbytery maintain sound Doctrine, and a blameless Conversation, &c. Such Presbyters the Church does nourish, concerning whom the Prophet also saith, I will give thee Princes in Peace, and Bishops in Righteousness. Of whom our Lord also said, Who therefore is that faithful, and good, and wise Servant, whom his Master may set over his House to give them their Food in due Season?"

(k) Again, "He attributes to all Teachers, that Succession of the Church that is from the Apostles. And then relates what Doctrine he had received from a certain Presbyter, that had received it from such as saw and conversed with the Apostles."

Now upon the Review of these Passages of Irenæus, we may plainly see, That that ancient Writer never thought Bishops a distinct Order from Presbyters. That Christian Doctrine, which in some Passages he supposes handed down to his Age by the Succession of Bishops, he does in others assert to be transmitted by the Succession of Presbyters. Nay, he ascribes the Succession of Episcopacy to the Presbyters; He applies to Presbyters that Passage of the Prophet, wherein he speaks of God's giving them Princes in Peace, and Bishops in Righteousness. And having distinguished between Apostles, and Prophets, and Teachers, he ascribes this Succession from the Apostles to such Teachers.

To evade the Force of this plain Evidence, Mr. Dr--- has recourse to two desperate Shifts.

The One is, to persuade us, "That when Irenæus appeals to that Tradition of the Christian Doctrine, which is preserved by the Succession of Presbyters, he means only Old Men, not such as had any Office of Teaching in the Church."

Ans. This Gentleman has a particular Talent of wresting the plain Sense of these ancient Writers. When Clemens speaks of Old Men, as expressly opposed to Young Men, he then would persuade us, That he speaks of the Order of Presbyters, such Presbyters as had received the Succession of Episcopacy, such Presbyters as the Prophet mentions under the Title and Character of Bishops, then they must be turned into mere Laymen, and Irenæus is supposed to appeal to them, not as authorized Teachers, but only Old Men, Men of good Memories, and that had lived longer than others. But does he think to impose on the Credulity of any judicious Reader, by so gross a Prevarication as this? Can he shew us any Passage in Irenæus, where he understands Presbyters in this Sense? How comes St. Irenæus to make all Old Men in the Christian Church the Apostles Successors? And to make it an Instance of the Arrogance of the Hereticks, that they thought themselves wiser not only than the Apostles, but than all Old Lay Christians, of that and the foregoing Age? And since

'tis the same Presbyters he means here, whom he elsewhere ascribes the Succession of Episcopacy to, does he not in effect suppose that ancient Writer to confound the Clergy and Laity, and to leave no Distinction between them?

His other Shift is as desperate a Subterfuge as that. When Irenæus requires them, To obey the Presbyters in the Church, these (Presbyters) that have their Succession from the Apostles, (as he had shewed), who with the Succession of Episcopacy, have received the certain Gift of Truth, he pretends, "That St. Irenæus limits the Succession to an Order of Men who were more than Presbyters; and that he distinguishes two Sorts of Presbyters, some who were not, and some who were the Successors of the Apostles."

Ans. Those whose Judgments are prepossessed in favour of a darling Opinion, are strangely prone to think they can see that in an Author that no body else can. That Irenæus makes a Distinction between some Presbyters that are, and some that are not the Apostles Successors, is wholly owing to Mr. Dr---'s Imagination, without any Foundation for it in that ancient Writer. If he makes any Distinction at all, 'tis between Heretical Presbyters and Orthodox ones, who had Truth as well as Succession to plead on their Side. But 'tis evident, That if we compare this Passage with that other, wherein he applies to Presbyters what the Prophet had spoken (as he supposes) concerning Bishops, he asserts all Presbyters to be Bishops, and to succeed one another in the Episcopacy or Episcopal Office: And makes them all Successors to the Apostles therein, (i. e.) with respect to those ordinary Powers of theirs, that were derivable to others, and particularly that of Teaching.

I do not deny, but there was in Irenæus's Time, a Primacy of Order among those Presbyters or Bishops, That One of them had the [ἡγεμονία] first Rank and Place, among his Collegues of the same Order and Office. And that is a sufficient Reason for his only mentioning single Persons, when he reckons up the Succession of the Bishops of Rome. But the reckoning the Succession by such single Persons, will never prove them to be of a different Office and Order from their Collegues. The Ἀρχιερεῖς at Athens, were equal in Power, yet one of them had a greater Dignity than the rest, and therefore was Ἀρχων, by way of Excellency. And his Name only was in the publick Records of that Year, and therefore he was called Ἀρχων ἐπὶ τῶν ἑτών, and the Year was reckoned from him. The like may be observed among the Ephori and Bidyæi at Sparta. The Number of Ephori was always Five, from their first Institution by Lycurgus. These enjoyed a Parity of Power between them. But among these to give Name to the Year, they made Choice of one who was called Ἐπὶ τῶν ἑτών here too (as the Ἀρχων at Athens;) and him they called ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἐτών, as Plutarch tells us. "Where (as Dr. Stillingfleet well observes, Irenic. p. 301.) we have the very Name ἡγεμὼν attributed to him that had only this Primacy of Order, without any Superiority of Power, which is used by Justin Martyr, concerning the President of Assemblies among the Christians. Now from hence we may evidently see that

(b) Quapropter eis qui in Ecclesia sunt Presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut offendimus; qui cum episcopatus successionem charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt, Lib. IV. cap. 43. p. 343.

(i) Ab omnibus igitur talibus abstinere oportet; adherere vero his qui & Apostolorum doctrinam custodiunt, & cum Presbyterii ordine sermonem sanum & conversationem sine offensa præstant. — Tales Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia; de quibus & Propheta ait, Et dabo principes tuos in Pace, & Episcopos tuos in iustitia. De quibus & Dominus dicebat, Quis igitur erit

fidelis actor, bonus & sapiens, quem præponit Dominus super familiam suam, ad danda eis cibaria in tempore? Ibid. cap. 44. p. 344.

(k) Ubi igitur tales inveniat aliquis, Paulus docens ait: Posuit Deus in Ecclesia primò Apostolos, secundo Prophetas, tertio Doctores. Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Ecclesiæ successio. — Quemadmodum audiui à quodam Presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, & ab his qui didicerant. — Ibid. cap. 45.

" that mere succession of some single Persons, named
" above the rest in the Succession of Apostolical Church-
" es, cannot infer any Superiority of Power in the
" Persons so named, above others supposed to
" be as Joint-Governors of the Churches with them.
And were the Succession of such as had the Care
of a Parochial Church to be reckoned up, it would
be no wonder if the Rectors; only were menti-
oned, without naming their Assistant Curates;
though of the same Order with themselves.

Whether at Rome this first Presbyter had the Name
of Bishop appropriated to him in Irenæus's Time,
I shall not dispute; But I do not see any Pro-
bability, that so much as a Distinction of the
Names themselves, had obtained in the Church
of Lyons. For 'tis justly observed, that when
the Martyrs of the Church of Lyons and Vienna
in France, sent Irenæus to Eleutherius, then Bishop
of Rome, they call him their. (1) Brother and Col-
league, and tell Eleutherius, That if Righteousness
could give a due Place and Rank, they should com-
mend to him Irenæus among the first, at a Presby-
ter of the Church, which Degree he had obtained.
And Dr. Stillingfleet justly observes here from
Blondell, " That Irenæus had been then Nine
" Years Bishop of Lyons, in the Place of Potbinus.
" And (saith he) Blondell's Argument does not
" lie here, That because they call him the Pres-
" byter of the Church, therefore he was no Bi-
" shop, (as his Antagonist supposes;) but he free-
" ly acknowledges him to have succeeded Po-
" tbinus there in his Bishoprick. But because af-
" ter the Difference arose elsewhere between
" Bishops and Presbyters, yet they called him by
" the Name of Presbyter, it seems very impro-
" bable, that when they were commending one
" to the Bishop of another Church, they should
" make use of the lowest Name of Honour then
" appropriated to Subject-Presbyters, which instead
" of commending, were a great debasing of him,
" if they had looked on a Superior Order above
" those Presbyters as of Divine Institution, and thought
" there had been so great a Distance between
" a Bishop and a Subject-Presbyter, as we are made
" to believe there was. Which is as if the Ma-
" ster of a College in one University, should be
" sent by the Fellows of the Society to the Heads
" of the other, and should in his commendatory
" Letters to them be styled a Senior Fellow of that
" House. This was the Case of Irenæus, he is
" supposed to be Bishop of Lyons; he is sent by
" the Church of Lyons, on a Message to the Bi-
" shop of Rome; when notwithstanding his being
" Bishop, they call him Presbyter of that Church,
" when there were other Presbyters who were
" not Bishops. What could any one imagine by
" the reading of it, but that the Bishop was no-
" thing else but the Senior Presbyter, or one that
" had a Primacy of Order among them, but no
" Divine Right to a Power of Jurisdiction over his
" Fellow Presbyters. See Irenic. p. 311, &c." I may
add, That it seems a just Inference from this
Letter of the Church of Lyons, compared with
what has been cited from Irenæus, That in the
Gallick Churches in his Time, the Senior Presbyter
was not then distinguished from his Collegues by
the Name of Bishop, but both Name and Office

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were common to him with his Collegues. And
both were alike according to Irenæus, Successors of
the Apostles.

But for the other Thing that Mr. Dr--- was
obliged to prove in Defence of his Cause, That
Irenæus appropriates this Privilege of being the
Apostles Successors to Diocesan Bishops, (as distinguish-
ed from Parochial Rectors,) he has not so much as
made the least Attempt towards it, and I pre-
sume will find it too desperate a Task for him
to undertake.

Mr. Dr---'s next Witness is St. Cyprian, in that
noted Place where speaking of all the Præpositi,
or all such as preside in the Church, he saith,
They succeed the Apostles by a Vicarious Ordination.

To this Mr. B--- had told him, that Cyprian
does give the Name of Præpositi or Presidents to
Presbyters, as well as Bishops. And since he asserts
this Succession to the Apostles to belong to all
such Presidents, he must suppose it to belong to
Presbyters as well as Bishops, (i. e. to Parochial Affi-
sistant-Curates as well as Rectors.) To this Mr. Dr---
objects, " That this is more than he remembers
" to have read in him, that Cyprian calls Presby-
" ters as distinguished from Bishops Præpositos; and
" that from the whole Design of the Epistle,
" he must intend only such Bishops as he was.

Ans. Since Mr. Dr--- desires to be informed,
he may look into the 15th Epistle, (m) where he
will find the Presbyters as distinguished from the
Bishop, and exercising Acts of Discipline in too
imprudent a manner, called both Præpositos and
Pastores ovium. He calls them by the same Name;
Ep. 4. (n) In the first Section he calls both the Bi-
shop and Presbyters as distinguished from the Peo-
ple, by the Name of Præpositi. And in the third
Section, he mentions the Præpositi and the Diaconi
as concerned in the Preservation of Discipline.
Where if Bishops only were intended, all Pres-
byters would be excluded from that Care of Dis-
cipline, which even Deacons themselves are al-
lowed. And Celerinus in his Epistle to Lucian,
concerning some Female Relations of his, that
had lapsed in the Time of Persecution, tells him,
(o) That the Præpositi having heard their Cause, had
commanded them to continue as they were, (under a
Suspension from the Communion of the Church)
till a Bishop be constituted. On which Account he begs
Lucian's Intercession for them. Where the Præpositi
must be understood of the Presbyters as distin-
guished from the Bishop. Since therefore Cyprian
asserts all such Præpositi or Presidents to have suc-
ceeded the Apostles, he must include Presbyters.
And 'tis very consistent herewith, that when a
Bishop had some Superiority of Degree in his Age
above Presbyters, he should reckon them special-
ly to have a just claim to this Privilege, but
not exclusive of that which Presbyters had.

And I must add, since I have fully shewn him,
that Cyprian was no other than a Parochial Bi-
shop, 'tis only such Bishops that he can be suppos-
ed to make the Apostles Successors. And what Foun-
dation can this lay for those Diocesan Bishops claim-
ing such a Succession by Divine Right, whose
Claim is inconsistent with that of Parochial Bi-
shops to it?

N n 2

For

(1) Ταῦτα σοι τὰ γράμματα περὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἡ-
μεῶν κοινῶν ἐργαζομένης διακομίσαι. — Εἰ δὲ ἡμεῶν τόπον
τὴν δικαιοσύνην πεποιθῆσαι, ὡς πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας ὑπερ-
ἔχει αὐτῇ, ἐν πρώτοις αὐτὴν παραδέξασθαι. Euseb. Hist. Ec-
cles. V. 4.

(m) H. complains in this Epistle, that some Presbyters in his Absence
admitted the Lapsi to Communion, sooner than the Discipline of the Church
allowed. He could not indeed so much blame the Lapsi, for making all
the Haste they could. Sed præpositorum est (says he) præceptum
tenere, & vel properantes vel ignorantes instruere, ne qui
ovium pastores esse debent, lanii fiant, Cypr. Ep. 15. p. 193.
Where the Præpositi and ovium pastores must signify the Presbyters

he was blaming before.

(n) Et præpositis & plebi nihil aliud elaborandum est,
quam ut--- disciplinæ divinæ præcepta teneamus, Ep. 4. Sect.
1. p. 174. Cum omnes disciplinam tenere oporteat, multò
magis Præpositos & Diaconos curare hoc fas est. Ibid.
Sect. 3.

(o) Quorum jam causâ auditâ, præceperunt eas Præpositi
tantisper sic esse, donec Episcopus constitutatur. — Peto er-
gò, Domine carissime Luciane, — petitioni meæ annuas, —
ut à vobis [confessoribus] auxilium recipiant. Inter Cypr.
Epist. 21. p. 202,

For *Jerome*, Mr. B--- had shewed him, how plainly he makes *Presbyters* to be the *Apostles Successors*. To which Mr. Dr--- has no other Answer to give, than, "That he grants, *The Presbyters do likewise succeed the Apostles, but not in the Plenitude of their Power.*" But as to this I have shewn him, none can succeed them in the *Plenitude of their Power*, without succeeding them in those *Extraordinary Assistances and Gifts* they had; and for the *ordinary Parts* of their Power, they never divided them, leaving half to one and all the rest to another Order of Men.

I Come now to Mr. Dr---'s VIth Section; in which he pretends, that Mr. B--- argues against a Succession to the *Apostolate* from those *Extraordinary Gifts and Graces* of the *Apostles*, that could not be communicated.

Ans. This is utterly untrue, Mr. B--- argues from several Branches of Power that were the chief distinguishing Characters of their *Apostolical Office*, and founded on those *Extraordinary Gifts*, and incommunicable to those that want them.

I have already in the Remarks on this Chapter pointed out to him several Branches of their Power, that were extraordinary and peculiar to the *Apostles*, and the main distinctive Characters of their Office as such.

Mr. B--- had to the same purpose produced a large Quotation from Dr. Barrow, which I shall now consider what he answers to.

First, Dr. Barrow tells us, *To the Apostolical Office it was requisite, they should have an immediate Designation and Commission from God.*

To this Mr. Dr--- answers, "This was not essential to the *Apostolical Office*, and instances in *Matthias, Barnabas, Epaphroditus, Titus*, that were *Apostles*, though they had not an immediate Designation and Commission.

Ans. *Matthias* was chosen by a *Divine Lot*, and therefore had an immediate Designation and Commission from God, to whom there was by that Lot a solemn Appeal made. How *Barnabas* was constituted an *Apostle*, (if he was one properly so called,) the Scriptures do not mention, unless we suppose him first called *Act. xiii. 2, 3.* and then his Call was extraordinary, by the Particular Direction of the Spirit of God. That *Epaphroditus* and *Titus* were *Apostles*, is the precarious Assertion of the Author without any Proof: *Titus* is never called an *Apostle*, nor *Epaphroditus* in the same Sense in which the Twelve were so called. *Timothy, Silvanus, Sylvanus*, were as much *Apostles* as *Titus*; and yet when he is joyned with the *Apostle* in any *Epistles*, *St. Paul* appropriates the Title to himself, and never ascribes it to him. See *2 Cor. i. 1. Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the Will of God, and Timothy our Brother.* See also, *1 Cor. i. 1. Col. i. 1.*

Secondly, *It was requisite (saith Dr. Barrow) the Apostles should be able to attest concerning our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension, either immediately as the Twelve; or by evident Consequence, as St. Paul.*

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, "That neither was this an infallible Sign of an *Apostle* as such.

Ans. Dr. Barrow does not say, That this alone would constitute a Man an *Apostle*; but that this was necessary to qualify a Man for the *Apostolical Office*, and to distinguish an *Apostle* from ordinary Teachers. And this fully appears from the Passages of Scripture cited by him. And this excludes all those from being in a proper Sense Successors in their *Apostolical Office*, who want this necessary Qualification. Mr. Dr---'s Assertion, That the *Apostle, 1 Cor. ix. 1.* has no respect to those Marks which distinguish an *Apostle* from other Ministers of the Gospel, (if

he mean such Ministers as lived since that Age,) is not only fully confuted by *Act. i. 21, 22.* but carries a very unbecoming Reflection on the Reasoning of the *Apostle* in that Place. For why should he say, *Am I not an Apostle? Have I not seen the Lord Jesus Christ? If seeing the Lord Jesus Christ were not a necessary Qualification of an Apostle? And that is all Dr. Barrow there intends to prove by it.* And that 'tis such a necessary Qualification, is evident, from the Passage last cited, *Act. i. 21, 22.* Wherefore of these Men that have accompanied with us, all the time that our Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptism of John, unto that same Day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a Witness with us of his Resurrection.

Thirdly, *It was needful (saith Dr. Barrow) that an Apostle should be endued with miraculous Gifts and Graces, enabling him both to assure his Authority, and to execute his Office.*

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, if this was a distinguishing Mark of the *Apostolical Office*, then all who had miraculous Gifts and Graces in the Primitive Church, were *Apostles*.

Ans. The Doctor mentions this only as a Qualification of an *Apostle*, that distinguishes him from all ordinary Teachers since; not as that which distinguished him from all in the Ages wherein those Gifts continued. Those Gifts were such Credentials of their Authority, as no Teachers can now pretend to, and therefore cannot claim what Mr. Dr--- calls the *Plenitude of their Authority*.

Fourthly, *It was proper to an Apostle, (saith Dr. Barrow) that he should be able according to his Discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart Spiritual Gifts.*

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, If this be meant of the extraordinary Gift of Miracles, he had proved, they were not Essential to the *Apostolical Office*.

Ans. That the Gift of Miracles was not peculiar to the *Apostles*, is true; For how else should they impart it to others, when they never constituted *Apostles*. But what Dr. Barrow asserts here is, That the Power of imparting those extraordinary Gifts to others, was peculiar to the *Apostles*. And this Power, I believe, Mr. Dr--- will not find that any others besides the *Apostles* had. So that it was a proper distinctive Character of their *Apostolical Office*. And I am sure none can pretend to be their Successors in it.

Fifthly, *It was also a Privilege of an Apostle, (saith Dr. Barrow) by virtue of his Commission from Christ, to instruct all Nations in the Doctrine and Law of Christ, &c.*

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, That *Bishops and Priests* succeed them in the same Commission, and their Confinement does not proceed from the Nature of the Priesthood, but Rules of Prudence. For which he refers to his second Chapter.

Ans. And I must refer the Reader to the Answer given there, where I have shewn him, That the *Apostles* could not, in pursuance of their Commission, confine themselves to the stated Care and Government of particular Churches; Whereas *Bishops* ought to do it, when they take any particular Flock as their Charge. I have also shewn him, That this Confinement is not owing to Compact, but to the Inconsistency of the Care of such a particular Charge, with such an Itinerant Ministry.

Sixthly, *Apostles (saith Dr. Barrow) did also govern in an absolute manner, according to Directions, as being guided by infallible Assistance, &c.* Whence their Writings pass for inspired, and therefore Canonical.

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, That the Seventy Disciples, St. Luke, St. Stephen, were inspired as well as they. And therefore Inspiration was not Essential to the Apostolical Office.

Ans. That either the Seventy Disciples, or St. Luke, or St. Stephen, had such a constant Inspiration as the Apostles, is an unproved Assertion. They had no such Promise of the constant *unerring Assistance of the Holy Spirit, in delivering the Doctrines and Laws of Christ*, as the Apostles had. But this does not hinder their being on some particular Occasions under such an immediate Inspiration. As we grant St. Luke was in Writing his Gospel; and though he there in the Preface professes to deliver no more than what he had from the Eye and Ear-witnesses that conversed with our Lord himself, Luke i. 1, 2, 3. yet in Recording them he owns himself instructed from above, *Joab. v. 3*. And it was this Promise of the continued *unerring Assistance of the Holy Ghost*, that gave the Apostolical Preaching and Writings that Authority, that the Discourses and Writings of no ordinary Pastors can have. It was this that empowered them to deliver the positive Institutions of Christ to the Church, and such Rules of Discipline and Practice as are obligatory to the whole Church. And these important Powers they could no more transmit to any Successors than they could their *unerring Assistance* on which they were founded. And it was such Powers as these that raised them so far above any other Officers, and were the main distinctive Characters of their Apostolical Office.

Seventhly, It did belong to them (saith Dr. Barrow) to found Churches, to constitute Pastors, to settle Orders, to correct Offences, to perform all such acts of Sovereign Spiritual Power, in virtue of the same Divine Assistance, according to the Authority the Lord had given them for Edification.

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, So does it belong to every Bishop of the Christian Church.

Ans. That every Bishop is under the same Obligation to imploy his Life in founding Churches, and settling Pastors in them, as the Apostles were; is not true; Nor do I presume will Mr. Dr--- pretend they are, unless he suppose them utterly insensible of their Obligations.

That every Bishop has the same Authority to lay down Orders obligatory to the whole Christian Church, as the Apostles had, is absolutely false. So it is, That every Bishop has the same extensive Power they had, of censuring all Deviations from the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline they had delivered, in what Church soever they found them; And that all are equally obliged to submit to the Authority of any Bishops now, as they were to that of the

Apostles. The Apostles Authority in passing such Censures, neither was, nor could be limited by any human Contracts or Agreements. All Churches equally owed a Submission to their Censures, from a just deference to their Apostolical Character and immediate Inspiration. But no Bishop has now any such unlimited Power, nor is the same absolute Submission due to his Censures. Nay, none pretend to it but the Bishops of Rome, that claim it as the pretended Successors of St. Peter; and to what Tyrannical and vile Purposes they have used it, all Protestants, at least, are sufficiently apprized. So that here is another Branch of the Apostolical Power peculiar to themselves, and not communicable to any Successors. That Congregational Bishops have a limited Power to found Churches upon particular Occasions, and settle Pastors in them, and to censure Offenders under their own Care, or to joyn with their Brethren in the Censure of an offending Brother, I shall freely grant him. But what signifies this, either to prove, That One Man is by divine Right empowered to do this for a whole Diocese; Or that he is by Divine Right (to the Exclusion of all Parochial Bishops) a Successor to the Apostles, in all the Plenitude of their Ecclesiastical Power?

What I have said in Vindication of Dr. Barrow, does equally vindicate Dr. Lightfoot's Arguments. For that he draws from casting Lots in the Case of Matthias, it does not appear that he had any other Ordination at all. For what he alleges as probable to the contrary, from the Instance of St. Paul, 'tis already answered.

I meet with nothing more in this Chapter worthy of Remark. That Parochial Bishops are in a larger Sense Successors of the Apostles, in the ordinary Branches of their Power, mentioned before, I freely grant. That there were Diocesans in the two first Centuries, or any Number of them in the third; or that the Ancients asserted such Diocesans to be the Apostles Successors, Mr. Dr--- has not so much as attempted to prove. And yet that without proving both these, Mr. Dr--- gives up the Cause, sufficiently appears by what I have already said. For what he saith, "That we have no greater Assurance, That the Epistles to Timothy and Titus were wrote by St. Paul, than we have that there were Bishops to succeed the Apostles, in the Government of the Churches;" I need only give this short Answer, If this be meant of Diocesan Bishops, 'tis in effect to give up those Epistles as Spurious. But if meant of Congregational Bishops, 'tis a matter of Fact we do not dispute, provided there be a due Difference fixed between the Apostolical Power and that of ordinary Pastors.

REMARKS on Chap. V.

MR. B--- had objected against Mr. Dr---'s Opinion of the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, that it has a plain Tendency to unchurch all the Reformed Churches that have not that Form of Government, and that this uncharitable Inference from it, has of late been owned and avowed by several eager Defenders of it.

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, "That most of the Reformed Churches Abroad have Bishops, and that the Case of those that want Bishops, differs from that of Dissenters."

Before I consider what he saith on these Two Heads, I must premise, that all this is nothing to the Objection, viz. That his Principles do unchurch all Reformed Churches that want the Diocesan Form of Government.

For he supposes their Pastors to be what he calls mere Presbyters; such mere Presbyters, according to him, have no Power to ordain, that being by Divine Right appropriated to what he calls Bishops; those ordained by them, are therefore no better than Laymen, and consequently they have no Authority

thority to administer the Sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Lord's-Supper*, to teach or rule in the Church; and all their sacred Administrations are null and void. Nay, should they pretend *Necessity* for their wanting *Episcopal Ordination*, this Gentleman has in this very Book plainly told us, "That no Man can meddle with sacred Offices, except he be called of God, and sent. No Man can call or send as from God, but he that is authorized by him for that Purpose. He asserts Bishops alone to be so authorized. He tells us, It is the highest Presumption to appoint Ambassadors for Almighty God without his Order; and there is the same Reason for Mens acting in Christ's House, as his Ministers, without any Commission at all, as to pretend to derive a Commission from them who had none themselves." And this he extends even to Cases of *Necessity*. And supposes those he calls *Presbyters*, to have no more Power to ordain than the People have: Nay, he supposes their *laying on Hands* with the Bishop (according to the Practice of the *Established Church*) to be a mere joining in the outward Ceremony, without signifying any thing to the Conveyance of the Ministerial Authority. 'Tis true, he saith here, "p. 92. We unchurch them not, neither is it our Intent to draw any such Consequence from our Doctrine. If it be Truth, (saith he) let all obey it, and take Care they don't oppose it. As for those who plead their necessitous Circumstances in their Behalf, we judge them not, but leave them to God who judges all Things." But what can we make more of this, than that though his Principles do by genuine Consequence unchurch them, he will not draw that Consequence from them himself? And truly he need not, the *Popish Writers* have already drawn this Conclusion against them, from the same Premises. The *Dodwell's*, the *Lesley's* and *Hicks's* of the Age, have done it for him; and therefore he (out of his Excess of Charity) will not judge them himself, but leaves them to the Judgment of God: But this is no more than what Mr. *Dodwell* has done before him, to leave them to the uncovenanted Mercy of God. And so I presume he will leave those *Infidels* themselves, who never heard of the Christian Religion: And if this be all the Charity he has for them, they are little beholden to him for it, and much less to those Principles he defends. But Thanks be to God, the Principles he has advanced are as void of Truth, as this natural Consequence drawn from them, is void of Charity.

I have lately seen a Sermon preached by a Reverend Divine of the *Established Church*, at the Consecration of the present Bishop of *Cork* in *Ireland*, wherein he considers this Objection against this Doctrine of the *Divine Right*, of the present Episcopacy, and gives these Two Answers to it.

1. "That when a Truth is sufficiently proved, such an Objection is no just Prejudice against it.

2. "He denies such a Consequence can be reasonably inferred from their Doctrine, because a Defect in the Authority or Commission of him that performs a Ministerial Office, will not infer a Nullity in the Performance itself, with respect to the Persons that receive the Benefit of it."

Ans. I hope these Remarks may convince all unprejudiced Persons, how utterly lame and insufficient the Proof is, even that offered in the Sermon I refer to, which is wholly founded on Mistakes in Matter of Fact relating to the Primitive Episcopacy. And for the Latter Answer, Whatever sorry Relief it may afford the Laity in such Reformed Churches at Home or Abroad, it affords none to their Pastors. For if the Power of

Ordination be by Divine Right appropriated to *Diocesan Bishops*, they that never had such Ordination cannot be true Pastors; they act without any Commission from God in all their Administrations. They grossly abuse and cheat their People in pretending to such a Commission, and are no better than *Lay-Intruders*. And what greater Reproach can be fixed on them than this? And how little are they indebted to the Charity of those that maintain such Principles, as must destroy all the Affection and Respect due to them, as the authorized Ministers of Christ? And into what miserable Perplexities must the Minds of their People be cast, if they believed such uncharitable Doctrine as this? Methinks so vile and detestable a Consequence, should make all that pretend to Judgment, and Moderation, (as that Learned Author does,) shy of espousing Principles from which it naturally and necessarily follows.

And therefore in order to vindicate the Reputation of those Excellent Churches and their Pastors, that are as uncorrupted and pure a Part of the *Catholic Church*, as any to be found on this Side Heaven, I shall,

I. Shew, That their wanting the *Diocesan Form of Government*, is not a Matter of *Necessity*, but of *Choice*; wherein they act pursuant to their avowed Principles.

II. I shall shew, That they have the true *Scriptural and Primitive Episcopacy* among them, and consequently, that to unchurch them on Pretence of their wanting it, argues as gross Ignorance, as it does gross Uncharitableness.

III. I shall suggest something concerning the Disparity he pretends between the Case of the *Dis-senters* and theirs. And,

IV. Take some Notice of what he has said, to diminish the Number of such Churches as want *Diocesan Episcopacy*.

I. I shall shew, That their wanting the *Diocesan Form of Church Government*, is not a Matter of *Necessity*, but of *Choice*; wherein they act pursuant to their avowed Principles.

And what clearer Demonstration can we have of this, than that their *Confessions of Faith* plainly assert the Equality of all Pastors and Teachers of the Church in Point of *Divine Right*, and consequently supposes the *Diocesan Form of Government*, to be an unnecessary Deviation from it. And all the World must own, the *Publick Confessions of Faith*, approved and signed by the Ministers of those Churches, to be a truer Standard of their current Doctrine, than the private Sentiments of this or that particular Minister.

The Protestant Churches Abroad are divided into *Lutheran* and *Reformed*.

For the *Lutheran Churches*, we have the *Concord of the Lutherans*, printed at *Leipsick*, wherein are contained the *Confession of Ausburgh*, and the *Apology for the same*, the *Smalcaldick Articles*, *Luther's Greater and Lesser Catechism*. From these Authentic Writings, 'tis evident, what the Opinion of the Lutherans concerning Episcopacy is. 'Tis true, indeed, *Melancthon* yielded something to the Bishops in the *Confession of Ausburgh*, and how much he himself was blamed on that Account, he complains in more Places than one. But it never came into *Melancthon's* Thoughts, that a Bishop was by *Divine Right* superior to a *Presbyter*, or that the Power either of *jurisdiction*, or of *Order*, belonged to a Bishop alone, for he subscribed the *Smalcaldick Articles*; but in those Articles, that Pretension

Pretension of the *Divine Right* of *Diocesan Episcopacy* is wholly overthrown, *Tit. de Pot. & Jurisd. Eccl.*

"The Gospel (say they) gives to those that are set over the Churches, a Command to teach the Gospel, to remit Sins, to administer the Sacraments, and Jurisdiction also. And by the Confession of all, even our Adversaries, 'tis manifest, That this Power is by *Divine Right* common to all that are set over the Churches, whether they be called Pastors, or Presbyters, or Bishops; and therefore *Jerome, &c.* But one thing made a Difference afterwards between Bishops and Presbyters, viz. Ordination, because it was ordered, that one Bishop should ordain Ministers in several Churches. But since Bishops and Pastors are not different Degrees by *Divine Right*, 'tis manifest, that an Ordination performed by a Pastor in his own Church, is valid. And afterwards, 'tis manifest, that the common Jurisdiction of excommunicating those that are guilty of manifest Crimes, does belong to all Pastors."

Let us come to the *Reformed Churches*. In the Confession of the Churches of *Helvetia*, 'tis expressly said, *Cap. xviii.* One, and that equal Power and Office is given to all Ministers in the Church. 'Tis certain, from the Beginning, Bishops or Presbyters governed the Church with a common Care. None set himself above another, or usurped a larger Power or Dominion over his Fellow Bishops. In the mean Time, some one or other called together the Assembly of Ministers, and proposed Matters to be debated therein, gathered the Opinions of the rest, and took Care to prevent Confusion. This Confession was approved by the *Reformed Churches* of Scotland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, and many in Germany.

The French Church in their Confession presented to *Charles IX.* Art. 30. saith, We believe all true Pastors, wherever they are placed, to be endued with equal Power, under that only Head, the chief and sole Universal Bishop; and therefore no Church ought to claim an Empire and Domination over any other.

In the *Belgick Confession*, Art. 31. 'tis said, In what Place soever the Ministers of the Word of God are, they have all the same and equal Power and Authority, as being all alike the Ministers of Christ, that only Universal Bishop and Head of the Church.

I need not acquaint Mr. Dr---, That the Confession of Faith now received in the Established Church of North-Britain speaks the same Language.

And now, can it become any Man of Sense or Modesty, to aver with Confidence, that these Churches are compelled merely by the Necessity of their Circumstances to want the *Diocesan Form* of Church Government, when the very Confessions of Faith, (the publick Standard of their Judgment) so openly declare for the Equality of all Pastors or Ministers in Authority and Power, and deny any Imparity that is founded on *Divine Right*? And if any particular Divines speak in a different Strain, shall their private Opinion weigh more than the Current Doctrine of the Churches they are Members of, nay, which themselves have subscribed? Besides the Testimonies of *Dubose* and *Drelincourt* are borrowed by Mr. Dr---, only from *Durell*, an Author whose notorious Untruths and Falshoods, the Learned Mr. *Hickman* has so fully exposed in his *Apologia pro ejectione in Anglia Ministris, &c.* and his Answer to Mr. *Durell* and Mr. *Scrivener*, that there is no Stress to be laid on his credulous Reports. And I may justly add, That neither of them speak one Syllable of the *Divine Right* of *Diocesan Episcopacy*: nor do the *Geneva Doctors* assert any such Thing.

For his Story of *Johannes Antoninus*, Bishop of *Troyes*, in the Province of *Champagne*, that turned Protestant; I presume he has borrowed that from Mr. *Durell*. But Mr. *Hickman* has entirely blatted the Credit of it, by the true Account he gives of

that Matter from the Author of *Hist. Eccles.* Tom. I. p. 767. "At the End of September, D. *Antoninus Caracciolus*, Bishop of *Troyes*, being returned from the Conference at *Poissy*, (by which he had profited,) and being solicited by some Princesses, and other Lords at Court, appeared before the (*Synedrium*) Consistory of the Church of *Troyes*, solemnly owning his Errors, and begging to be admitted to the Ministry. Concerning which, there being different Opinions, some thinking he might be of great Use, in drawing over the Papists to the Reformed Party; others, (and not without Ground) suspecting the Levity and immodest Life of the Bishop, that was but too well known, it was concluded, they should desire the Judgment of the Ministers still met at *Poissy*. But they being perplexed on the account of several Circumstances that were then published, desired Advice of the Church of *Geneva*, whose Opinion is to be found in the *Latin Answer* of *John Calvin*. In the mean Time *Peter Martyr*, that great Man, passed by *Troyes*, in his Return from *Poissy* to his Church at *Zurich*, by whose Advice the Bishop having made his Abjuration, and signed the Confession of Faith, [that received in the French Reformed Church,] after he had promised to desert his Episcopal Function, was admitted to the Ministry; yet not without Contradiction, for one of the Pastors, *Peter Roy* by Name, was against it; notwithstanding he having forsaken his Episcopal Function, and accepted a Pension which the Queen had ordered to be given him, preached. But he abounded more in Words than any thing else, and afterwards behaved himself very ill: But the Church of *Troyes* however grew."

And yet from this fabulous Story of Mr. *Durell's*, Mr. Dr--- infers, "That Mr. B--- wrongs the Reformed Churches, in saying, They lay under no Necessity of being without *Diocesan Bishops*, and that they were willing to submit to the Government of such Bishops, if they would embrace the Reformation." Whereas we may see they would not admit this Gentleman to the Ministry, without quitting his Episcopal Function.

II. Though so many of the Reformed Churches want the *Diocesan Form* of Government, yet they retain both the Scriptural and the Primitive Episcopacy.

They have such *Parochial Bishops* as the Primitive Church had, i. e. Persons endued with the same Powers the Primitive Bishops claimed, having a particular Church as the Primitive Bishops under their Care and Government; these Pastors are as the Primitive Bishops, chosen by the People whom they take the Oversight of; they are ordained, as they, by neighbouring *Parochial Bishops*. 'Tis true indeed they have not such as Mr. Dr--- calls mere Presbyters or Curates under them; nor does Mr. Dr--- pretend that to be essential to a Bishop. And indeed we can find no such mere Presbyters in the New Testament. But their *Parochial Bishops* have many of them Coadjutors or Assistants of the same Office with themselves; (as the Church of *Philippi* and *Ephesus* had.) And since Mr. Dr--- himself has told us, " 'Tis not essential to a Bishop, whether he has only a single Congregation or a Diocese for his Charge," it can be no Prejudice to their Episcopal Character, that they are only the Pastors of single Congregations. There is therefore no Ground at all to censure these Churches for wanting Bishops, unless none but *Diocesans* can claim that Character, (which Mr. Dr--- again and again denies.) And if they retain the true Scriptural and Primitive Episcopacy, can it argue any other than gross Ignorance, not only to charge them with

with wanting Episcopal Government, but to unchurch them for the want of it? And does not the Unchurching of them upon so groundless a Pretence, argue the highest Degree of Uncharitableness? Can any Principles be more justly branded for Schismatical, than those that exclude so many Reformed Churches and their Pastors out of the Catholick Church? Mr. Dr---'s Principles do by necessary Consequence pass this hard Censure upon them, whether he draw the Consequence or no. And he himself is not willing to disavow the Consequence, but leaves them to the Judgment of God. And had they as little Judgment and Charity on the other hand, might they not retort the Charge with all possible Advantage, against those Churches that are under the *Diocesan Form of Government*? Might they not say, The Power of Ordination was by the Apostles committed to *Parochial Bishops*. They only exercised it for two or three Centuries, in the Christian Church. It was never committed by the Apostles to any *Diocesan Bishop* at all, nor was such a Bishop known in the *Primitive Church*. Your Ordinations are therefore null and void, as being performed by such as the Apostles never entrusted that Power with. And so therefore are all your Ministerial Performances. Should any one lay down such Principles as these, and yet pretend, (as Mr. Dr---) "That he does not unchurch these *Diocesan Churches*, nor intends to draw any such Consequences from them. If they be true, Let all obey them, and take care how they oppose them. But if they plead the Necessity they were under, to submit to such *Diocesan Ordination*, he will not judge them, but leave them to God, who judges all things," I would gladly know what Mr. Dr--- would think of such a Man's Charity? And yet I must tell Mr. Dr---, that 'tis certain matter of Fact, that *Diocesan* are not the *Bishops*, whom the Apostles left in the Churches, and whom the *Primitive Churches* owned under that Character. And for this I appeal to the Evidence already produced, under the Head of Antiquity. But a judicious Person can distinguish in the *Diocesan Bishop*, the Power common to him by *Divine Right*, with all other Pastors, and that which he owes wholly to that human Constitution, that has modelled the external Government of the National Church, and made the Ordination by such a *Diocesan*, necessary to all that shall be allowed to officiate as Ministers in the publick Churches, and enjoy the legal Maintenance annexed to them. And therefore we have never declared the Ordinations performed by *Diocesan Bishops* invalid and null, as others have, with an Uncharitableness equal to their Ignorance, passed that odious Censure on Ordinations performed by *Parochial Bishops*. But we must needs say, The latter Ordinations appear to us much more conformable, both to the Scripture, and to *Primitive Antiquity*.

III. I shall suggest something concerning the Disparity Mr. Dr--- pretends, between the Case of Dissenters and that of other Reformed Churches.

To that Purpose he tells us, "There is a great Difference between Condemning and Rejecting Episcopacy in general, as Unlawful and Antichristian, and not thinking it convenient in some Circumstances." And this he supposes the Case, with reference to the Dissenters at home, and the Reformed Churches abroad that want Bishops.

Ans. If Mr. Dr--- mean *Parochial Episcopacy*, 'tis utterly untrue, that either the Dissenters or any of the Reformed Churches, either censure it, or want it. And Mr. Dr--- himself must own as much, when he declares, That 'tis not Essential to a Bishop,

whether he have a single Congregation, or as many as a Diocese usually contains, under his Charge. If Mr. Dr--- mean *Diocesan Episcopacy*, 'tis again utterly untrue, That the Dissenters condemn and reject all *Diocesan Episcopacy*, as Unlawful and Antichristian. I have in the former Discourse told him, That their Divines at the Savoy Conference offered Archbishop Usher's Model for the Reduction of Episcopacy, as the Ground-work of Accommodation, wherein *Diocesan Episcopacy* is retained; only those called Presbyters (but which were the *Primitive Bishops*) are restored to some Share in the Government of the Church: And indeed to far less than what they enjoyed in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Centuries, after the Bishop's Church in some Places begun to swell towards the Bulk of a Modern Diocese. And on the other Hand, for the Reformed Churches abroad, they are so far from pleading Necessity, for their want of *Diocesan Bishops*, that their publick Confessions plead the Equality of all Pastors by *Divine Right*, as the Foundation of their Form of Ecclesiastical Government. They must therefore pursuant to their own Principles, regard the *Diocesan Form* only as an human Constitution, and their own as more conformable to the Holy Scriptures. And what though many of them think it a lawful human Constitution, which they could if they were in England or Ireland submit to, what signifies this to the Claim of a *Divine Right*? Nay, what celebrated Writer of the Reformed Churches can Mr. Dr--- produce, that ever entertained that Opinion of the *Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy*?

Whether our particular Species of *Diocesan Episcopacy* be a lawful human Constitution, is a quite different Question. And as to that, if Mr. Dr--- will please to answer Mr. Baxter's Treatise concerning it, we shall impartially consider what he has to say in its Defence. For I know no Answer that Book has yet received, unless a Book may be answered by a Man's nibbling at a few Passages in it.

But for the Reasons of our Dissent from the Established Church, Mr. Dr--- may find them at large in Mr. Baxter's Non-Conformity stated and argued. And if he will please to answer that Book, or direct us to any Answer given to it by any other Hand, we shall consider it. And till then he would do better to forbear his Reflexions. For as Mr. B--- had shewn him, from the Transactions of the Savoy Conference, he is mistaken in thinking, that Episcopacy in general was the Ground of our Dissent. Archbishop Usher's Model was far from abolishing Episcopacy; and yet had that been allowed, the Difference in that point might have been healed; and so might our Differences in other things, if the imposed Terms of Ministerial and Lay-Conformity (mentioned in the foresaid Treatise) had been forborn. And therefore this Gentleman talks of our Differences, as if he were a Stranger to them.

IV. I shall take some Notice of what he has said to lessen the Number of those Reformed Churches, that want *Diocesan Episcopacy*.

To that Purpose he tells us, "That the greatest Part of them retain Episcopacy. That the Churches of Sweden and Denmark have both the Name and Office of Bishops. Those in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and several of the Lutheran Churches have the Office of Bishops, though some have changed the Name either into Seniors, Superintendents, Generales and Generalissimi, who answer to our Bishops and Archbishops. And therefore, the only Churches in debate, are those of France, Holland, and Geneva, &c."

Ans. Mr. Dr--- who borrows this from Mr. Durell, should have shewn us, that any of those Churches

Churches appropriate the same Powers to those whom he calls their Bishops, that the Established Church does. Else the bare Name of Bishops signifies nothing, to prove a Conformity between their Constitution and ours.

For Denmark, Mr. Durell tells us, They have Bishops and Archbishops, both Name and Thing. And Mr. Dr--- saith, They have both the Name and Office of Bishops. But I am afraid, if Mr. Dr---'s Principles be true, 'tis impossible they should have any at all. I must therefore desire him to consider Mr. Hickman's Argument, in answer to this Assertion of Mr. Durell. "If (saith he) we consult the History of the Reformation of that Kingdom, about the Year 1537, Bugenbagius is sent for into Denmark, where on the 12th of August, he performed all the Ecclesiastick Part of the King's Coronation, and fourteen Days after he ordained seven Superintendents, to be Keepers and Executors of all Ecclesiastical Ordination, and to do the Office of Bishops. Now I ask, seeing Bugenbagius was but a Presbyter, Whether he put the Superintendents into an higher Order than his own? If he did, who gave him Authority so to do? If he did not, then are there no Bishops, properly so called in Denmark." Nay, I may argue with Mr. Dr---; Since a Presbyter never received any Power, so much as to ordain a Presbyter, he could much less have any Power to ordain a Bishop. So that by his Principles, these Superintendents are turned into mere Laymen, and the Succession there depends on an utterly broken Line. Melchior Adam, who relates this of Bugenbagius, also mentions Luther's calling three other Presbyters with him in ordaining one Nicholas Amsdorf Bishop. But if Mr. Dr---'s Principles be true, such Lutheran Bishops must be reputed no better than Laymen.

For the Churches of Poland and Hungary, They approved the Helverick Confession, that asserts the Power and Function of all Ministers to be one and equal.

For the Church of Bohemia, the Bishops they had were chosen by the rest of the Ministers, the Power of Excommunication did not belong to them, but the whole Synod; Nay, they were subject to the Judgment of their Brethren, and censurable by them for Male-Administration. The Superintendents in the Elector of Hanover's Dominions, are subject to a Consistory; (made up of Ministers and Lawyers;) and their Ministrations directed and censured by them. For the Superintendents of the Hessian Churches, Zeperus tells us, "They were to usurp no Primacy, Superiority, or Dominion, over their Collegues, or Brethren, and claimed no Exemption or Immunity from the common Order, Office, and Laws of the Ministry." So that I scarce know of any of the Reformed Churches whom he reckons among the Episcopal ones, that have our Diocesan Form of Government. And he may see, that all of them disclaim any Pretension of a Divine Right for it.

I shall only add, That Mr. Dr--- has forgot the Churches of Helvetia, and those renowned ones in the Valleys of Piedmont, among those that want the Diocesan Form of Government.

For what Mr. Dr--- adds in the fourth Section of this Chapter, it contains so little that looks like any Argument, that it will only require a few short Remarks.

'Tis utterly untrue, (and this Gentleman has often been told so,) that we do merely argue from the Community of Names between Bishop and Presbyter, for the Office being the same. We argue from the Apostle's only mentioning two Officers in the Church, Bishops and Deacons, 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. from the Qualifications of the Persons so called

to them, being the same; from Presbyters being required to do the Work of Bishops; from the utter Silence of the Holy Scriptures concerning two such distinct Orders and Offices, (as our first Reformers owned, in the Papers before mentioned.

Mr. Dr--- himself owns, That the Ancients distinguished the Clergy into two Orders. But saith, "They subdivided the superior Order into two others, as the Jewish Priests were divided into High-Priest and Priests." But I have already shewn him, That St. Clement, on whose Authority he chiefly relies, never intended any such Parallel. I have told him, That St. Jerome could intend no such subdivision as a Matter of Divine Right, without overthrowing his own declared Opinion, concerning the Identity of Bishop and Presbyter by Divine Right. If he pleases to call Jerome's positive Assertions concerning it, Rash Expressions, he may use his Liberty. He would perhaps think this great Arrogance in any other. But they are such Authors as he, that would strain such Expressions as drop from St. Jerome by the by, where he has no Design of canvassing the Question, against his declared Opinion, where he professedly treats of it. And if he calls him an hot Man, we can tell him of others, (such as Epiphanius,) that express much more Heat, but without that clear Light that Jerome produces; for Proof of his Sentiments. Nay, I have shewn him, That the Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter, in the second, and generally (at least) in the third Century, wholly related to Parochial Churches, and was no greater than between the Rector of a Parish and his Curates. And there needs no more to shew the Weakness of this Argument, than to consider, that they as truly subdivided the Order of Deaconship into two, viz. that of Deacons and Subdeacons; the latter being as much subject to the former, as that of the Parochial Presbyters or Curates, was to that of the Parochial Bishops or Rectors. And yet it would be ridiculous thence to infer, that they supposed this Superiority of the Deacons above the Subdeacons, to be founded on a Divine Right, and constitutive of a distinct Order. And as they set up an Archdeacon, to whom they gave some Superiority over the Deacons; so they raised the Bishop of the chief City to some Primacy and Superiority over that of his neighbouring Parochial Bishops. And yet Mr. Dr--- himself will not pretend that this was founded on any Divine Institution. No more than he will for the Power of Metropolitans, Patriarchs, and at last the Papal itself.

That Athanasius, Eusebius, Rufinus, Gregory Nazianzen, pronounce the Opinion of Aerius a Madness and an Heresy, is what I never heard of before, and shall consider, when Mr. Dr--- is pleased to prove it. That Epiphanius called it so, I shall freely grant: But considering how much Heat, and how little Light; nay, what palpable Weakness and Ignorance, (even such as Dr. Reynolds observes, the more learned Popish Patrons of Diocesan Episcopacy are ashamed of,) he has shewn in his Attempts to refute the Opinion of Aerius, we shall not much regard his Authority or Judgment, no more than Mr. Dr--- will regard it, when Epiphanius so learnedly defends Praying for the Dead, and makes the Rejection of such Prayers, another of the formidable Heresies of Aerius.

As for Mr. B---'s Arguments from Scripture, since this Discourse has overthrown the Foundation of all Mr. Dr---'s Answers to them, they are by this Time in a good Condition to defend themselves. And if they need any farther Defence, it will be now a very easy Task.

Mr. B--- had charged Mr. Dr--- with advancing an inconsistent Scheme of Principles; because

cause he endeavoured to answer his Arguments on two inconsistent Hypotheses, and because he sometimes seemed to grant those Powers of Excommunication and Ordination to belong to the Office of Presbyters, which at other times he appropriated to Bishops. He has now indeed made his Scheme more consistent, by rejecting Dr. Hammond's Notion of the Presbyters of Ephesus, and the Bishops of Philippi, being Bishops in the Sense that he contends for. And he now absolutely excludes Presbyters from all Power of Excommunication and Ordination. But I must tell him, by making his Scheme thus more consistent with itself, he has made it more indefensible. That the Apostles were ever the Bishops of any particular Churches while they lived, is Mr. Dr---'s precarious Assertion, and indeed utterly inconsistent with the Obligations and Dignity of their Apostolical Office. That they left any Diocesan Bishops as their Successors in the Government of them, is utterly untrue in Fact. No such Bishops being to be found for two Hundred or more Years after their Decease. That they committed the Government of them to Congregational Bishops, is what we con-

tend for. That one of these, in the second or third Century, claimed such a Superiority above his Collegues, as the Parish Rector has above his Curates, I freely grant. For the Case of Timothy and Titus, it shall be further considered in the next Chapter.

For his retorting the Charge, by telling Mr. B---, That he jumbles and confounds Independence and Presbytery: When he has said any thing to prove it, I shall consider it. I shall only at present tell him, That Mr. B--- never yet learned in these Matters *jurare in verba Magistrum*. He endeavours to form his Judgment concerning them from the Holy Scriptures, and not from the Sentiments of any Party or Denomination whatsoever; but is careful to distinguish in any Form of Church-Government, between what is strictly of Divine Right, and what is of prudent human Determination; but conformable to the general Rules of the Holy Scripture. And had Mr. Dr--- consulted those sacred Oracles, without the Prepossessions of a Party, 'tis probable that he would never have attempted this Task of proving the Divine Right of the present Episcopacy from them.

REMARKS on Chap. VI.

HERE Mr. Dr--- undertakes to vindicate the Scheme of Principles that he had laid down. But he has offered us here such a lame and confused Defence of them, from that particular and full Refutation offered in Mr. B---'s Postscript, that I might very safely leave the Matter to the Reader's Judgment, upon comparing the one with the other.

However, I shall make some few Remarks on what I meet with in it, that has not been particularly considered in Mr. B---'s Postscript, or in this Defence of it.

I. That the Apostles have any Successors in the Plenitude of their Power; if he thereby understand all the Spiritual Powers that belonged to them, and especially such as were the most distinguishing Marks of their Apostolical Office, I have already shewn him to be an Assertion manifestly false and absurd.

II. For the ordinary Powers, viz. those of Teaching, presiding in publick Worship, exercising Church-Censures, Ordination; he has not offered any one solid Proof, that the Apostles gave to one Order of Men the whole of those Powers, and to another only half. He himself allows the Presbyters a Share in the Government of the Church. Now either he means by it, That they had a Suffrage and Vote in all Acts of Church Government; Or that they only gave Advice, without any such decisive Vote. If he mean the former, he gives up his Third Position, which supposes the Presbyters to have received no Governing Power, but only a Power of Teaching and Administering the Sacraments. If he mean the latter, That they can only give Advice, then how came the Scriptures to represent the Elders as ruling well, as well as labouring in Word and Doctrine? How come the Elders of Ephesus to be required to feed the Flock, Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 2. And that Feeding implies Ruling as well as Teaching, is evident, from the Apostolical Authority being represented by Feeding the Sheep and the Lambs of Christ; which I hope

Mr. Dr--- will own to imply Ruling as well as Teaching them, John xxi. 17. And for Antiquity, I have shewn him, that after the Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter first obtained, the Presbyters of this Parochial Bishop had a Suffrage in all Acts of Church Government as well as he; and were not therefore mere Counsellors and Advisers; for the Parochial Bishop's Sentence was as invalid without their concurrent Suffrages, as theirs without his. And therefore if he would draw any Comparison between our Civil-Government, and that ancient Ecclesiastical Parochial Government, as he compares the Bishop to the Queen, so he may compare the Presbyters to the House of Lords, and if he pleases, the Laity to the House of Commons; for he will find by St. Cyprian, that their Judgment and Suffrage was also required, to the passing of Censures. And what signifies all this to the Claim of Diocesans, who have put down all these Parish-Bishops, and their Parochial Church-Government, and engrossed their ruling Power into their own Hands, and never even admit these ancient Bishops to a Suffrage in the passing of Church-Censures; nay, commit this Power to Lay-Chancellors, when they have deprived these Primitive Bishops of it?

III. Mr. Dr--- has given no tolerable Answer to the clear Proof brought him from Dr. Stillingfleet, That the Government of the Christian Church, was drawn by the Apostles from the Model of the Jewish Synagogues.

And for this Assertion of its being drawn from the Model of the Jewish Temple, he refers us for the Proof of it to a Passage in St. Clement, and another in St. Jerome.

For that of St. Clement, I have already shewn him, pag. 210. That St. Clement only mentions the several Functions of the High-Priest, Priests, and Levites, under the Law, to recommend Order and Regularity in general to the Church of Corinth. That he never applies this to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Christian Church at all. That if he had applied it, the High-Priest could be no other than the Parochial Bishop: But that it no way appears

appears by that *Epistle*, that that Church had any other Rulers than its *Presbyters*, the true Scriptural Bishops.

For St. *Jerome's* Expressions, they have been already accounted for, p. 252. and I have shewn, that they can never imply the *Divine Right* of a *Parochial Bishop* itself, as an Order superior to *Presbyters*, without making St. *Jerome* guilty of a gross *Self-contradiction*. And after all, As no Logician will admit of a valid Argument drawn from bare *Similitudes*, so 'tis the more absurd to found a *Divine Right* upon it. And if such a bare *Similitude* used by such an ancient *Writer*, could be supposed a solid Foundation of a *Divine Right*, 'tis of such *Parochial Bishops* as the *Diocesan* ones have now deprived of it. So that this Argument falls the heaviest on those that make use of it.

To clear this Matter a little farther, I would only ask Mr. Dr—, when he contends for the *Jewish Priesthood* being the *Model* of the *Christian*; does he mean, That 'tis the *Model* of the Government of the *Catholick Church*, or of a *single Congregation*, (or *Parish Church*) or of a *Diocesan Church*, or of a *National one*? If it be the *Model* of the Government of the *Catholick Church*, then there is none to answer the *High Priest*, but either our *Saviour* or his pretended *Vicar*, the *Bishop of Rome*, who alone claims any *Supremacy* over the *Universal Church*. If it be the *Model* of the Government of a *National Church*, then the *Established Church* has no such *High Priest* at all. There are *Two Archbishops* in *England*, and *Four* in *Ireland*; but none of them pretend any Government over more than their own *Provinces*. And Mr. Dr— does not own their Power as superior to *Diocesan Bishops*, to be of any *Divine Institution* at all. But for *Bishops*, instead of one *High Priest*, we have above a *Score* in *England*, and near as many in *Ireland*; and no one of them pretends to any Government over the whole *National Church*. If he mean a *Diocesan Church*, (in the modern Sense) as inclusive of all the *Parish-Churches* in one or more *Counties*, Why does he not produce us one Instance of any such Church, either in the *Bible* or the *Two first Centuries*? I have already shewn him, that no such can be found. If he mean a *Parochial Church*, or *single Congregation* that has but one *Altar* for all its *Communicants*; besides the Absurdity of making the Government of the *National Church* of the *Jews*, the *Model* of the Government of a *single Christian Congregation*, it would thence follow, that the *Parish Bishop* is the *High Priest*, and his *Curates* the *Priests*. And then he must shew us, by what *Divine Right* the *Diocesan Bishop* deprives so many *Bishops* of their Office of *High Priests*, and monopolizes their Power into his Hands, and turns them into mere *Priests*. So that let him turn this *Similitude* which way he pleases, if it prove any thing at all, it overthrows the Cause he pleads for. And does he expect that so mighty a Superstructure, as the *Divine Right* of *Diocesan Power*, should stand firm, when he builds it on such a *sandy Foundation* as this?

IV. Whether the *Twelve Apostles*, and the *Seventy Disciples*, were of different Degrees during our *Saviour's* Life, is a Matter the Cause is no way concerned in. Mr. B— had shewn him, there is no Probability of it, because there appears no Difference either in their *Commission* or their *Credentials*. To this Argument he gives no Answer, but appeals to the *Judgment* of the *Fathers*; as if the bare Opinion of Two or Three of them, and that founded on an imaginary Supposition of the *Twelve Apostles* being represented by the *Twelve Fountains of Elim*, and the *Seventy Disciples* by the *Seventy Palms*, were to be preferred before a substantial Reason drawn from their *Commission* and *Credentials* being the same? As if a *mystical fanciful*

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Allusion, were more to be regarded than a solid Argument.

V. In Opposition to Mr. Dr—'s *Three Orders*, Mr. B— had told him, That *Christ* instituted the Office of *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as well as that of *Apostles*, Eph. iv. 11.

To this he answers,

1. "That this Text cannot denote so many Officers in the *Christian Church*."

To prove this he alledges Two Things;

The One is, "That if they were so many Officers, they ought to be still continued."

Answer. Now that this Argument is of no Force, is hence evident, That there are neither *Apostles* nor *Prophets* to be found in the *Christian Church*, nor have been many Hundred Years. I have already shewn, that those Powers which were peculiar to the *Apostles*, and the distinctive Characters of their Office, are long since ceased, and no Man, (unless the *Bishop of Rome*) pretends to any of them. And for *Prophets*, (i. e. Persons that very often preached or foretold future Events by an immediate *Affatus* of the *Holy Spirit*;) there have been very few Pretenders to this extraordinary Gift for many Ages, and their Pretences have usually met with as little Credit as those of the late *French Prophets*.

The other Argument, is, "That the Work of a *Prophet* or *Evangelist* was sometimes done by *Apostles*, sometimes by *Presbyters*."

But this Argument is of no Force at all. Some Works may be common to those whose Offices are distinct. Teaching and Ruling in the Church, is the Work of all *Presbyters*; but it will not thence follow, That because an *Apostle* or a *Prophet* might teach and rule, that there was no Distinction of Office between them and *Presbyters*. If this way of Arguing were good, it would prove, that all *Presbyters* are *Apostles*, and thereby overthrow this Gentleman's Scheme. A *Prophet* was a *Teacher*; but because he frequently taught by an immediate Inspiration, he was more than an Ordinary Teacher; and therefore the *Prophets* are distinguished from the Teachers in the Church of *Antioch*, Acts xiii. 1— The *Apostles* taught not by an Occasional, but constant Inspiration, and had a more extensive Commission, and larger Powers than mere *Prophets* had: And therefore are distinguished always from them. And therefore *Judas* and *Silas* are distinguished by the Character of *Prophets*, from the *Apostles* whose *Epistle* they brought, Acts xv. 32, 33. So though an *Evangelist's* Work was to teach, it does not thence follow, that every Minister or Teacher was an *Evangelist*; for an *Evangelist's* Work was to assist the *Apostles* in converting the *Infidel World*, and in settling and planting Churches, where a competent Number was converted to the *Christian Faith*; and it was not consistent with their Office, to undertake the Instruction and Government of a particular Church as their stated Charge.

2. Mr. Dr— farther answers, "That these Terms, *Apostles*, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors* and *Teachers*, do not include so many several Orders or Degrees of Church Officers, but rather different Denominations conferred upon those Officers which were in the Church before, with relation to their Labours, in several Parts and Places in the *Catholick Church*. And therefore he tells us, the Officers of the Church, when convened at *Jerusalem* upon an extraordinary Occasion, are all comprized in these Two, *Apostles* and *Elders*, Acts xv. 4.

Answer. It will not follow, that because the *Apostles* and *Elders* only are mentioned as the Officers concerned in that Council at *Jerusalem*, that there were no other Officers in the *Christian Church* at all. The *Apostles* themselves were then at *Jerusalem*, and

and it does not appear, that they had as yet set themselves to the great Work of converting the Gentiles to the Christian Faith, by travelling Abroad for that Purpose: And therefore had not chosen any such Assistants in that Work, as were afterwards known under the Name of Evangelists. And for Prophets, if there had been any in that Council, they might be comprized under the general Name of Elders, and yet be distinguished from Ordinary Teachers, as we actually find them so distinguished before, Chap. xiii. 1. To teach by Prophetick Inspiration, might therefore be justly reckoned the distinguishing Character of a higher Order or Degree. That any of the Presbyters mentioned in the New Testament, were properly Evangelists, i. e. such as the Apostles chose for their Assistants in converting the Infidel World, and settling Churches among them, Mr. Dr--- has no way proved. We read of no Presbyters or Bishops, but what had the Teaching and Ruling of particular Churches as their Ordinary Charge. And therefore this Difference in their Work, was a sufficient Foundation for a Distinction of Order and Degree between Evangelists and ordinary Pastors. And yet these Evangelists had not the same Powers that the Apostles had, no more than they had the same Credentials. And since these Evangelists founded Churches, and ordained Elders, 'tis not true, that the founding Churches, and ordaining Elders, was peculiar to the highest Order in the Church; for the Former was the ordinary Work of an inferior Order, viz. that of Evangelists; the Latter belonged to all Presbyters. And even a Scriptural Bishop or Presbyter might occasionally found a new Church, and join with his Fellow-Presbyters or Bishops in ordaining others to take the Oversight of it. And Mr. Dr--- has given us no manner of Proof to the contrary.

How Mr. Dr--- has proved that Presbyters cannot excommunicate, I must refer to p. 259, &c. where he will find his Assertion, and the Grounds of it, clearly refuted.

VI. Mr. Dr--- had said, "That the Apostles on the Prospect of their own Mortality invested some single Persons in every Church, with a Power to ordain others, and appointed them to rule and govern with the same Authority that they had done."

To this Mr. B--- had replied,

1. That Presbyters were invested with the Power of Ordination, long before the Apostles Decease. This Mr. Dr--- pretends to have disproved in this Book; how he has done so, the Reader may see at p. 267.

2. Mr. B--- had proposed the Question, Whether the Author mean by every Church, every single Congregation, or every Diocesan Church consisting of some Scores or Hundreds of such Congregations.

If he mean the Former, his Argument, if true, signifies nothing to prove the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy; if the Latter, he should shew us some such Diocesan Church, and prove that the Apostles vested such a Diocesan Bishop with the same Authority they had themselves.

To this, Mr. Dr--- answers, "That when the Apostles preached the Gospel, they always chose the most populous Places of every Country, to labour and plant the Faith in, which was ordinarily in Cities. Here then they planted and founded their Churches, and from hence was the Gospel propagated through the Country that lay near those Cities; and these Countries were, in after-Ages, made Dioceses of those Churches. In those Cities it was that the Apostles ordained Elders; for what is called in one Place, Ordaining Elders in every Church, is in another Place styled, Ordaining Elders in every City. Where the Apostle does not mean one Elder in a

Place, but a College of Presbyters, who might be sent to feed the Flock as it increased. And over these Presbyters, either the Apostles themselves did preside, and had the Power to govern and ordain them, as they saw Occasion; or they committed this Power to some single Persons, who might rule, &c. in their Stead, and who ever since the Apostles Times, have been called Bishops."

Ans. 1. That the Apostles usually chose the most populous Places to labour in, I freely grant; because common Prudence would dictate to them, that they had there the fairest Prospect of bringing in a large Harvest of Converts. But that they planted Churches only in Cities, is not true. St. Clemens has assured us the contrary, that they planted Churches in the Country, as distinguished from Cities and Towns, and placed in them, not one Bishop with Subject-Presbyters, but Bishops and Deacons, and therefore the true Reason, why what is called in one Place, Ordaining Elders in every Church, is called elsewhere, ordaining Elders in every City, is, because the Converts of every such City or Town, ordinarily made up but one Church or Congregation. And in those Churches, the Apostles constituted not a single Bishop, but Bishops; as they did at Ephesus and Philippi. So that the Village-Churches planted by them, had their Bishops as well as the City ones.

2. That the Apostles during their Life kept the Power of Governing and Ordaining in such Churches in their own Hands, is no way true. They suppose it to be the Work of those Presbyters, whom they ordained in particular Churches, to rule well, [καλῶς προϊστάμεν] and suppose that to be a lower Part of their Office, 1 Tim. v. 17. They require the Presbyter-Bishops whom they constitute, to feed the Flock, (which implies Ruling, as well as Teaching them) Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, &c. They ascribe to them the Power of judging those that are within, and of casting notoriously wicked Persons out of their Communion, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. (And this Mr. Dr--- himself reckons among the Powers he appropriates to Bishops.) 'Tis therefore a great Mistake to think, that the Apostles kept the ordinary Government of such Churches as they planted, and in which they ordained Presbyters or Bishops, in their own Hands during their Life. For the Exercise of that ordinary Government in a particular Church, requires the continual Presence, and vigilant Care of its Pastors; and therefore it cannot be duly managed by one that is an Itinerant Preacher, and thereby necessitated to an almost perpetual Absence from the Church he is supposed to govern, or that can at most only transiently visit it once in several Years. The Apostles understood better the constant Necessity of sacred Discipline, to preserve the Purity of the Churches, than to undertake a Task impossible to be duly performed by them, for those Churches whom they were to leave; some without any Prospect of returning to them, others with no Expectation of seeing them again for many Years. They were not, (as too many have been,) fond of engrossing the Name of Church-Governors, without doing any Thing answerable to that Character. And therefore would not have the regular Use of Discipline neglected, to monopolize it to themselves. 'Tis true indeed, they had some Superintendency over those Churches when absent. And therefore could, by their Letters, deliver any Part of the Doctrine and Laws of Christ, and any Rules of Discipline to them, or order any contrary Disorders and Abuses to be rectified and reformed; and this with an Authority peculiar to themselves as inspired Apostles, and which no ordinary Church-Governors did ever claim. And therefore that general Superintendency, which we ascribe to the Apostles over all the Churches, wholly

wholly refers to the Exercise of such extraordinary Powers, as were not communicable by them to any Successors. But for all ordinary Acts of Church-Government, the Apostles left these to be performed by the Presbyters or Bishops, whom they settled in particular Churches. And for Ordination, I have shewn him, that during the Apostles Life, it was performed by Presbyters, with respect to Timothy, and (if we may believe Mr. Dr---) by the Teachers of Antioch, with respect to the Apostle himself. 'Tis also true, That the Apostles had some Presidency over those Bishops or Presbyters whom they set over particular Churches. Those Presbyter-Bishops were subject to the Direction of these inspired Teachers as to the Doctrine they were to preach, and the Rules of Worship and Discipline they were to observe; and they were censurable by them, whenever they deviated from their Instructions. But the Apostles were so far from depriving them of the Power of Ruling the Churches committed to their Care, that they urge it upon them as their necessary Duty.

That the Apostles committed their Power over these Presbyters, whom they set over particular Churches, to one single Person, is utterly untrue, and contrary to plain Matter of Fact. I have shewn him, That they had several Powers, relating to the Churches they planted, and the Pastors they set over them, founded on their immediate Inspiration, and extraordinary Gifts, which they could no more convey to any Successors, than they could impart those extraordinary Assistances and Gifts. And if we look over the Churches they planted, we find no single Person vested with any stated Authority, over the Presbyters they had settled. There appears no such single Person as a stated Governor over the Presbyter-Bishops of Ephesus, (For as to Timothy's pretended Episcopal Power, I shall anon vindicate what Mr. B--- had said to overturn that Claim). Nor over the Bishops settled with the Deacons at Philippi. Nor over the Presbyters, whom St. Peter urges to feed the Flock of God. And therefore St. Jerome justly makes it the Character of the Apostolical Age, That the Churches were then governed by the common Council of Presbyters. So does St. Clement.

I confess, the Custom of one of those Presbyters having a Primacy of Order, and some Superiority above his Collegues, in the Management of the Affairs of the particular Congregation, soon obtained in the Christian Church. The Difference being (as I have shewn) in a great Measure parallel to that between the Rector and the Curates of a Parochial Church. But this Superiority of the Parish-Bishop above his Assistant Presbyters, was owing only (as St. Jerome assures us) to Ecclesiastical Custom, not to Divine Institution. And even this, is so far from being serviceable to the Cause of *Diocesan Episcopacy*, that (I have shewn) 'tis utterly inconsistent with it.

3. That after the Distinction between the Congregational Bishop and his Presbyters, (like that between the Parochial Rector and his Curates,) obtained, the City Bishops did, in after-Ages, endeavour to extend their Authority over the Christians of the Country that lay near them, and those Countries were, (as Mr. Dr--- speaks,) made *Dioceses* of those Churches, is indeed true in Matter of Fact; but is so far from being any Evidence of a Divine Right, that it affords a strong Argument against it.

I have shewn him, that in the Three First Centuries, if we except Rome and Alexandria, and a few such overgrown Churches, that began, like our overgrown Parishes, to have their Chapels of Ease, the generality of the Churches were single Congregations, under the Care of a Parochial Pastor and his Assistants. Justin Martyr represents the Christians of the Town and neighbouring Country, as making up one Congregation. St. Clement assures us, that where there were

Converts enough in the Country, the Apostles constituted Bishops there, as well as in the Cities or Towns. And in Africa we find Abundance of these Bishops planted in more populous Villages. But when the Christians of a City and the neighbouring Country, grew too numerous to be confined to one Congregation, the City Bishop did then indeed, instead of dividing his overgrown Parish, keep it all under his own Government, set up inferior Assemblies, subordinate to his Mother-Church, like Chapels of Ease to the Parish-Church, still obliging all to communicate at his Altar or Communion-Table. But it was the Metropolitan or Provincial Bishops, that by gradually swallowing up the Power of several Parochial Bishops, first formed *Dioceses* of the modern Extent and Size. The Question then is, 1. Whether it be a Matter of Divine Right, that wherever the Christian Inhabitants of a Parish grow vastly too numerous to make up one Church, and there is a Necessity of setting up more Congregations, those new Congregations, should be only Chapels of Ease to the first Parochial Church, and be committed to mere Curates? Or, be made new Parish-Churches, and have their own Parochial Rectors? If this be Matter of Divine Right, our Clergy may arraign the Legislature of violating it, whenever they divide any overgrown Parish into Two or Three. And, 2. Whether it be of Divine Right, that many Scores or Hundreds of such Parochial Bishopricks should be all swallowed up, and their Parochial Bishops turned into mere Curates, to make up one *Diocesan Church*, under the sole governing Power of one *Diocesan*, who alone shall have Power to excommunicate or ordain in that large District? And if Mr. Dr--- will offer us one good Argument from either Scripture or the Writers of the Two or Three First Centuries, to prove these Two Assertions, it shall be carefully examined.

The Truth is, These Words of Mr. Dr--- point us to the true Spring of the First Deviations from the Simplicity of the Apostolical Age: Many of the Episcopal Churches planted in the greater Cities about the End of the Third, and especially in the Fourth and Fifth Age, became like our overgrown Parishes with their Chapels of Ease, supplied by the Curates that were under the Parochial Rector, the Mother-Church only having an Altar or Communion-Table, at which they all communicated. As these Chapels of Ease, and the Congregations assembling there increased, there was a Liberty allowed to the Curates to celebrate the Lord's-Supper in them. But all the Curates were kept in the like Subjection to the Bishops, that they were when there was but one Congregation under their common Care. Nay, the Country or Village Bishops, were first brought into some kind of Subjection to the City or Town Bishop; and when Ambition grew, they were gradually put down, and Canons made against constituting Bishops in Villages or very small Towns, and that for a Reason suitable to their Humour that made them, *Ne vilescat nomen Episcopi*. Nay, the City or Town Bishops were brought into some Subjection to the Bishop of the chief City in a Province, and the Ecclesiastical Government was gradually cast into the same Mould with the Civil. And this gave rise to the Power of Metropolitans and Patriarchs, and at last to that Claim of being Universal Bishop, which was so warmly contested between the Bishops of the Two Imperial Cities of Rome and Constantinople, till upon the Declension of the Eastern Empire, the Roman Bishop by a thousand vile Artifices erected the Fabrick of his Universal Supremacy and Monarchy. But to pretend God's Authority for all the Changes, which were the visible Effects of humane Ambition, and stamp a Jus Divinum on the Fault of every aspiring Diotrephes, would ill become any one versed in Church History, and capable to trace there the woful Effects

fects of this *secular Pride* in the *Divisions* and *Corruptions* of those Churches where it most effectually prevailed and reigned. It deserves more to be lamented than defended by any considerate Observer. And the very first of these Changes, though but a small Step to what followed, happened too late to lay any tolerable Claim to true Primitive *Antiquity*.

For what Mr. Dr--- adds, concerning *Epaphroditus* being *Bishop* of *Philippi*, because he is called their *Apostle*; I need only in Vindication of what Mr. B--- had said in the *Postscript* against what Mr. Dr--- now offers, suggest the following *Particulars*.

1. There is no manner of Ground to believe, that *Epaphroditus* was an *Apostle* in the proper Sense of that Word. He had neither the necessary *Qualifications* of an *Apostle*, nor the *distinctive Powers* that were the *Distinctive Characters* of the *Apostolical Office*. (I have shewn this, where Dr. Barrow's Characters of the *Apostolical Office* are vindicated from Mr. Dr---'s slender Exceptions.)

2. 'Tis inconsistent with the *Obligations* of an *Apostle*, to become the fixed and stated *Ruler* of a particular Church, and to make the Government of it his *ordinary Care* and *Charge*. As I shall shew in the *Remarks* on the next Chapter.

3. There is no Evidence of the Church of *Philippi* being any more than a *single Congregation*. This *Congregation* had its *Bishops* and *Deacons* already. And if we should suppose *Epaphroditus* constituted the *chief Pastor* of it, it would signify nothing to prove the *Divine Right* of a *Diocesan Bishop*.

4. 'Tis not true, That the Word *Apostle* never signifies in the New Testament a *Messenger sent from Men to Men*.

Both those Passages Mr. B--- had produced sufficiently justify the contrary.

For 2 *Cor.* viii. 23. Mr. Dr---'s Objections against the Exposition of that Text are of no Force. For his First Objection, viz. "That they are not called the *Apostles* of those Churches whose Alms they carried, but simply *Εκκλησιῶν* of the Churches, i.e. of their own, of which they were *Bishops*, and though they did carry the Charity of several Churches, yet they were sent by St. Paul and not by those Churches, ver. 18, 22.

Ans. St. Paul's sending them is no way inconsistent with their being sent by the Churches. Thus the Brother whom St. Paul sent with *Titus*, was chosen of the Churches to travail with their charitable Contributions. And we may much more reasonably suppose the same concerning those other Brethren that are called at v. 20. *The Apostles, or Messengers of the Churches*. And

'tis not probable, that any Churches would unnecessarily send their stated *Rulers* on such an Errand as would deprive them so long of their Labours, when some of the *Deacons* might be as fitly employed in that Service. Nor has Mr. Dr--- answered the Argument offered from their being distinguished by the *Apostle* from *Titus* whom he calls his *Partner* and *Fellow-Helper*, whereas this Title most fitly belonged to them, had they been *Apostles* in the proper Sense of the Word.

For his second Argument, That they are called *Apostles* before they went to *Corinth*, and therefore could not be called *Messengers* with respect to the Contributions they brought from thence.

Ans. I know of none that suppose them called *Messengers of the Churches*, on the Account of the Contributions they brought from *Corinth*; they are called *Messengers of the Churches* by whom they were chosen to travail with their Alms, and on the Occasion of this Service they were deputed so, and only took *Corinth* in their way, where they expected some considerable Addition to the Contributions they had already brought with them.

For his third Reason, That one of these Persons sent with *Titus* by St. Paul is supposed to be either St. Luke or Barnabas.

Ans. Supposing we grant this as a probable Thing, that it might be St. Luke or Barnabas, or (as *Theodoret* and *Oecumenius* conjecture) *Apollas*, What signifies this to the Argument? For this Brother is as truly distinguished from the Brethren that are called the *Apostles* or *Messengers of the Churches*, as *Titus* is.

For that other Passage, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Servant is not greater than his Lord, nor he that is sent [Αποστολῆ] greater than he that sent him*. Though 'tis true that this Passage is applied to Christ and his Apostles, yet 'tis as evident, that our Lord argues from the general Notion of a *Servant* and *Lord*; a *Messenger* and him that sends him; and from the known *Inferiority* of the Former to the Latter concludes, that what he their Lord whose *Servants* and *Messengers* they were, had condescended to do, would not be unbecoming them. No *Servant* being greater than his Master, no *Embassador* or *Messenger* greater than he by whose Authority he is sent.

And yet after all, should we grant him without the least convincing Evidence, that the *Pastors* of any particular Churches were here called *Apostles of those Churches* in the proper Sense of the Word, what signifies this to prove the *Divine Right* of a *Diocesan Bishop*? Or what Shadow of Proof has this Gentleman produced to prove, that it was *Diocesan Churches* that they are called *Apostles* of? And yet unless he prove this, he does but destroy the Cause he would support.

REMARKS ON Chap. VII.

THIS Chapter is taken up in proving St. James the proper *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*.

If our Author would make any Use of this Argument in favour of the *Diocesan Cause*, he must prove that St. James had all the Christians of that City, and the neighbouring Country (making up several Congregations with their distinct *Communion-Tables*) as his *ordinary Charge*, appropriating to himself the Powers of (what he

calls) *Confirmation*, *Excommunication*, and *Ordination*, and exercising the like Authority over the *Bishops* or *Presbyters* set over those several Churches, that *Diocesan Bishops* now exercise and claim as their Right over the *Presbyters* of their *Diocese*.

But to my great Surprise, I do not find that Mr. Dr--- makes any Attempt to prove this; but thinks that his being called by some of the Ancients *Bishop of Jerusalem* is sufficient, though he has not in all his Book given us one Instance

stance of a *Diocesan Bishop* in all the three first Centuries. I shall therefore content myself with a few *Remarks* on his Argument as he proposes it, and the *Defence* that he makes of it.

I. That *St. James* was an *Apostle* is a Matter beyond all Dispute, though whether he was one of the *Twelve* be not so certain, yet Mr. B— has shewn the *Affirmative* to be much more probable.

II. That *St. James* took up his ordinary Residence at *Jerusalem*, is also an utter Uncertainty.

'Tis true, We find him present at the Council of the *Apostles, Elders, and Brethren* held there, *Acts xv.* That *St. Paul* three Years after his Conversion met him and *Peter* there, and fourteen Years after his Conversion found *Peter, and James, and John* at *Jerusalem*, is true. But if we should thence conclude, that either *St. Peter* or *St. John* took that Church for their ordinary Charge, we should draw a false Inference contrary to Matter of Fact; and therefore the bare Silence of the Scriptures concerning *St. James's* travelling into other Parts of the World to propagate the Gospel, is no Argument at all, that he did not herein follow the Example of the other Apostles, but made *Jerusalem* the Place of his fixed Residence: And therefore the Foundation of the Argument itself is but a precarious Supposition. Nay it seems to me an improbable one, because for an Apostle to have made any particular Church his stated and ordinary Charge, seems not to consist with their Commission to go and teach all Nations, to go into all the World, and to preach the Gospel to every Creature, and to preach Repentance and Remission of Sins among all Nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*, [*Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. 47.*] How the executing this large Commission could be consistent with any of the Apostles making the Church of *Jerusalem* his ordinary Charge, I do not understand.

III. If we should allow that *St. James* fixed his ordinary Residence at *Jerusalem*, I see not what it can signify to the Advantage of the Cause Mr. Dr— undertakes the Defence of.

And this will appear, if we consider the following Particulars.

1. 'Tis a very uncertain and doubtful Thing, whether the Church of *Jerusalem* consisted of one though numerous Congregation, or of several Congregations.

We read indeed of three Thousand converted on the Day of Pentecost, *Acts ii. 41.* But since that was one of their Anniversary Feasts, 'tis reasonable to suppose, that the far greatest Part of these, were such as resorted to *Jerusalem*, from the several Parts of the World into which the Jews were then dispersed; such as *Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, &c.* *Acts ii. 9, 10.* 'Tis true, that at *v. 5.* we read, There were dwelling at *Jerusalem* Jews, devout Men out of every Nation. But *κατοικοῦντες* (as Mr. Mede has judiciously observed) should be there rendered Sojourning, not Dwelling. For they could not be at once Dwellers at *Jerusalem*, and yet Dwellers in *Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, &c.* And *κατοικεῖν* is frequently used to signify only a short Abode or Stay in a Place, where the Persons have no fixed Dwelling. So that of these three thousand Converts, 'tis probable, that very few stayed long at *Jerusalem*, the most returning to the Places of their former Abode; whither no doubt, they would carry the glad Tidings of the Kingdom of God, which themselves had received. We read at *Acts iv. 4.* of

their Number being increased to five Thousand: (Whether the three Thousand mentioned before, are to be included in that Number, is uncertain.) This Company of Believers we find assembled together, at *v. 23, 31, 32.* We read again of Multitudes of Believers, Men and Women, added to the Lord, when those converted before were all with one Accord in *Solomon's Porch, Acts v. 12, 13, 14.* And again, at *Acts vi. 2, 5.* we read of the whole Multitude of the Disciples, being called together by the Apostles. And at *v. 7.* That the Multitude of Disciples increased in *Jerusalem* greatly, and many of the Priests became obedient to the Faith. But this great Increase of their Numbers, immediately brought on so great a Persecution against the Church which was at *Jerusalem*, that they were all scattered abroad throughout the Regions of *Judea* and *Samaria*, except the Apostles. And this Persecution doubtless reduced them to a far smaller Number than many single Congregations are made up of. So that at *Acts xv. 22.* we read of the whole Church at *Jerusalem*, assembled with the Apostles and Elders, and joining with them in the Letter they sent to the Gentile Converts in *Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia.* We read indeed, That when *St. Paul* went up to *Jerusalem* at the Feast of Pentecost, *Acts xxi.* *St. James* and the Elders say to him, Thou see'st Brother, how many Thousands of the Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law, &c. What is it therefore? the Multitude must needs come together, for they will hear that thou art come, do therefore this, &c. But this by no means implies, That these many Thousands did all belong to the Church ordinarily residing at *Jerusalem*; because that Jewish Festival would occasion a great Concourse of Jews from other Parts, and especially of such as with their Profession of Christianity, retained a misguided Zeal for the Observances of the *Mosaic Law.* So that we can make no certain Computation from hence, what the Numbers of those were, that ordinarily made up the Church of *Jerusalem*; besides, that Church might have several Thousands belonging to it, and yet not be more numerous than the Protestant Church of *Paris*, that used to assemble at *Charenton.* Now if the Church at *Jerusalem* did not exceed the Bounds of a single Congregation, if we should grant him, that *St. James* with the Elders took on them the Pastoral Care and Government of that numerous Congregation, what can this signify to prove the Divine Right of a *Diocesan Bishop*, that deprives many Scores or Hundreds of such Pastors of a great Part of their Pastoral Power? And Mr. D— has no where shewn us, That even in this Church of *Jerusalem*, *St. James* assumed the sole Power either of Confirmation, or Excommunication, or Ordination. And yet Mr. Dr— makes it essential to a Bishop, that these Powers be appropriated to him. But we have good Reason to believe he did not, since on all Occasions that are mentioned, he allows the Elders their Suffrage and Vote in all Deliberations about Ecclesiastical Affairs. See *Acts xv. 2, 4, 22, 23.* So *Acts xvi. 4.* The Decrees of the Council, mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, are said to be ordained by the Apostles and Elders. See also *Acts xxi. 18, 20.* And if Mr. Dr— contend for no more than *St. James's* being President or Moderator in this Council of Elders, we shall freely grant it. Such a Presidency was what his Apostolical Character might well allow him to claim.

2. On the other hand, should we follow their Opinion, who suppose the Church at *Jerusalem* to consist of several Congregations, that had each their Elders set over them, I can as little see what it will signify to the Support of Mr. Dr—'s Cause. For he has not offered us the least Shadow of Proof, that *St. James* appropriated to himself

self those Powers of Confirmation, Ordination, and Excommunication, which he makes the peculiar and distinctive Characters of Bishops, as a different Order from Presbyters. And yet this is the main Point he should have proved, if he would have made any thing of his Argument. But if he consult the Bible, he will find nothing that he can conclude from thence, but a probable Supposition, That St. James was, while at Jerusalem, the *Præses* or Moderator of that *Confessus Presbyterii*, to whose Care and Government that Church was committed. And that Supposition will do no manner of Service to his Cause, or Diservice to mine.

4. For what Mr. Dr--- affirms of the Country round about, being a Part of St. James's Episcopal Charge, 'tis his own precarious Assertion, for which he has not produced the least Evidence.

In all the Passages in the *Acts*, wherein St. James is mentioned, there is not the least Intimation of his being concerned in the stated Government of any Churches in Judea, distinct from that of Jerusalem. And therefore 'tis only out of his own Head, that Mr. Dr--- furnishes St. James with this imaginary Diocese. And this Supposition of his, crosses the Grain of true Primitive Antiquity, that assigned to every Church, that had its own Communion-Table in the first Age, its own Bishops; in the second and third Age its own Bishop and Presbyters, (i. e. as I have shewn, its own Rector and Assistant-Curates.) So that unless we suppose the Church of Jerusalem to have been singular in the Model of its Government, and different from all other Primitive Churches, we cannot allow any of the neighbouring Churches of Judea, that had their own Communion-Tables, to have been without their own Bishops; or subject to a Bishop that had not his ordinary Residence among them. And therefore Dr. Hammond's Hypothesis, (as odd as it seems,) is much more plausible than this Gentleman's, who makes St. James the Metropolitan over all the Churches of Judea. But then this will prove the Divine Right of Metropolitans, as a distinct Order from Diocesan Bishops, which Mr. Dr--- very fairly disowns. But the Truth is, Neither the Doctor's Hypothesis nor his, have any Foundation in the Scriptures; and seem only the Result of a strong Imagination, that catches at any Shadows, to make out a Conformity between the ancient and the present Model of Church-Government.

5. Mr. B--- had alledged Dr. Barrow's Reasons against St. Peter's being Bishop of Rome, to disprove St. James's being Bishop of Jerusalem.

To these Mr. Dr--- has offered some Reply, which I shall take Notice of.

Mr. B--- had from Dr. Barrow shewn, "That the making an Apostle a Bishop of a particular Church, confounded those Offices that God had made distinct; that the Office of an Apostle and a Bishop, were not well consistent in their own Nature, the Apostleship being an extraordinary Office, charged with the Instruction and Government of the whole World, and requiring an answerable Care; Episcopacy an ordinary standing Charge affixed to one Place, and requiring a special Attendance there; that it would be a Degradation of an Apostle, to make him a Bishop; and that this was wholly needless, since his Apostleship involved all the Power of inferior Degrees, &c."

To the first Reason, Mr. Dr--- replies, "That it does not appear from Eph. iv. 11. That the Office of an Apostle and Bishop are distinct."

Ans. That those Offices are distinct, and several considerable Powers belonged to the former, which the latter cannot claim, I have already fully proved at p. 271.

To the second Reason, from the Inconsistency of those Offices of an Apostle and a Bishop, Mr. Dr--- replies, That the Apostolical Power might be confined to this or that District for the Good of the Church.

Ans. Mr. Dr--- would do well to shew us, How an Apostle that confined his ordinary Labours to the Government of one particular Church, could execute his Commission of Discipling all Nations, of going into all the World, and preaching the Gospel to every Creature, and of preaching Repentance, and Remission of Sins to all Nations. For these seem to me inconsistent and incompatible. And this one Argument renders it very improbable, that St. James fixed his Residence at Jerusalem, without ever travelling from thence for the Conversion of the Gentiles, and dispersed Jews. Besides, should we suppose Jerusalem his ordinary Residence, the Conversion of the unbelieving Jews would furnish him with so much Work, as would take up the main of his Time and Labours, and render him incapable of attending the Instruction and Government of a particular Flock; which, as Dr. Barrow has observed from St. Chrysostom, is a Work difficult and laborious enough to take up a Man's whole Thoughts and Time.

To the third and fourth Reasons, From its being a Degradation of an Apostle, to make him a Bishop of a particular Church, and therefore unlikely, that he who had that superior Charge, would undertake an inferior one. Mr. Dr--- replies, "That an Apostle and a Bishop, are the same Thing, and that every Bishop has the same Spiritual Jurisdiction the Apostles had; and yet, that it would be no Degradation to the King, to do the Office of a Lord Mayor, or to the Bishop of London, to do the Office of a Vicar."

Ans. That an Apostle and a Bishop, are not different Names for the same Thing, the Reader may see fully proved above, p. 271. The former had several Powers which the latter never could claim. Now, though it would be no Disparagement for a King, upon certain particular Occasions, to do the Office of a Lord Mayor, or for a Diocesan Bishop, occasionally, to do the Office of a Vicar, in Preaching and Baptizing, &c. Yet it would be a Disparagement to a King, to make the Work of a Lord Mayor his ordinary Charge. And so would the Bishop of London esteem it an Indignity, if he were obliged to the Works of a Vicar, as his stated Employment and Business. And therefore it would have been as real a Disparagement to St. James's Apostolical Character, to have made the Government of a particular Church his ordinary and stated Charge, when his Commission both impowered and obliged him to make the Conversion of the Infidel World, his principal and ordinary Work.

To the Seventh and Eighth Reasons, drawn from its being a needless thing to make an Apostle a Bishop, since his Apostolical Authority included that of all inferior Degrees. Mr. Dr--- has no other Reply to make, than, "That it runs upon the Mistake of an Apostle and a Bishop being two distinct Offices, whereas they are the same. Only one, for the sake of Order, is fixed to a certain District, the other is always moving from one Place to another to make Converts."

Ans. Having before cleared the Distinction between the Office of an Apostle and an ordinary Pastor: Having shewed, That all the Powers which Mr. Dr--- makes the distinctive Characters of a Bishop, belonged to every Presbyter, and that the Apostles had, as such, peculiar Powers communicable to no Successors: I must again refer the Reader thither. And he may thence easily see, that an Apostle needed not be made a Bishop, in order to the exercising any Act of Government in any particular Church, and could not, without counteracting his Commission,

mission, confine his ordinary Labours to such a particular Charge.

And for that *Objection* of Mr. Dr---'s, That if St. James was not placed at Jerusalem, to take particular Care of the Church planted there, he would have nothing to do in that City when Peter came there: I can see no manner of Force in it. For why might not two or three Apostles often meet in that City, to consult about the common Interests of the Christian Religion, about the Propagation of the Gospel, the Planting new Churches, and settling Orders for their future Government? Nay, how usual was it for Two of them to travel together, in order to the Conversion of the Infidel World, and both find Work enough to employ them?

Mr. B--- had said, That the Fathers calling St. James Bishop of Jerusalem, might be easily accounted for, by their supposing him the *Præses* or Moderator of the Council of Presbyters there.

To this, Mr. D--- replies, "If by the *Præses* or Moderator, be meant such an Ecclesiastical Officer, as by his Commission had a greater Power than mere Presbyters could have by their Commission, then (saith he) he speaks as I would have him; If he means such an Officer who was no more than a Presbyter, he is not consistent with himself, who owns that St. James was their *Præses*, and an Apostle; And he confesses, That an Apostle had a Power much superior to any Presbyter, &c."

Ans. For these mere Presbyters, i. e. such as have only the Power of Teaching and Administering the Sacraments, but not that of Ruling the Church by Censures, and Ordaining others; they are such Officers as I cannot find in all the New Testament, and would be glad if any could shew me one of them there. But for St. James I have shewn him; That he had by his Apostolical Commission, several Powers that no Successor can claim: So that my granting him such superior Powers as were founded on his unerring Assistance, will do Mr. Dr---'s Cause no Service at all, unless he could shew us, that any Diocesan Bishops have that unerring Assistance, and the peculiar Powers founded thereon. But for the ordinary Powers of Confirmation, Excommunication and Ordination, if Mr. Dr--- will prove, that these Powers were not common with the Apostle to the Elders of Jerusalem, but appropriated to himself, and that he alone exercised these Powers over several Churches in Jerusalem and the Country round about, he will then offer something to the Purpose. But since he has made no Attempt this way, all his Talk of St. James's being Bishop of Jerusalem, is but an empty Noise, and of the same Strain with what he adds, "Concerning the Apostles keeping the Churches they planted under their own Government, till they saw it proper to place single Persons in them, to exercise the same Apostolical Power they

had." Which, as I have shewn before, at p. 284 is not only an unproved Assertion, but contrary to Matter of Fact. To conclude, That St. James had an Authority superior to the New Testament Presbyters, as an Apostle, I freely grant; That he had any superior Authority under the Character of a Bishop, is no way proved; and much less is there any shadow of Proof, that he had a proper Diocese, (consisting of many Congregations for his ordinary Charge,) and in the Government of it appropriated any such Powers to himself, as Diocesan Bishops now claim over all the Churches within their Diocese. And till all this be made out, this Argument from St. James's being called, by some of the Ancients, Bishop of Jerusalem, must stand for nothing. It may make a Noise, but can do no Execution.

And yet after all, if we examine on what Grounds the Ancients called St. James Bishop of Jerusalem, perhaps we shall hardly find any Assertion more precarious and ungrounded. What others say of it, is borrowed from Hegesippus and Clemens. Hegesippus saith indeed, He ruled the Church, *ἡν ἡ τὴν ἀποστολὴν*, not after the Apostles, as St. Jerome renders it, (for all the Apostles, excepting James the Brother of John, mentioned Acts xii. 2. survived him) but with the Apostles. But this speaks him no more the fixed Bishop of Jerusalem, than the other Apostles were, who were none of them Topical Bishops, but Oecumenical Ones. And accordingly, an ancient Author speaking concerning James, saith, he did no less than Peter, *Ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς οὐκ ἐκείνου ἀντιθέσει*. Nay, Epiphanius makes him as much Bishop of Rome as St. Peter or St. Paul. For Clemens, he saith, "After the Ascension of our Saviour, Peter, James and John, the most honoured of our Lord, would not contend for the First Degree of Honour, but chose James the first Bishop of Jerusalem." Rufinus reads it, *Apostolorum Episcopum*. So that it seems his being made Bishop there, was some Degree of Honour above the rest of the Apostles. And therefore the Author of the Recognitions, that goes under the Name of Clemens, tells us, That James, the Lord's Brother, was Prince of Bishops, and by his Episcopal Authority, commanded the Apostles. What pity is it, that these Authors did not make him Bishop of Rome; for then they had furnished the Champions of that Church with a more plausible Pretence for the Papal Supremacy? And now would any wise Man lay any Stress upon such ridiculous and palpable Absurdities, as these, that advance the Episcopal Office above the Apostolical? How much more ridiculous is it then to found a Divine Right upon them? How much more ingenuous is Valesius, a Romanist, who owns that the Books from whence Eusebius borrowed this, are so full of Errors, that there is no Credit due to them? Much more should Protestants be ashamed to stake so high Pretensions on the Credit of such fabulous Witnesses as these.

REMARKS on Chap. VIII.

INOW come to Mr. Dr---'s Eighth Chapter concerning the (pretended) Bishopricks of Timothy and Titus.

Before I enter upon what Mr. Dr--- has offered in this Chapter, I must premise, That if Mr. Dr--- would draw any Arguments from Timothy and Titus, he is obliged to prove, that Timothy and Titus had each a Diocesan Church, (consisting of several Congregations that had their distinct Communion-Tables) for their ordinary Charge, and in this Diocesan

Church appropriated the Powers of Confirmation, Excommunication and Ordination to themselves. How little his tedious Harangue concerning them signifies to any such Purpose, will appear by a distinct Examination of what he has said. And all that is needful to invalidate his Arguments, will be contained in the following Remarks.

I. That Timothy and Titus were left, the one at Ephesus, and the other at Crete, for a short Time, I shall freely grant. That they were left there to

fix them in the Government of any particular Church or Churches, as their stated and ordinary Charge, is, not only an unproved Assertion, but contrary to plain Matter of Fact, (as I shall shew afterwards.)

2. For Mr Dr---'s Question, "In what Capacity they were left, whether as constant Bishops, or only temporary Officers with Apostolical Authority, which was not to continue?" I have a short Answer, That they were left in neither of them. Not as Bishops at all, if he mean such as appropriate the Powers of Confirmation, Excommunication, and Ordination, in a Diocesan Church, to themselves; for they never did so. Not as constant Bishops, for they were designed but for a temporary Abode in those Places, from whence they soon removed; and, as far as we learn, never return'd to them. Not as Officers that pretended to Apostolical Authority; for they were too modest to make any such extravagant Pretensions. They could neither deliver the Doctrines, nor Laws and Institutions of Christ, nor pass any Censures on Delinquents with the Authority of an Apostle, much less could they inflict such extraordinary bodily Punishments as they. But they were left there as Evangelists, whose Work was, to assist the Apostles in their Labours to convert the Infidel World, and to plant and settle Churches among them. And this Service required no more than a temporary short Abode in the Places to which they were sent.

Against this Assertion Mr. Dr--- undertakes to prove these Two Things.

First, "That they were not mere Evangelists."

To prove this, he first pretends to examine the Notion of an Evangelist. Mr. B--- had given this Description of one, that he was an Itinerant Preacher, whom some of the Apostles employed as his Assistant and Fellow-Labourer in planting and settling of Churches.

Against this Description, Mr. Dr--- objects, "That Priscilla and Aquila are called by the Apostles his Fellow-Helpers in Christ, Rom. xvi. 3. And that whatever Aquila might be, Priscilla was no Evangelist."

Answer. If the Apostle had called them his Fellow-Helpers in the Work of Preaching to Infidel Nations, and planting and settling Churches among them; this Argument would have signified something to his Purpose. But it will not follow, that because all the Evangelists were the Apostles Fellow-Labourers, all who might on any other Account be his Fellow-Helpers, must be Evangelists.

Mr. Dr--- proceeds to give us his Description of an Evangelist, viz. "That it signifies any one, either Presbyter or Apostle, that was sent forth to preach the Gospel to an unconverted People or Nation, and to baptize them upon their believing. So that Preaching and Baptizing, was all that belonged to him as such." And this he pretends to be Eusebius's Notion of an Evangelist.

Answer. That Eusebius ascribed no more Work than this to an Evangelist, as such, is utterly untrue; for he not only makes planting the Faith in strange Places, by Preaching the Gospel, but ordaining other Pastors, and committing to them the Cultivation of those whom they brought in, to be a Part of their Office. So that Eusebius's Description of an Evangelist, is the same with what Mr. B--- had given. See Euseb. Lib. III. c. xxxiii.

But Mr. Dr--- undertakes to prove, That Excommunication and Ordination did not belong to an Evangelist, as such; and since these Powers belonged to Timothy and Titus, they must be more than mere Evangelists. To this Purpose he tells us, "That Philip and Timothy are the only Two Persons who are called Evangelists. For Philip, he tells us, we read of his Preaching and Baptizing, but he could not lay on Hands, either for Confr-

mation or Ordination; but the Apostles were forced to send Peter and John to lay on Hands on those new Converts; which had been needless, if Philip had any Commission to perform it."

Answer. If Mr. Dr--- will please to look back to p. 261. of these Remarks, he will find, That all the Foundation of this Argument, is a palpable Mistake of his own; as if the laying on of Hands, mentioned Acts viii. 14, 15. was for any such Purpose as either Confirmation or Ordination. I have there made it evident to any that will not shut their Eyes, that the laying on of Hands, mentioned in that Place, was in order to the communicating the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit, (such as the Gift of Tongues, of Healing, of Prophecy, of Miracles;) and Timothy and Titus had as little Power of imparting these extraordinary Gifts as Philip. So that this Passage no more proves, that Philip had not the Power of Excommunication and Ordination, than it would prove that Timothy and Titus were never vested with them, since they never laid on their Hands to any such Purpose. But to lay on Hands in Ordination, is as truly ascribed to the Presbytery, as it is to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14. To judge those within the Church, and cast scandalous Offenders out of it, is ascribed to all that teach and rule in it, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. To lay on Hands for conferring the sanctifying Operations of the Holy Spirit, is ascribed to none at all. These Powers therefore of Excommunication and Ordination, were so far from arguing a Man to be more than an Evangelist, that they do not argue a Man to be more than a Presbyter. They were common to all Pastors and Teachers whatever, and much more to all itinerant Teachers, whom the Apostles employed as their Assistants in planting and settling of Churches. But they were (as I have shewn him) far short of those Powers that were distinctive Characters of the Apostolical Office.

The Second Thing that Mr. Dr--- undertakes to prove, is, "That that Power and Authority which Timothy and Titus exercised at Ephesus and Crete, was not temporary, but to continue in the Church for ever."

Answer. If he mean, the Powers of Excommunication and Ordination, I freely grant him, that they are to continue for ever; and have proved, That all Pastors and Teachers in the Christian Church, are vested with them. And therefore Mr. Dr--- need not take any Pains to prove, that Teaching, Admonishing, Rebuking with all Authority, and Ordaining fit Persons to serve in the Church, are not temporary Works, but of perpetual Use. But for Mr. Dr---'s Argument to prove it, viz. That whatever Ecclesiastical Power Christ invested the Officers of his Church with, was of perpetual Continuance; and that Timothy and Titus were Successors of the Apostles in the Plenitude of their Power, and that they must have their Successors therein." These Three Propositions on which it is founded, are all of them untrue in Fact. Timothy and Titus could not deliver the Doctrines, and Laws, and Institutions of Christ with the same Authority the Apostles did, since they had no such Promise of the constant unerring Assistance of the Holy Spirit. Nor could they claim such a Submission to their Judgment in those Matters as the Apostles might. Nor could they rectify and reform all Abuses with the same Authority as the Apostles could. Much less had they any such Powers of conferring the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost, or of delivering Men to Satan, for the Destruction of the Flesh, as the Apostles had; and therefore they were far from succeeding them in the Plenitude of their Apostolical Power. And much less did any of the Parochial Bishops or Presbyters, that were afterwards settled either at Ephesus or in any Part of Crete, pretend to derive any such Plenitude of Apostolical Power from Timothy or Titus. All that they pretended to succeed the Apostles, or Timothy and Titus in

in, was in the ordinary Branches of the Pastoral Office, (such as Teaching, being Guides in publick Worship, exercising Church Censures, ordaining others to the same Office.) And Mr. Dr---, though challenged thereto, [Postscr. p. 133.] has not produced us the least Proof that any Bishop of Ephesus had such an extensive Commission with respect to other Churches, as Timothy had by being an Evangelist; or that any single Bishop, as the Successor of Titus, took the Island of Crete for his Episcopal Charge, or at the same time could lay as much Claim to Dalmatia and other Parts as his Province, as Titus did. So that Timothy and Titus, as Evangelists, (i. e. as employed by the Apostles as their Assistants and Fellow-Labourers in the Planting and Settling of Churches through the Infidel World,) had in Fact no Successors, that we can read or hear of. The Bishop of Ephesus in Ignatius's Time, was no more (as I have shewn him) than a Parochial Pastor that had a single Congregation for his ordinary Charge, which Timothy never had, unless we suppose him to have deserted his Flock soon after he had undertaken the Care of it. He was no more the Bishop of Ephesus, than of Philippi, Berea, Rome, or any other Place, where he made as long a Stay as he did there. And if he must have Successors, why should they not claim all those distinct Churches for their Dioceses? But they had too much Judgment, and too just a Sense of the Weight of the Pastoral Function, to think one Man capable of making the Government of so many Churches, his ordinary and stated Charge. And Timothy himself never undertook any such impossible Work.

3. Whereas Mr. Dr--- brings it in as an Objection of ours, "That Timothy and Titus must be only temporary Officers, because the Power of Ordination seems to be given them as exclusive of the Presbyters of Ephesus and Crete." I must tell him, That I know of no one that makes Use of any such Argument to prove them temporary Officers.

'Tis not probable in Matter of Fact, that there were any Presbyters settled either at Ephesus or in Crete, when those Epistles were wrote to them. And so the Apostles directing Timothy and Titus to ordain Elders, is no Proof that those Elders when ordained, could not afterwards commit the same Doctrine to other faithful Men, which they had received themselves. And though we should suppose Elders there already, it will not follow, that because Timothy and Titus have Directions concerning Ordination given them, that those Directions did not concern the Elders as well as themselves; or that those Elders settled there, were not to concur in such Ordinations. For the ordaining Power, is in the first Epistle to Timothy, as plainly ascribed to Presbyters, as it is to Timothy. The utmost that can be made of it, is, That these Assistants of the Apostles, who were more fully instructed in the Doctrine of Christianity, than any New Converts could be supposed to be, were the fittest Judges of the Qualifications of such as were to be ordained, and therefore were to have the chief Hand in the Management of Ordinations, during their temporary Abode in those Places. But this no way proves, that the Presbyters of those Churches were excluded from this Power, when Timothy himself had been ordained by such. And for Mr. Dr---'s Challenge, to produce him one Presbyter that claimed this Power before Aetius, it is fully answered at p. 265. and may be retorted with another, to produce one Diocesan that ever was concerned in any Ordination for Two Hundred Years or more after the Apostles Time. But if such Parochial Bishops, as are now called mere Presbyters, had no Power of Ordaining, the Line of Succession is utterly broke and lost. And yet these Parochial Rectors did not exclude their Assistant Curates from concurring in Ordination with them.

4. Mr. Dr--- comes at last to the main Objection

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against the pretended Episcopacy of Timothy and Titus, that Timothy and Titus had no fixed Relation to the Church of Ephesus, or that of Crete, as their ordinary Charge. And,

First, To begin with Timothy.

Mr. B--- had told him, That the Scriptures mention no such Thing, as the Apostle's leaving Timothy the fixed and settled Bishop of Ephesus.

It is no way implied in the Apostle's beseeching him to abide still at Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia, 1 Tim. i. 3. For we read of Timothy's abiding at Berea, though he quickly removed thence to Athens, Acts xvii. 14, 15 — To this Mr. Dr--- replies, "That the Word used in this last Place, is ὑπέμενον, which implies their bearing the Brunt, whereas the Word used, 1 Tim. i. 3. is ἐσομέναι, which is seldom or never used but of a settled or continual Attendance on some particular Actions, as 1 Tim. v. 5.

Ans. If he consult Lexicons, they will inform him, that ἐσομέναι, signifies a Stay or Abode in any Place, whether temporary or perpetual, long or short. But how comes this Gentleman to take so little Notice of the plain Evidence offered him from St. Paul's Epistle to him, that the Apostle designed only a temporary Abode, not a fixed Residence, since he both fixes the Time of it, viz. till he came to him, 1 Tim. iv. 14. And he tells him, that he would come shortly, 1 Tim. iii. 14. So that he designed him only for a short Abode and temporary Service there. For in his Second Epistle, which was wrote soon after this, he calls him to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 9, 21. and thence carries him with him to the Hebrews, Heb. xiii. 23. And Timothy (as Dr. Whitby observes) at the Writing of that Second Epistle, was not then at Ephesus, since the Apostle advertises him of his sending Tychicus thither, 2 Tim. iv. 12.

Mr. Dr--- does indeed take some Notice of this Objection against Timothy's being constituted Bishop of Ephesus, viz. his frequent Removals from Place to Place.

To this he answers, "That though this were true, it could not unbishop him, nor deprive him of that Authority over the Church and Clergy, which was committed to him by the Apostles. And that the true State of the Controversy is not, Whether Bishops were settled in this or that District by Christ and his Apostles; but whether there were left in general some particular Persons, invested with that Power which we call Episcopal, and which no mere Presbyters ever justly claimed?"

Ans. If it be granted, (as it must be by all that do not shut their Eyes against clear Evidence,) that Timothy had no more a fixed Relation to the Church of Ephesus, than to any of those other Churches, which the Apostle sent him to visit, all Pre-tension of his being constituted Bishop of Ephesus, is overturned. And yet this must be granted, by all that consider, that he had no more any fixed Residence in that Church, than in any others he went to. For common Reason will dictate, that a Bishop's ordinary Residence should be in the Church he undertakes the stated Care and Government of; otherwise he grossly counteracts the Obligations of his Office. Even the Bishops of the Trent-Council, were generally so sensible of this, that it was not without great Difficulty, that the Court of Rome could divert them from declaring Residence to be of Divine Right. And even they themselves freely declare, "That the Duties of the Pastoral Office could not be performed by such, as instead of watching over their Flocks, do like Mercenaries desert them." These Gentlemen therefore little consult the Honour of Timothy, in making him Bishop of Ephesus; when if he was so, he must have been almost a perpetual Non-Resident. Nay, since those other Churches had as much

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Reason

Reason to claim him for their Bishop in which he resided, as much or more than ever he did at *Ephesus*, he must be a strange kind of *Pluralist* too. But these gross Corruptions, had no Place in the Christian Church, while it retained any thing of its Primitive Simplicity; and much less were they found in a Person of *Timothy's* Character. And therefore *Timothy* could be no Bishop, unless they will allow him a great Number of *Episcopal Churches*, and those at a very remote Distance, to make up his large scattered *Dioceses*; of which, while he attended one, the rest must be neglected.

But Mr. Dr-- has very different Sentiments; for he tells us, "*Timothy's* frequent Removals from Place to Place could not unbishop him, nor deprive him of that Authority he had over the Church and Clergy, that was committed to him by the Apostles." But I would gladly know, what he means by *Unbishops* him; for if he means depriving him of the Spiritual Powers of *Excommunication* and *Ordination*, he need not be concerned; for they belonged inseparably to the Office of every Teacher in the Church, and much more to these *Itinerant Teachers*, that were the *Apostles Fellow-Labourers*. And when he says, "It could not deprive him of his Authority over the Church and Clergy committed to him by the Apostles." I would know what Church he means, Whether the *Catholic Church*, or such a particular Church as that of *Ephesus*, or *Philippi*, or *Corinth*, &c. If he means the *Catholic Church*; if *Timothy* had any such Authority over the *Universal Church*, and the Clergy thereof, let Mr. Dr--- acquaint us, who has ever since been his Successor in it. If he have none, how can his pretended Authority, prove the Divine Right of any *Diocesan Bishop*? If he means such a particular Church as that of *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, &c. that was by the Apostles committed to him, then the forementioned Difficulties return, which of these particular Churches was committed to him, since he performed the like Service in all of them, and since he resided as much in many other Churches as in that of *Ephesus*? Or why all those Churches in which he resided for some Time, and performed the same temporary Service, in order to their Settlement, may not equally pretend to be his *Episcopal Charge*? And then these Gentlemen must make both a *Non-Resident* and a *Pluralist* of him. And such his Successors must be too, if his Example be sufficient to build a *Divine Right* upon.

And whereas he tells us, "The Question is not, Whether Bishops were settled in this or that District by Christ and his Apostles, but whether there were in general, some Persons invested with that Power which we call *Episcopal*, and which no mere *Presbyters* ever justly claimed?"

To this I answer, If by *Episcopal Power* he means, the Power of admitting Men into the Christian Church, of excommunicating notorious and impenitent Sinners, and absolving them when Penitent, and of ordaining others to the Pastoral Office, we not only allow some Persons to have been invested with it, but affirm all those to be invested with this Power, that were made such Bishops or Presbyters as are mentioned, 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i. This Power was conveyed to all those that were appointed Pastors and Teachers in the Christian Church, being never divided by the Apostles, as this Author groundlessly imagines. And therefore for his mere Presbyters that had none of these Powers, they are entire Strangers to the Bible. 'Tis true that after the Apostolical Age, the Pastors of particular Churches were distinguished under the Name of Bishops and Presbyters (as Parochial Pastors are now into Rectors and Curates,) and some Superiority allowed to the former in managing

the Affairs of the Congregation; and so those that discharged the inferior Office, were subdivided into Deacons and Subdeacons. But the real Question is, Whether the Apostles ever constituted any one Person as the stated or fixed Governor of many Churches, and their several Pastors, appropriating to him the Powers of *Excommunication* and *Ordination*; this is what we could never see any Proof for, and yet what Mr. Dr-- should produce some clear Evidence of, if he would defend the Divine Right of the present Episcopacy. Nay, this Sort of Episcopacy I have shewn him to be as great a Stranger to true Primitive Antiquity, as 'tis to the Holy Scriptures: And such a Bishop *Timothy* never was. And I may add, That if he were the Bishop of *Ephesus*, he was no more than a Congregational Bishop, unless the Church of *Ephesus* were more numerous in the Apostles Time than in *Ignatius's* Days; for I have shewn him from *Ignatius*, that that Church was in his Time only a Parochial one.

5. Mr. Dr--- at length undertakes to maintain, that *Timothy* was left at *Ephesus*, and *Titus* at *Crete*, as the fixed and settled Bishops of those Places.

To this Purpose he tells us, "All the Records of the Church give us as ample a Testimony to this Particular, as any reasonable Man can expect for any Matter of Fact; and we may with as much Reason deny, that there were any such Kings of England, as *William the Conqueror* and *Henry I.*, as deny that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Titus* Bishop of *Crete*."

Ans. Mr. Dr--- must not expect to impose upon the Credulity of Men of Learning by such *Rhomontado's* as this. I hope he will allow the Records of the Holy Scripture to be as credible as any other, and much more credible than the ambiguous Expressions, or uncertain Reports of particular Writers of after Ages. But if those Records be true, I will not with him say, 'tis as certain, that *Timothy* was never the fixed Bishop of *Ephesus*, nor *Titus* of *Crete*, as that there ever were such Kings as *William the Conqueror*, and *Henry I.* But I may safely say, that the contrary Assertion is utterly improbable; and few pretended Matters of Fact are capable of a fuller Confutation from the sacred Records. For what can more satisfyingly demonstrate, that *Timothy* was never the settled Bishop of *Ephesus*, nor *Titus* of *Crete*, than that by the Account of their Labours and Travels it appears, that they spent the far greatest Part of their Time and Labours among other Churches; that their Abode in those was very short, their Service there quickly dispatched, and their Abode in other Churches was of as long or longer Continuance, than in those that are supposed to be their fixed Charge? Would any Man call him the fixed Bishop of *London*, that should only perform the Episcopal Functions there for a Year or two, but who for twenty or thirty Years after is found to perform the same Episcopal Functions in most other Dioceses of England, nay, in many Dioceses of France, Spain, Italy, &c? Can such an *itinerary Ministry* as this, consist with a Man's fixed Relation to a particular Church, which enjoys no more of his Labours and Care than twenty or forty Churches more?

But saith Mr. Dr--- "His Occasional Journeys could no more Unbishop him, than such frequent Removals and Journeys would Unpresbyter him."

Ans. And does he think, That any Church would think him their settled Presbyter, who had undertaken the Pastoral Instruction and Conduct of them for his stated Charge, if he should only officiate a Year or two among them, and spend the far greatest Part of his Life in officiating in other

other Parochial Churches? This would not indeed nullify his Office, but it would blast his Character and Reputation with the Parochial Church, which he had undertaken the fixed Charge of; but so unwarrantably deserted to serve other Churches that he had no fixed Relation to. And no doubt, any Parish-Church that he used so ill, would discard him from being their Presbyter. But such frequent Removals were very consistent with the Office of an Itinerant Teacher, who was to assist the Apostles in Planting and Settling of Churches, and with whose Office and Work it was therefore inconsistent to take any one of them for his fixed and ordinary Charge, since he could not do that without fixing his ordinary Residence among them. Whereas his Office obliged him to such frequent Removals, and that often to far distant Countries. And those Removals, were not as our Author calls them Occasional, (i. e. Accidental, upon some extraordinary Emergencies,) but what he must ordinarily make to pursue the Ends of his Itinerant and unfixed Ministry.

And therefore Mr. Dr--- has no other Shift left than to flee to Bishop Pearson's Hypothesis, "That Timothy was not made Bishop of Ephesus, till after his Travels, mentioned in the Acts, were over. That the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, was wrote in the Year 64, and the Second Epistle three Years after, and both long after St. Paul's Valedictory Speech to the Elders of Ephesus, mentioned Acts xx.

In Opposition hereto, Mr. B--- had shewed him from Mr. Owen, that St. Paul left Timothy at Ephesus, and wrote his First Epistle to him before his first Imprisonment at Rome, and the Second Epistle during his first Bonds there.

Mr. Dr--- very warily tells us, the only Question is, "Whether Timothy was left at Ephesus before St. Paul called the Elders of the Church from thence to Miletus.

To this I might Answer, That this is not the only Question, because if it appear, that the Second Epistle was wrote during the Apostle's first Imprisonment at Rome; it thence evidently follows, that Bishop Pearson's Chronology is wrong, whenever we suppose the First Epistle to be wrote; and so the Argument founded on it, is invalidated. And therefore Mr. Dr--- was obliged to answer the Arguments Mr. B--- had offered from Mr. Owen, to prove the Second Epistle wrote during the Apostle's first Imprisonment.

But because I take their Account, who suppose the First Epistle wrote before St. Paul's meeting with the Elders of Ephesus at Miletus, to have some Connexion with the other, I shall fairly examine the Two Arguments Mr. Dr--- has offered to disprove it.

The First runs thus, "That St. Paul wrote not his First Epistle before his Meeting with the Elders at Miletus, will be evident to any one that will diligently read the sixth and xxth Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. For St. Paul being come to Ephesus, Acts xix. 1. and having made Twelve Prophets by the laying on of his Hands, v. 6. after he had staid Two whole Years, and had preached the Gospel to all those which dwelt in Asia, v. 10. St. Paul purposed in the Spirit, when he had pass'd thro' Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem. This is the Time Mr. Owen supposes Timothy to be left at Ephesus, v. 21. But we may observe, 1. That instead of his being left at Ephesus, he and Erastus were sent from thence into Macedonia, and we cannot find that he returned before St. Paul followed him. For immediately after their Departure, there arose no small Stir about that Way. The rest of the Chapter is entirely spent in shewing the Confusion and

Cause of that Tumult, and by what Discretion it was appeased. This Tumult being over, St. Paul immediately goes into Macedonia, Acts xx. 1. not one Word being mentioned of Timothy's Return. Nay, 'tis impossible he should have been in Macedonia and back again so soon. Therefore it is impossible, that Timothy should be left at Ephesus at this Time."

Answer. The Argument which Mr. Dr--- here offers to prove, That St. Paul wrote not his First Epistle to Timothy, before his Meeting with the Elders from Ephesus at Miletus, is so far from being convincing and satisfactory; that 'tis founded on several Mistakes, as will appear from the following Account.

St. Paul spent at Ephesus and in Asia, Three Years in all. For Acts xx. 31. he tells them, That for Three Years, he had not ceased warning (or instructing) them Night and Day. Three Months of that Time, he taught in the Jewish Synagogue, Acts xix. 8. Two Years he taught in the School of Tyrannus, Acts xix. 9, 10. There remain Nine Months to make up the Three Years. And those make up the Season that St. Paul staid in Asia, after he had sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, Acts xix. 22. Most of those Nine Months, the Apostle most probably spent in the neighbouring Cities and Towns of Asia, returning towards the End of them to Ephesus. 'Tis during this Time of Nine Months, that I suppose Timothy to go into Macedonia, and after the Service he performed there, to return to St. Paul at Ephesus, with whom he was present at the Time of the Tumult and Uproar raised by Demetrius, mentioned in the End of the xixth Chapter. After the Uproar, Paul returned into Macedonia, leaving Timothy at Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3. And upon his Arrival at Macedonia; he wrote that First Epistle to him, wherein he tells him, That he hoped to come to him shortly. But changing his Purpose of returning to Ephesus, he sent to Timothy to come to him in Macedonia, whither Timothy came; and joined with the Apostle in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. i. 1. which was sent to them from Philippi by Titus and Lucas. From thence he went into Greece, staying there three Months, and particularly from Corinth wrote his Epistle to the Romans. From Greece he purposed to sail into Syria, but understanding that the Jews lay in wait for him, he returned into Macedonia, and coming thither from Philippi, he sent before him Seven Companions of his Travels, of whom Timothy was one, ordering them to stay at Troas till he came to them. Thither he came, and after Seven Days Stay went on Foot to Assos, where his other Companions, that went by Sea, took him in, with whom he sailed to Mitylene, Trogyllium, and so to Miletus, where he sent to Ephesus for the Elders of the Church.

There are in this Account two Matters of Fact supposed, that are not mentioned by St. Luke, in his brief Account of St. Paul's Travels; the one is, Timothy's going to Macedonia, and returning from thence, during those Nine Months that the Apostle staid in Asia, after his having sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia. The other is, Timothy's Return to St. Paul in Macedonia soon after the Uproar. But as there is no Impossibility in either of these Matters of Fact, so the bare Silence of St. Luke concerning them, can be no reasonable Objection against them, there being many other Matters of Fact, that are omitted by him, which St. Paul's Epistles inform us of.

But that these are not mere precarious Suppositions, but such as are founded upon solid Grounds from the Sacred History, and such as must be allowed to render that Part of Sacred Chronology consistent with itself, will appear upon the following Reasons.

I. There

I. There is this plain Evidence, That St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy, was wrote before his Meeting with the Elders at Miletus, that in that Epistle, St. Paul did then purpose to return shortly to Timothy at Ephesus, and therefore orders him, *till he came to give Attendance to Reading, &c.* But in his Speech to the Elders from Ephesus at Miletus, he plainly tells them, that *he knew, they should see his Face no more,* which Declaration of his filled them with so much Sorrow, v. 38.— This he could know no otherwise than by Divine Revelation. So that unless we suppose him mistaken in what he pretended Divine Revelation, for (and such a Supposition will not consist with the Reverence due to the positive Asseveration of an inspired Apostle;) we must allow these Words to be spoken after the writing of that Epistle, wherein he expresses his Intention and Hope of coming to Timothy at Ephesus. And there is no such dangerous Consequence to be drawn from the Apostle's being disappointed in what he only intended. For we often read of his being diverted from executing what he had proposed by the immediate Direction of the Spirit of God. Thus we read at Acts xvi. 6, 7. That when Paul and Silas had gone through Phrygia and the Region of Galatia, they were then forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the Word in Asia; and after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not. St. Paul might therefore be disappointed in his Purpose of returning to Timothy at Ephesus after the Uproar raised there, without any Reflection on his Apostolical Inspiration. But the Credit of that must greatly sink, if we should suppose him mistaken in a Prediction that he utters with such a solemn Asseveration, as that Acts xx. 25. So that we must allow this Matter of Fact, that the Epistle was wrote before that Meeting, unless we make the Apostle to be mistaken in what he delivers as a Prophetical Prediction. And there is no other way of clearing the Truth of it, but the Matter of Fact here supposed, viz. Timothy's returning back to Ephesus during the last nine Months St. Paul spent in Asia, and most probably near the Expiration of them.

II. That St. Paul wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy during his first Imprisonment at Rome, is clearly proved from the many Arguments produced from Mr. Owen, to which Mr. Dr--- has offered no Reply. And on that Supposition of the Second Epistle being wrote during his first Bonds, this Matter of Fact I lay down must be allowed true. For the Apostle wrote that Epistle to him when he went into Macedonia. But he never went into Macedonia, in the Time between his Meeting with the Elders at Miletus and his first Imprisonment; for he went from Miletus directly to Jerusalem, whence he was sent Prisoner to Caesarea; and after two Years Abode in Custody there, was sent to Rome, and came not near Macedonia all that Time. So that his going into Macedonia must be before this Meeting at Miletus, if his Second Epistle was wrote during his First Imprisonment at Rome. And there is no other Time to allot for his Journey from Ephesus thither, but after the Uproar. And Timothy must have been with him, and have been left there when that Tumult happened. And must have also returned to him in Macedonia, both in order to his joining with him in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians from Philippi, and coming back with him to Troas, and so to Miletus.

III. These two Suppositions, I have laid down, render the whole of this Part of sacred Chronology clear and consistent.

We may observe from Acts xviii. 19. That St. Paul, A. D. 55. came first from Corinth to Ephesus. From thence he sailed to Caesarea, and went up

to Jerusalem, and thence went down to Antioch, and thence going over the Regions of Galatia and Phrygia came again to Ephesus, Acts xix. 1. and from thence (not from Rome) wrote his first Epistle to the Galatians. (For in that Epistle he makes no mention of his Bonds, as he does in all the other Epistles wrote during his Imprisonment.) This was A. D. 56. At Ephesus he stayed three Years. In the last Year of his Abode there, he sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia; and upon the coming of Stephanus, Fortunatus and Achaicus to him thither, he wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians relating to the Schism raised in that Church, not from Philippi, (as the Postscript mentions,) but from Ephesus. As appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 8. I will abide at Ephesus till Pentecost. And there he supposes that Timothy would pay them a short Visit, and would with other Brethren hasten his Return to him at Ephesus, or one of the neighbouring Cities. See v. 10, 11. Accordingly I suppose Timothy to return to him before the Uproar happened. And in that Epistle only Soften joins with him. And in the same Epistle, he declares his Intentions to come to them when he passed through Macedonia, 1 Cor. xvi. 5. Accordingly the Uproar obliged him to leave Ephesus, (probably somewhat sooner than he had intended.) From Ephesus where he left Timothy, 1 Ep. i. 3. he came to Troas in his Way to Macedonia, where he made some stay, and finding not Titus there, he had no rest in his Spirit, but went thence into Macedonia. After some considerable Time spent in visiting those Churches, Timothy came to him from Ephesus before his passing into Greece, mentioned Acts xx. 2. And accordingly joins with him in the Second Epistle he wrote to the Corinthians from Philippi by Titus and Lucas. For St. Paul met with Titus in Macedonia, by whom he was greatly comforted in the good Account he had brought him concerning the Church of Corinth, 2 Cor. vii. 5, 13, 14. Thus we see, how these several Passages illustrate one another, and confirm the Truth of both those Suppositions I have made, and (what is very material) every way consist with the Truth of the Apostle's Prediction, that he should see the Faces of the Elders of Ephesus no more.

And by this Account also, it appears, that Timothy was so far from being the settled Bishop of Ephesus, that his Abode there was but very short, perhaps not of much longer Continuance, than his Abode at Berea, from whence he so soon removed to Athens. And since after this First Epistle, the Apostle leaves the Government of the Church of Ephesus, to the Care of the Elders that met him at Miletus, all Pretensions of Timothy's settled Government over them as their Bishop is overturned. For as to the Second Epistle, 'tis most probable, that Timothy was not at Ephesus when it was wrote to him. (As I have shewn from Dr. Whitby.)

I might here add, That besides the many Arguments alledged from Mr. Owen to prove, that the Second Epistle to Timothy was wrote during St. Paul's first Bonds at Rome, which (as I have shewn) necessarily suppose it to be wrote before his Meeting with the Ephesine Elders at Miletus, I might intorce some of them, and subjoin others that confirm the Truth of this Hypothesis. I shall only suggest these.

I. 'Tis observable, That in St. Paul's First Epistle he makes no mention at all of his being then a Prisoner, but on the contrary was at Liberty, and therefore purposed to return to Ephesus. But in the Second Epistle to Timothy, he speaks of his suffering Trouble, even unto Bonds, and therefore exhorts Timothy not to be ashamed of the Testimony of our Lord, nor of him his Prisoner, but to be Partaker of the Afflictions of the Gospel according to the Pow-

er of God, 2 Tim. ii. 9. i. 8. He here speaks of his Bonds as a new Trial, under which he exhorts Timothy (who most probably had not yet met with the like Treatment) not to be ashamed of him the Lord's Prisoner, or the Cause he suffered for; this is easily accounted for, if we suppose this to be the Apostle's first Imprisonment at Rome. But the Caution appears strange and needless, if this was the Apostle's second Imprisonment, since Timothy had been already his Fellow-Sufferer in his First Bonds, and had already with all Courage owned him and his Cause under those Sufferings.

2. Though the Apostle was not actually released from that Imprisonment mentioned in his Second Epistle to Timothy when he wrote it, yet he had a certain Prospect of his Release. He mentions his first Answer (or Apology) before Nero, and intimates his Acquittal thereon, though he was not yet discharged. He tells us, That God had delivered him from the Mouth of the Lion, and would deliver him from every evil Work, that he might yet preach to the Gentiles, 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17, 18. And as he then expected Timothy's speedy coming to him, so in his Epistle to the Hebrews, wrote after this, he mentions Timothy's being set at Liberty, with whom he intended to come to them, Heb. xiii. 23. And in his Epistle to the Philippians, he mentions his Design of sending Timothy to them, and his Trust in the Lord, that he himself should shortly see them, Phil. ii. 19, 24. The same Confidence he expresses in his Epistle to Philemon, and accordingly orders him to prepare him a Lodging, Phil. 22. Now this can no way agree to his Second Imprisonment, in which he had no such Prospect of Deliverance, from which he never was released, but actually suffered Death, as a Martyr for the Cause of Christ. Let any impartial Reader then judge, how utterly improbable it is, that this Epistle should be wrote in his second Imprisonment at Rome.

I now come to Mr. Dr---'s Second Argument against St. Paul's writing his First Epistle to Timothy, before his Meeting with the Elders at Miletus.

"That he did not (saith he) will be evident, if we observe, St. Paul acquaints the Elders which were at Ephesus, after they were come to Miletus, of what should happen to them hereafter, and therefore warns them to Care and Watchfulness. For he addresses himself to them in the future Tense: I know this, that after my Departure, shall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not sparing the Flock; also of your own selves, shall Men arise speaking perverse Things, to draw Disciples after them. But in the First Epistle to Timothy, which, according to Mr. Owen and Mr. B---, was wrote some Time before this Charge was given at Miletus, those very Things which he told the Ephesians would come to pass, had happened before he wrote the Epistle; which could not be, if it had been written before the Meeting at Miletus. Thus St. Paul assigns this as the chief End of his leaving Timothy at Ephesus, namely, to charge some that they taught no other Doctrine, &c. because some having swerved from the Truth, were turned aside to vain fangling, &c."

Ans. There is no solid ground at all to suppose that those mentioned, 1 Tim. i. 3, 6. as teaching other Doctrine, swerving from the Truth, and turning aside to vain fangling, are the grievous Wolves that should tear the Flock, mentioned in his Charge to the Elders at Miletus, or the Men among themselves that should speak perverse Things, to draw Disciples after them. Those whom the Apostle mentions, 1 Tim. i. 3, 4, 5, &c. seemed to be Judaizing Christians, that would mix the Observance of the Mosaic Law with Christianity. The grievous Wolves that should tear the Flock, Acts xx. 29. were most probably either open Enemies to Christianity and Persecutors of it, or such Hereticks as would overturn the essential Prin-

ciples of the Christian Religion, and persecute those that adhered to them. Nay, 'tis most probable, that the Apostle in that First Epistle to Timothy, does not suppose this Error of the Judaizing Christians, to have actually spread much in that Church of Ephesus, but rather in other Churches, (as in that of Galatia, Colosse, &c.) and therefore cautions Timothy to prevent their being diffused into that of Ephesus. And that it had not actually spread much there, we may reasonably conclude from that Epistle which the Apostle wrote to the Ephesians some Years after; when a Prisoner at Rome, in which he gives not the least Intimation of the Errors of the Judaizing Christians having obtained among them, nor gives them the least Caution against them, as he does to other Churches in which they were actually spread. Nay, in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, there is no mention made of the Judaizing Christians, or of any Division they had occasioned in any of the Churches among whom Timothy then laboured. We have no Reason therefore to conclude, that these grievous Wolves, mentioned Acts xx. 29. had entered into that Church of Ephesus, or torn the Flock, when the First Epistle was wrote to Timothy; and accordingly this Argument of Mr. Dr---'s is of no Force to overturn that Hypothesis.

He saith, "There are other Observations which overturn Mr. Owen's Conjecture." If he will please to produce them, they shall be examined; and I believe will be found to have less Weight than those he has offered.

Mr. Dr--- saith, "'Tis acknowledged by all, that Timothy was at Ephesus when St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to him. And it cannot be positively proved, that he after removed from it, unless he went to see St. Paul a little before his Martyrdom."

Ans. I believe indeed that Timothy was then at Ephesus, but he should not say, 'tis acknowledged by all, when (as I shewed him) Dr. Whitby doubts of it. But if he was there then, we have as positive a Proof as Matter of Fact can well admit, that he did remove from it; because in the Second Epistle from Rome the Apostle expected him there: And in that to the Hebrews, 'tis evident he was there, and that not in St. Paul's last Imprisonment, and immediately before his Martyrdom, as Mr. Dr--- supposes. For St. Paul and Timothy were then at Liberty, and designed to come to those Hebrews to whom St. Paul wrote.

Mr. Dr--- adds, "'Tis also certain, that St. Paul's Second Epistle supposes Timothy to be at Ephesus, because he is desired to salute the Household of Onesiphorus, and Aquila and Priscilla, who were all Ephesians."

Ans. Though the Debate about Timothy's being fixed Bishop of Ephesus no way depend upon it, yet this is so far from being certain, that Dr. Whitby saith, quite contrary to Mr. Dr---, "'Tis evident, that Timothy was not then at Ephesus, because St. Paul tells him, that he had sent Tychicus to Ephesus, which there was no Occasion for, if Timothy was at that Time there himself, 2 Tim. iv. 12." And Mr. Dr---'s Argument for Timothy's being then at Ephesus, is far from making it certain. That Priscilla and Aquila, and Onesiphorus were Ephesians, is no way proved. 'Tis true, Apollos found them at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 6. But 'tis not said, they were Inhabitants there; much less is this said any where of Onesiphorus. But should we grant, they were Inhabitants at Ephesus, Mr. Dr---'s Argument is not conclusive. For all that he can infer from it, is, that Timothy was either at that Time not very far from Ephesus, (and that I grant him, as in general very probable, because he is ordered to bring the Cloak left at Troas) or rather, that Timothy in coming to him might have Occasion to pass through Troas to Ephesus; and that also

is probable enough; because if he was at or near *Troas*, *Ephesus* would lie in his Way to *Rome*: Whereas if he was at *Ephesus*, and was to come from thence to *Rome*, *Troas* would be considerably out of his Way, when he was to use Diligence in coming shortly to the Apostle at *Rome*, v. 9.

Mr. Dr--- at last tells us, "That though Mr. Owen's Chronological Account were true, he cannot see, how it would destroy the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of *Timothy*." He therefore brings Mr. B--- in as arguing thus: "That after this pretended Settlement of *Timothy*, the Apostle designing to take his last Farewel of this Church, commits it entirely to their Care, without taking the least Notice of their pretended Bishop, though then present, (or at no great Distance from them.) Nay, he assures them, that the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers or Bishops thereof."

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, "That this Charge given to the Elders of *Ephesus*, is very different from that given to *Timothy*. The same Works are not given to both, but some are reserved to *Timothy* himself. Indeed the Charge at *Miletus*, allows the *Ephesian* Elders to feed and take the Oversight of their particular Flocks, in such Subordination to Bishops as the Epistle to *Timothy* puts them in. This was never denied any *Presbyter* under the Episcopal Government, and therefore can be no Objection."

Ans. If Mr. Owen's Chronological Account be true, 'tis manifest, that *Timothy's* Abode at *Ephesus* must be very short; and it does not appear, that ever he returned to reside among them. Let any impartial Reader then judge, whether the Pretence of his being their settled Bishop, be not a most precarious and groundless Supposition, and confuted by plain Matter of Fact, viz. "Many other Churches enjoying much more of his Presence, and Residence, and Care, after his pretended Settlement in that. Would any Man say, such a one was settled Bishop of a Church, that spent a Quarter or Half a Year only in it, and all the rest of his Time for many Years together in distant Parts of the World? And if *Timothy* was not then settled Bishop of *Ephesus*, and never, that we know, returned to reside there; then the Argument is strong and conclusive, that after the Meeting at *Miletus*, the Government of it was committed to the *Presbyters* in common in the Apostle's Valedictory Speech to them, and that as the great Remedy against the Schisms the Apostle foresaw might arise.

But, saith Mr. Dr---, "The same Works are not committed to both, but some reserved to *Timothy* himself? The Elders being allowed to feed and oversee the Flock, but in such Subordination to their Bishops, as the Epistle to *Timothy* puts them in."

Ans. What Works does Mr. Dr--- mean, that were reserved to *Timothy* himself? Not that of admitting adult Members to Communion upon the Recognition of the Baptismal Vow, which some call Confirmation; for then no such adult Members could be admitted during *Timothy's* Life, after he left them, and so this necessary Work must be left undone. Not that of Excommunication; for all Teachers in a Church had a Power to judge those within, and to cast scandalous Persons out of their Communion. And this Work must also have ceased upon *Timothy's* leaving them. Not that of Ordination; for this very Epistle is so far from appropriating it to *Timothy*, that it ascribes it to the *Presbytery* as their ordinary Province, 1 Tim. iv. 14. Not that of Government or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; for the Apostle in this very Epistle, ascribes this *Negativa* or Government to all Elders, especially them that laboured in Word and Doctrine, 1 Tim. v. 17. Nay, all these Acts of

Government are included in feeding the Flock. Otherwise the Commission of Christ to the Apostle Peter himself, John xxi. 17. impowered him only to teach in the Church without ruling in it. And if *Timothy* was not the settled Bishop of this Church, and at the Time of this Charge of the Apostle's, had no Prospect of any future Residence in it, it concerned the Apostle at that Meeting to appoint another Bishop for them, in Subordination to whom, they might for the future act. But this he is so far from doing, that he commits the future Care of it to these Elders themselves, as his last Charge to them, and gives them no Intimation of any superior Officer they were for the future to act in Subordination to. And this Epistle to *Timothy*, is so far from putting these Elders in any stated Subordination to any fixed Bishop, that after the writing it, the sole Government of that Church is committed to the Elders in common. Nor had *Timothy* himself during that short Residence among them, any proper Jurisdiction over them as subject to him; but was only desired by the Apostle to give them such Directions from him as might tend to their better Settlement, after which the Apostle in taking his Farewel of them, intrusts the Government of that Church to their Care, without the least mention of the Jurisdiction of any single Person over them. So that here is clear Evidence that destroys the whole of Mr. Dr---'s Scheme.

And after all, I must add, That could any Man prove, (which I despair of seeing,) that the Apostle left some single Person with a Superiority over these Elders in this Church of *Ephesus*, it would be so far from proving the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy, that it would overturn it. For if the Church of *Ephesus* was only then Parochial or a single Congregation, (and I have shewed it was no more in Ignatius's Time, when Christianity had spread more,) this would only prove the Superiority of a Parochial Rector. But I have fully proved the Diocesan, to be entirely subversive of this Parochial Episcopacy. And let any Man judge whether such weak and ill-supported, and even inconsistent Fancies as these, be a solid Foundation to build so vast a Superstructure as the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy upon?

I now come to the pretended Episcopacy of *Titus*.

As to this Mr. Dr--- is pleased to tell us, "That there is as much Evidence of his being Bishop of *Crete*, as there can be for any Matter of Fact whatsoever, if we will give any Credit to *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Ambrose*, &c."

Ans. These Writers lived at too great a Distance from the Apostolical Age, and were too much used to speak of it in Conformity to the Customs and Style of their own, to be allowed as decisive Judges of this Debate, especially when what they affirmed of *Titus's* being the settled Bishop of *Crete*, is so notoriously contradicted by the Writers of the New Testament, who are much more credible Witnesses of such a Matter of Fact. And accordingly, Mr. B--- had shewn him, that if the common Account of Chronologers be allowed, this Epistle to *Titus* was wrote before *St. Paul's* first Imprisonment at *Rome*, and the several Accounts of *Titus's* Travels after that, plainly demonstrate, that he was no more the settled Bishop of *Crete*, than of *Corinth*, *Nicopolis*, or the Province of *Macedonia*, *Dalmatia*, or other Places where he performed the like temporary Service. And the Epistle to him plainly imports his Service there to be only temporary, since the Apostle calls him from thence to return to *Nicopolis*. And that the Reports of his returning to *Crete*, (as some would have it,) of his going to *Italy*, (as others,) are given us by such whose Accounts are no way to be depended on.

To

To all this Mr. Dr--- makes no other Reply, than that he finds nothing in it, but what has been sufficiently answered; but refers us to no Author in whom any such Answer is to be found. So that we must take that Matter on his own Word.

But I must tell him, That upon mature Consideration of this Matter, I am well satisfied, that neither Dr. Lightfoot's nor Bishop Pearson's Account of the Date of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus are true, and that the Epistle was wrote before St. Paul's Journey to Macedonia, mentioned Acts xx. 1. and therefore many Years before his Release from his first Imprisonment at Rome. St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Romans, dated from Corinth, and sent by Phæbe, mentions his having preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and round about to Illyricum, Rom. xv. 19. He speaks of the first Time of his being at Jerusalem. And Fourteen Years after he returned thither, Gal. ii. 2. Now it was most probable during these Fourteen Years between his first and second Journey to Jerusalem, that he first visited Crete, and left Titus there to that temporary Service, mentioned Tit. i. 3. And this was probably before St. Luke joined him in his Travels, and therefore makes up no Part of his History in the Acts. And therefore 'tis observable that St. Paul tells us, 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25. of his being five times scourged in the Jewish Synagogues, thrice beaten with Rods, being once stoned, suffering Shipwreck thrice, being a Night and a Day in the Deep, and speaks of his Perils by Sea. Now in the History of the Acts we only read of his being once scourged at Philippi, once stoned at Lystra; but nothing at all of his being so often scourged in the Jewish Synagogues, much less of his being thrice Shipwrecked, or being a Night and a Day in the Deep. He was indeed once Shipwrecked in his Journey to Rome, but that was after the Date of his Second Epistle to the Corinthians. And the History of the Acts mentions nothing of his either Preaching in Arabia, which yet is mentioned, Gal. i. 17. and was probably before his first going up to Jerusalem, nor of his travelling as far as Illyricum. It is therefore most reasonable to conclude, that it was in some Part of these Fourteen Years Travels, that he visited Crete, and left Titus there for that temporary Service mentioned Tit. i. 3. And thence sent for him to Nicopolis, where he wintered, Tit. iii. 12. For that Titus was a Companion of his Travels in some Part of these Fourteen Years, is evident from his bringing him along with him to Jerusalem, which he tells the Galatians he did, Gal. ii. 1, 3. Of Titus we have no farther Account till after the Apostle left Ephesus, Acts xx. 1. In his Journey towards Macedonia, St. Paul expected to meet Titus at Troas from Corinth, but met him not till he arrived in Macedonia, and by him and Luke sent his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 5, 6. compared with Chap. viii. 16, 18. and xii. 18. Of Titus we read no more, till we find him with the Apostle at Rome, and thence he went not to Crete, but to Dalmatia, 2 Tim. iv. 10. So that this Epistle to Titus seems to be the first that the Apostle wrote; and this Account of the many Removals and Travels of Titus after his being first left in Crete for that temporary Service there, entirely destroys all Pretension of his being a settled Bishop there; and any other of those Churches where his Residence was much longer, might with much greater Reason pretend to be his Episcopal Sees. But the Truth is, such an Itinerant Ministry was utterly inconsistent with his fixed Relation to any particular Church as his ordinary Charge and Care.

Mr. B--- had objected, That if the whole Island of Crete was the Diocese of Titus, (according to the present Model of Episcopal Government,) he must be a Metropolitan, not a Dioceſan. That Island

having afterwards had several Archbishops, with Bishops under them.

To this Mr. Dr--- gravely replies, "That he might be a Metropolitan, and yet have a particular Diocese to rule and govern: As the Primate of Ireland has the Diocese of Ardmagh. And that if Mr. B--- will call Titus Metropolitan or Archbishop, he will not find Fault, if he will give him some Power that mere Presbyters could not claim by their Commission."

Ans. We are debating about Matter of Fact. Now, since the Service Titus was to perform at Crete, related to all the Cities where there were any Converts to Christianity made; if Titus was Bishop, he must have the Converts of some one or more of those Cities for his Diocese, and his peculiar Charge: But of this there is not the least Intimation given us in that Epistle. The Service he was to perform, equally concerned all the Christians in that Island, and there is no mention made of those of any particular City being committed to his Care above the rest. So that unless Mr. Dr--- turn the whole Island into a single Diocese, Titus must be a Metropolitan, not a Dioceſan. And then Mr. Dr--- should tell us, where he finds that any single Person ever succeeded him in the Government of that Island. If none did, Then how comes his Government of it to be made an Argument for the Divine Right of Dioceſan Episcopacy, when it no ways appears that he had any Successor in it? Nay, since after Parochial Episcopacy came up, every City that had its Presbyters, had also a Bishop, how comes it, that Titus who was to ordain Elders in every City, never ordained a Bishop to preside among them? For he could no more do the ordinary Work of the Primitive Parochial Bishops, (i. e. preach, administer the Sacraments, censure Offenders, take Care of the Poor, &c.) for many Cities at once, than he could be in some Scores of Places at once. But it was no such Difficulty to perform the Service assigned him, as an Itinerant Teacher in Visiting those Churches, ordaining Pastors among them, and delivering them such Orders as he had received from the Apostle for their future Regulation.

But, saith Mr. Dr---, "If Mr. B--- will call Titus Metropolitan or Archbishop, I will not find Fault with him, if he will give him some Power that mere Presbyters could not claim by their Commission."

Ans. If Mr. Dr--- means the Powers of Confirmation, Excommunication and Ordination, which he makes the distinctive Characters of the Episcopal Office, I have already shewn him, they belonged to all Presbyters; and for such mere Presbyters that have them not, I can find no such in all the New Testament, nor indeed in Primitive Antiquity, tho' one of the Presbyters in every Congregation in after Times under the Name of a Bishop, (and that but a Parochial one,) had the chief Hand in the Exercise of them.

And whereas Mr. Dr--- had inferred from Titus's being required to ordain Elders in every City, that the Power of Ordination belonged not to Presbyters, and was told, that he forgot the Work that Titus was sent for there; since if there had been Presbyters there before, there was no need of his being left to ordain them in every City: To this Mr. Dr--- now replies, "That there were Presbyters there before, is put beyond Dispute by the Records of the Church, and is exactly agreeable to St. Paul's Practice, who always ordained Elders wherever he founded a Church. And that Titus was left to ordain them, because there were not enough ordained for the whole Island, and mere Presbyters could not confer Orders, &c."

Ans. What Records of the Church put it beyond Dispute, that there were Presbyters ordained

in Crete, before Titus was left there, Mr. Dr--- best knows; for I could never hear of any such. I presume, 'tis such Records as told him of the Sedition in St. Clement's Time, by the Presbyters of Corinth against their Bishop, and of the Deacons taking the Bishop's Part, and several other such Matters of Fact. If he will produce us any authentick ones that assert any such Thing, their Testimony shall be considered. That St. Paul always ordained Presbyters himself wherever he planted a Church, is more than Mr. Dr--- has any where proved. That he usually did so, wherever he made any long Stay, will be freely granted. That he made any such long Stay in Crete, is what Mr. Dr--- I believe, will not attempt to prove. If he had, he would not have left so many Things undone, towards the Settlement of his Converts there in due Church Order. And we have just Ground to reckon the Ordination of Presbyters among the [τὰ λείποντα] Things left undone. And no wonder it should be so, when it required some Time to chuse out of his Converts in every City, such as were best instructed in the Christian Doctrine themselves, and best qualified to be appointed Teachers of others. For this Service he left Titus this Itinerary

Teacher. But how it should be hence inferred, that these Teachers should not afterwards be capable of committing the same Doctrine to other faithful Men, which was committed to them as the publick Depositories of it, I cannot see; and presume every judicious Reader will think it a very unreasonable Inference. If they could not, they must want ordained Ministers in that Island to this Day; for I could never find that Titus had any Successor either in his unfixed Ministry, or in this Service he performed for the whole Island. For what he adds of mere Presbyters never claiming this Right, I have already proved, that none claimed this Power of Ordination for Two Hundred Years after the Apostles, but such Parochial Pastors or Bishops, as Mr. Dr--- accounts now mere Presbyters, and that even those Parochial Pastors excluded not their Curates themselves (the ancient Presbyters) from the Exercise of it. And till he has disproved the Evidence I have produced, I hope we shall hear no more of this Argument, from the Episcopacy of Titus, nor be troubled about what his mere Presbyters can or cannot do. For we know of no Divine Institution for such mere Presbyters at all, nor have any such among us.

REMARKS on Chap. IX.

INOW come to Mr. Dr---'s Ninth Chapter concerning the Angels of the Seven Churches in Asia, who (he saith) were single Persons and proper Bishops.

On which I shall content myself with a few brief Remarks.

1. Mr. Dr--- instead of bringing any solid Argument to prove the Angels of the Churches single Persons, endeavours to supply that Defect by the Number of his Authorities, as if it were not as easy for me, were it worth the while, or to any valuable Purpose, to cite him as many and as learned Authors, who understand the Word Angel collectively, as including all the Pastors of the Church. But what would this signify to decide the Question?

2. For those that by the Angel understand both Pastors and the Churches under their Care, Mr. Dr--- may see his Objections against their Opinion answered in Pool's Criticks. But because that is not my own, I shall only consider, what he objects against theirs that suppose all the Pastors included under the Name of the Angel.

3. Mr. B--- had said, That since there were more Teachers than one in each of those Churches, they must be included either under the Stars or the Candlesticks. They cannot be comprehended under the Candlesticks, because it was their Office to give Light, they must be therefore comprehended under the Star or Angel. As therefore the Candlestick is taken collectively for the whole Body of the People that are taught, so must the Star or Angel be taken collectively for all that were their authorized Teachers. For otherwise we must suppose these Teachers excluded from any Share in the Advices given, or Commendations and Censures passed in those Epistles.

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, That this cannot be, till Mr. B--- can make one Angel several Angels. He denies not, "But the rest of the Presbyters may be concerned in these Epistles, though they are addressed to single Persons, who were the Bishops and Governors of those Churches, they be-

ing the most considerable Part of them. Thus St. John, writing to the Church of Smyrna, thus speaks, Fear none of those Things thou shalt suffer, behold, the Devil shall cast some of you into Prison." Now by this Means, the Angel of the Church is not made the whole Company of Presbyters, any more than the Archbishop of Dublin would be made his whole Clergy, if such a Letter were directed to him, &c."

Ans. Mr. Dr--- (on whom the Proof here lies) plainly begs the Question, when he tells us, that one Angel cannot be made several Angels. If Angel be taken collectively, one Angel may signify several Pastors or Teachers. If indeed Mr. Dr--- could prove, that these Epistles make mention of any Clergy distinct from the Angel, there were some Ground for his taking Angel to signify a single Person. But this he never attempts. And I cannot find any Ground to conclude any such Thing. There are no settled Teachers distinct from the Angel, either applauded or censured in all those Epistles. The false Apostles mentioned, Rev. ii. 2. were no such settled Teachers, but vagrant Impostors. Those that called themselves Jews, but were of the Synagogue of Satan, were not of the Clergy but Laity, Rev. ii. 9. Such were they that held the Doctrine of Balaam, v. 14. Such was Jezebel that called herself a Prophetess, v. 20. Such were those that called themselves Jews, but were of the Synagogue of Satan, Rev. iii. 9. And since there is not the least Intimation of any settled Teachers in those Churches, as distinguished from the Angel; it does follow, that either they are comprehended under the Name of Angel taken collectively, or are unconcerned in the Advices, the Commendations, and Censures there delivered. As for Mr. Dr---'s Parallel, it supposes such a Conformity between the present and the Primitive Model of Church Government, as I have already fully disproved in the Remarks on his Second Chapter.

Mr. B--- had also objected, That the Angel of the Church of Ephesus is charged with leaving his first Love, and threatened that if he repented not, his Candlestick should be removed out of its Place. But where

where would be the Reason and Justice of such a Sentence, if only the Bishop was faulty, but the rest of the Presbyters and People free? And Mr. B--- had added, That those who suppose Timothy then Bishop of Ephesus, do in Effect charge him with this Crime. To this Mr. Dr--- replies, "That the Case would be the same, if we take Angel for all the Pastors."

Ans. It would not be the same, because it is more reasonable to suppose that this Declension of Zeal had spread among the People too, if all the Pastors were infected, than if one single Person, (i. e. one Diocesan Bishop,) only were guilty. For then many Parochial Congregations, and their Pastors too, might be unconcerned in the Guilt. And for the Reflexion that is here cast upon Timothy on the Supposition of his being then Bishop of Ephesus, Mr. Dr--- passes it over in Silence.

Mr. Dr---, to solve the Objection, has advanced a new and somewhat surprizing Interpretation, That by Removing the Candlestick out of its Place, is meant, that the Church of Ephesus should no longer be the Metropolitan Church, and the Bishop of it have no longer a Superiority over the other Bishops of the Lesser Asia. So that the Bishop is threatened to lose his Metropolitan Honour, and here only the Bishop is punished for his Offence.

Ans. That the Church of Ephesus was a Metropolitan Church in the Apostolick Age, Archbishop Usher has no where proved, nor is there any Shadow of Ground to believe, that any such stated Prebeminence of the Bishop of the Metropolis above his Brethren, obtained in the Second (not to say the Third) Century. Ignatius in his Epistle, mentions the Bishop of Ephesus; but takes not the least Notice of his Metropolitan Dignity. If this were the Sense of the Place, the Superiority of a Metropolitan would be a Matter of Divine Right. But this Mr. Dr--- himself fairly denies, when he tells us, That the Superiority of an Archbishop is a Matter owing only to Civil Constitution. There had been no such Civil Constitution at that Time in Favour of the Metropolitan Dignity. And therefore Mr. Dr---'s Interpretation is guilty of the Absurdity of threatening the Bishop of Ephesus to degrade him from a Dignity, which (according to himself) he never enjoyed, nor was like to do, till the Government of the Empire came into the Hands of Christian Emperors.

His Answer to the Third Argument drawn from Rev. ii. 19. is founded on the precarious Supposition of some Clergy in the Church of Thyatira distinct from the Angel. For which he has offered nothing that has the Appearance of an Argument.

4. Mr. B--- had farther said, That if we understand the Word Angel of a single Person, it will by no Means prove him to be a Diocesan Bishop. And accordingly Mr. B--- had shewed him, that the most Learned Antiquaries, (such as Mons. Basnage, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Stillingfleet,) tell us, the Phrase was borrowed from the Jewish Synagogue, and signified only the Inspector or Superintendent of the Congregation, who was of no distinct Order from the other Teachers of it, but was only Præses in the Bench of Elders.

To this Mr. Dr--- replies, That Mr. B---'s Reasoning thereon, being founded entirely on the Jewish Synagogue, he has said enough of it already, Chap. VI. and that he has all along excluded the Question about Diocesan Bishops.

Ans. What Mr. Dr--- has offered in his Sixth Chapter, has been considered and refuted in the Remarks on it. He will also find in the Remarks on his Second Chapter, That in Ignatius's Time, the Churches of Ephesus and Smyrna were no more than Parochial or Congregational ones. And therefore we may justly conclude them to have been

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such, when these Epistles were wrote. But for what Mr. Dr--- adds, "That he excludes the Question about a Diocesan Bishop;" He might as well tell us, That he gives up the Cause. For 'tis the Conformity of the present Diocesan Episcopacy to the Government of the Apostolical and the immediately succeeding Ages, he has undertaken to defend as a Matter of Divine Right. And I know of no other Episcopacy now Established, but what is Diocesan, not Parochial. And these Two I have shewn him to be incompatible, and the Former built on the Ruins of the Latter. So that he has brought the Dispute to a fair Issue, if he gives up the main Point in Debate.

I shall only add, That if the Angel here be supposed a Parochial Bishop as Præses of the Bench of Presbyters, it does by no Means follow, that he appropriated any such Powers as those of Confirmation, Excommunication, and Ordination to himself; nor has Mr. Dr--- offered one Syllable from those Epistles to prove, that they were appropriated to him. And for the Churches of the Three First Centuries, I have shewn him, that they did it not, even after a greater Distinction between the Bishop and his Presbyters, (i. e. the Parish Rector and his Assistants,) obtained in the Church, than we can trace any Footsteps of in the Apostolical Age, and in the Time wherein Clemens Romanus flourished.

For Dr. Maurice, let Mr. Dr--- try, Whether he can furnish him with Arguments to overthrow what is alledged in the Remarks on his Second Chapter to prove the Primitive Episcopacy Parochial, and not Diocesan.

5. For the Proposals towards an Accommodation at the Savoy Conference, Mr. Dr--- saith, "It were easy to shew, who were to blame why it had no better Effect, and what unreasonable Terms were insisted on by the Dissenters to break it off."

Ans. That Matter has already been set in so clear a Light in Mr. Baxter's Life, and in the Papers that passed on both Sides, as is sufficient to convince all unprejudiced Persons, That the Commissioners on the Nonconformists Side, went as far as their Judgment and Conscience would allow them towards an Accommodation of those Differences, (and particularly in proposing Archbishop Usher's Model of Episcopacy, which was far enough from what this Author calls a Presbyterian Parity.) Whereas the Majority of the Commissioners on the other Side were inflexible, and made not one Step by any considerable Concessions towards Unity and Peace. And therefore to lay the Guilt of the Division that ensued, on those that did their utmost *salva Conscientiâ* to prevent it, instead of charging it on those whose unrelenting Stiffness and Rigour, in making the Terms of Conformity harder than ever they had been before, was the true Cause of it, will not be thought with impartial Men, the judging righteous Judgment. And I would in Charity advise Mr. Dr---, not to draw any Part of that Guilt on his own Head, by any Attempt to defend it.

Mr. Dr---'s Hand being in, he adds, "That he could demonstrate, that the Interest (in keeping up the Division) lies on the Side of the Dissenting Teachers; and it would add to their (i. e. the Conforming Clergy's) Interest, if they had no Regard to their Consciences, to promote Presbytery."

Ans. If Mr. Dr--- can demonstrate this, i. e. That 'tis more a Teacher's Interest to be on that Side where 40 l. or an 100 l. per Annum of precarious Contributions, is the utmost he can usually expect to arrive to, than to be on that Side, where he may expect (if he be a Man of Learning and Merit, or Interest,) to reach to the Legal Revenues of a Deanery, or a Bishoprick; (besides all the secular Dignity

Dignity that is entailed on the latter,) he may next set up for proving *Transubstantiation*; for the latter does not carry a more open Contradiction to *Sense and Reason* than the former.

The CONCLUSION.

I NOW come to Mr. Dr---'s Conclusion, and since it contains little of Argument, shall dismiss it with the following Remarks.

1. How Mr. Dr--- has managed this Controversy, and with what Success, I shall freely leave to the Reader's Judgment, on his impartial perusal of these Remarks.

2. As to Blondel's Apology, Mr. B--- had said in his Postscript, That he has undeniably proved, that the Presbyters of the Fourth and Fifth Ages had a far greater Share in the Government of the Churches, than the present *Diocesan Frame* allows them.

Mr. Dr--- in Answer to this, tells us, "That Blondel frankly professed, he wrote that Book only to please a Party." And to prove this, he produces a Letter of Dr. Peter Du-Moulin to Mr. Durell.

Answer. Were all the Matters of Fact mentioned in the Letter true, they prove no such Thing as what Mr. Dr--- asserts, That he confessed his having wrote that Book only to please a Party. They prove no more, than that he struck out those particular Expressions at the Request of some Friends. Besides, a Man may think well of the ancient *Parochial Episcopacy*, and wish it restored, that has no such Thoughts of that *Diocesan Episcopacy*, that is destructive of it: And it is not Blondel's Authority that we value, but his Arguments, his Book having never received any full or satisfactory Answer. But Mr. Dr--- will here find the Controversy set on another Foot, viz. the true Extent of the Primitive Bishops ordinary Charge; and consequently the utter Inconsistency of the Primitive Episcopacy with the present *Diocesan Model*, which Mr. Blondel has scarce once touched on in his whole Book; and which entirely overthrows all Arguments for the Divine Right of *Diocesan Episcopacy*, drawn from the Practice of the Primitive Church, after the distinction of Bishop and Presbyters obtained in it.

3. As for Grotius, he might justly assert the early rise of *Parochial Episcopacy*; but if he trace it up to the Apostles Time, I hope what has been offered is sufficient to prove the contrary. But I must again ask, What this signifies in Defence of the present *Diocesan Model*, that has put down these Ancient Bishops, and ingrossed several Powers of many Scores of such Bishops into one single Hand? And if Mr. Dr--- goes on to confound these two inconsistent Things, I hope no intelligent Reader will ever do it.

But what need this Author trouble himself with answering the Arguments of Grotius, when he will find Work enough to answer those offered, and now defended?

For the Apostles, I have shewed him, they committed the Government of every particular Church, (such as that of Ephesus,) not to one, but more Bishops. And St. Clemens assures us, they did so not only in Cities, but in the Countries.

For the Reformed Churches abroad that want the *Diocesan Form* of Government, I have shewn, That Mr. Dr---'s Principles null their Ordinations and Ministry. And though he pretends not to draw that Consequence himself, it does unavoidably flow from them: And it is so absurd and uncharitable a Consequence, as should oblige him to examine again and again the Truth of those Principles, from which so wretched a Conclusion may be justly drawn. And I hope what has been

said may convince him, that the Principles have as little of Truth, as they have of Charity; and for the pretence of the reformed Churches being necessitated to want *Diocesan Episcopacy*, I have fully disproved it from their publick Confessions of Faith, where they found their Form of Church Government upon the equality of all ordinary Pastors, according to the Doctrine of the New-Testament.

4. For the Argument which Mr. Dr--- subjoins from Dr. Beveridge, viz. "That there are no Ecclesiastical Canons or Laws, on which the distinction and superiority of Bishops from and above Presbyters is established; and which (he tells us) is an undeniable Proof, That the Episcopal Order and Authority, owes its beginning not to Ecclesiastical, but to Apostolical Institution," &c. It has received so full an Answer in the foregoing Papers, that I need only add a few brief Reflections thereon.

That the *Diocesan Episcopacy*, (about which the Debate lies) is the same with the Primitive Congregational Episcopacy, is the very Foundation of Dr. Beveridge's Argument. But this I have at large proved the Falshood of, and I hope with demonstrative Evidence.

'Tis another Foundation of Dr. Beveridge's Argument, that the Primitive Bishops claimed the same Authority over their Presbyters, that *Diocesan Bishops* now claim over theirs. But this also I have shewn to be an egregious Mistake.

Since I have fully proved the Distinction between the Primitive Bishop and Presbyters, to have been only that between the Rector of the Parish, and his Assistant-Curates, I would desire Mr. Dr--- to shew us, when this Distinction between the Rector and his Curates begun? On what Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons it was first established? By what Law, by what Authority do Rectors claim such a Presidency over the Curates, in managing the Affairs of their *Parochial Church*? Why do they usurp a Power they cannot claim from Christ or his Apostles? And why did the Curates so tamely submit to the Usurpation, or never murmur or complain of it? If he can resolve this Superiority of the Parish Rectors into no other Original than the Custom of the Church, what need he seek any higher for the same Distinction between the Primitive *Parochial Bishop* and his Presbyters? And he knows that St. Jerome has assigned the same Original of that, viz. the Custom of the Church, and has assigned also the end and use of it to preserve the Unity of particular Churches, which was thought better secured by one Pastor's being chiefly intrusted with the Care and Government of every Parish Church; than by an Absolute Parity among many. I may add, That as the Ancients divided the Office of Pastors, so they did that of Deacons. But can Mr. Dr--- tell us when this Division begun, on what Ecclesiastical Law or Canon it was first established? How some Deacons came first to have a Superiority over others, called their Subdeacons? Now if this Division of that lower Office in the Primitive Church into two Degrees, had no higher Foundation than mere Custom, what need we seek for any other Original of the Division of the Bishops or Presbyters Office? (which so manifestly appears to be one and the same in the Apostles time. See 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.) I might also mention several Rites of Worship that generally obtained, the beginning of which cannot be traced, nor any Ecclesiastical Canons or Laws assigned for their Establishment. (Such as mixing the Wine with Water in the Eucharist, for which Cyprian groundlessly alledges Apostolical Tradition, &c.) And yet it would be absurd to pretend any Divine Institution for them. If indeed the change in the Primitive Form of Government had

had been what Mr. Dr---'s Argument supposes it; That whereas every particular Church or Congregation had several Pastors or Rectors, one Man undertook at once to deprive some Scores or Hundreds of them, of a great Part of their Pastoral Authority, and had engrossed it into his own Hand, with respect to all the Churches of a large Province; then indeed it would have been very unaccountable, if such a remarkable Change had been yielded to without any murmur or complaint. But when a Bishop's Church was at first confined to the bounds of a single Congregation; when it gradually swelled to the bounds of an overgrown Parish: When City Bishops gradually put down the Power of the Chorepiscopi or Country Bishops, turning them by degrees into mere Curates; when their Episcopal Churches were many Ages on the increasing hand before they arrived at the bulk of modern Dioceses, the change is very easily accountable: And 'tis no difficult thing to name several Canons that helped forward this Alteration in favour of Episcopal Grandeur, (as I might instance in those that forbid the making Bishops, not only in Villages, but lesser Towns; and those that subjected the Bishops of lesser Cities, to those of greater ones.) The Truth is, he must be an utter stranger to Church History, that does not know, That the Preheminence of Bishops, both with respect to the extent of their Charge, and the Powers they claimed, did by several steps arrive to its present height: And that many of these were complained of and opposed, though in vain. So that this mighty Demonstration, is after all founded on a palpable mistake of plain Matters of Fact, and vanishes when those are truly represented.

5. For the Advice he offers to Dissenters at the foot of this imaginary Demonstration, they can easily tell him, That they are far from being in love with implicit Faith, having no such Clause in their Confession of Faith, as that which is (by what means I pretend not to say,) inserted in the Twentieth of the thirty-nine Articles, That the Church has Authority in matters of Faith. That 'tis such as he, that digests not only improbable but absurd Paradoxes. (Such as that of Parochial being the same with Diocesan Episcopacy.) And they have in this Matter a fair offer to make to Mr. Dr--- Let but every Parochial Church have its Bishop and Presbyters; let these Bishops have the same Power (and no more) than the Ancient Parochial Bishops had; and let no Diocesan deprive many Scores of them, of several branches of their Power by engrossing them into his own Hands; and if they make this Form of Church Government any ground of Separation, (when no other sinful Terms are imposed) then they will allow Mr. Dr---'s Charge, That their Principles would have obliged them to separate from the whole Christian Church for fourteen hundred Years. And since Christianity flourished under this Parochial Episcopacy for some Centuries before Diocesan Episcopacy ever appeared, and much more before it generally prevailed; Mr. Dr--- may see how weak and impertinent his Harangue appears. If he

be in good earnest for the Ancient Episcopacy's being restored, let him get it effected, and we will give him a thousand Thanks. If he be not, to what purpose does he represent us as opposers of it? Nay, how justly may the Argument be retorted, that if those who plead for the Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy had lived in the two or three first Ages, their Principles must have obliged them to cut off themselves from the whole Christian Church; and to have declared all their Ordinations (and consequently all their Sacraments) void and null, because there was then no Diocesan Bishop to ordain at all. Whereas our Principles would have obliged us to no such harsh Censures of them, or Separation from them. Because, though we think not this Superiority of a Parish Bishop or Rector, above his Presbyters or Curates, to have been of Divine Institution; yet we should never have made it any ground of Separation, because Discipline might have been exercised, and all the great Ends of Church Government attained, under that Form and Model of it; and even the Laity themselves (who have the best Title to the Name of the Church; however the Clergy strive of late to monopolize it) would be allowed their Liberty of Advice and Consent in the management of Church Affairs; and their right of electing their own Pastors, as they enjoyed it for many Ages. But if this Gentleman and others of his Stamp, be against the restoring of Primitive Episcopacy, let them (as he speaks) put their hands upon their Hearts, and enquire how they can answer it to God and their Consciences, why they so warmly contend for that Diocesan Episcopacy that is destructive of the Primitive? Why they not only plead for the Divine Right of it, but condemn all those as Schismatics that dissent from it, and prefer the Primitive Episcopacy before it; nay even declare all their Ordinations, and all their Ministerial Administrations (though performed by true Primitive Bishops) null and void? We no way dispute the Matter of Fact alledged in Sir E. D's Speech, and Sir Thomas Ashton's Review, that there were Congregational Bishops in the Primitive Church. We think there were no other in the Apostolical Age. We do indeed think Subject-Presbyters or Curates to be a Deviation from the Apostolical Practice, but should never make it a Ground of Separation where it does obtain. But if those Gentlemen speak of Diocesan Bishops, it will appear from the foregoing Remarks, that no such Bishops can be found in the best and purest Times. And those that deny this, run their Heads against all the early Monuments in the Christian Church. And of this I am so fully persuaded, that I shall on this Occasion borrow Mr. Dr---'s own Words, Truth is too bright and glorious to be always eclipsed; it will certainly shine out some time or other; and it would not fail to do so even in this particular (of the Primitive Episcopacy being only Parochial) did not some Mens Interests too deeply engage them against it. Whose Interests indeed are most likely to do it, I must leave Mr. Dr--- to judge.

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APPENDIX.

NOW the Argument is finished, I am at Leisure to add a few Remarks on Mr. Drury's Preface and Introduction.

For the former, I shall only say that I heartily approve the good Advice given in it, of *searching after so noble an Object as that of Truth, with a Mind empty of all Concern for a Party, and observing all the Laws of Decency and good Manners in pleading for it, using soft Words and hard Arguments.* I wish I could complement him so far as to be able to say, he has in this Book followed his own Advice. And I have used my best Endeavours to give him no just Occasion of charging me with counter-acting it. But whose Conduct has been most suitable thereto, must after all be left to the Judgment of unbiassed Readers.

For his *Introduction.* I am sorry that the World should be troubled with any Thing that is *Personal*, and has no Relation to the Merits of the Cause between Mr. B--- and him. And therefore shall be as brief as possible, in what I have to say in Justification of the Complaints Mr. B. had made of his *injurious Reflections.*

He endeavours to prejudice his Readers against the *Apology*, by telling them, "That whereas Mr. B--- begins it with saying, That his Sermon, concerning the *Scriptural Bishop*, was reprinted not only without, but against his Consent; the Bookellers who were concerned in it do assure him it was neither."

To set this small Matter of Fact in its true Light, I must now tell him, none of the *Book-sellers*, concerned in the Reprinting the Sermon, ever spoke with Mr. B--- about it. They sent their Printer Mr. Rhames to him, to desire his Consent to the Reprinting the *Sermon* and the *Appendix*; and what Answer Mr. B--- gave him the Reader may see by Mr. Rhames his own Certificate which I have here subjoined.

I do hereby certify, That when the Book-sellers who reprinted Mr. Boyle's Sermon concerning the Scriptural Bishop sent me to desire his Consent for their reprinting it, he peremptorily refused to give his Consent thereto.

Aaron Rhames, Septemb. 30. 1709.

And since Mr. Rhames told Mr. Dr--- this before the Printing of his *Vindication*, it should in all Reason have prevented his arraigning Mr. B---'s Veracity, in a Matter wherein it will not be so easy for him to vindicate his own. For Mr. B--- cannot learn that his *Book-sellers* told him any such Thing; he is sure if they did, they told him an Untruth.

'Tis true indeed, when they had actually begun to reprint the Sermon, notwithstanding Mr. B---'s

declared Dissent, he was willing to correct it, that it might have no other Imperfections than its own, and resolved to add a Postscript by way of Apology and Defence.

Mr. B--- had said concerning Mr. Dr---'s Charge, "That 'tis an heavy Charge indeed, if it had any thing of Truth in it: But if all that is ill in it, is entirely drawn from Mr. Dr---'s Imagination, or rather Invention, &c. he must consider whether the Charge will not recoil, &c. And added, I do not despair by what follows, to convince all unprejudiced Persons, even Mr. Dr--- himself, how egregiously he has wronged me in the greatest Part of it." Upon this Mr. Dr--- thus descants.

"Did not this Author just now say, There was nothing of Truth in it? Are not his own Words, here is an heavy Charge indeed, if it had any Thing of Truth in it? Which according to the best of my Understanding supposeth it has none. And yet at the End of that short Paragraph he saith, I have wronged him only in the greatest Part of it. Something then, and nothing of my Accusation is true, which is such a palpable Contradiction, as I confess my uncommon Ignorance cannot reconcile."

Ans. If Mr. Dr--- will please to review the Passage without his own *Addition* to it, he will find the Sense of it very plain, and every way consistent with itself. That Mr. B--- finds nothing of Truth at all in his Charge, so far as it accuses him of any ill Thing, or faulty in what he had said. And in the greatest Part of the Charge, the Falshood and Injustice is so notorious, that Mr. B--- despairs not of convincing Mr. Dr--- himself how egregiously he has wronged him in it. 'Tis therefore Mr. Dr---'s own Mistake to say, "That Mr. B--- allows something of his Accusation to be true. And that he owns him to have only wronged him in the greatest Part of it." For Mr. B--- had charged him with wronging him in the whole, and only supposed that in the greatest Part of it, the Injustice was so manifest, that Mr. B--- hoped to convince himself of it. And I am sorry, That the plain Evidence Mr. B--- laid before him, has had no better Effect to make him sensible of it.

As to the first Charge of branding our *Bishopricks* as *pompous Sine-Cures*, to what Mr. B--- had so fully answered, *Postscript* p. 59, 60, 61. The Sum of Mr. Dr---'s Answer lies in these two Things.

"That if that Passage refer not to the *Established Church*, it refers to nothing at all. And that it does not follow, That those who abuse any Office, must think the Office de-

signed

"signed for no other End than to be abused, *Introd. p. 4, 5.*

To this I have this short Answer to give, that this Passage evidently refers to no *National Church* at all, but to all Ambitious and Worldly *Candidates* of the *Episcopal Office* in any Church whatever, whose practical Notion of the Office is here estimated, not so much from what they avowedly profess, as from their real and notorious Practice. And Mr. B— speaks there of such as think they have sufficiently discharged the Duties of their Function, by turning the most of them over to *Delegates and Deputies*, and do not take this for any Abuse of their Office at all. And for the Non-sense he tells us one of Mr. B—'s *Answerers* has charged upon that Clause; if that Gentleman pleases, instead of [*the Bishoprick*] to put [*the Office of a Bishop*] which is the same Thing, he will find the Charge of Non-sense immediately vanishes, and appears to be ridiculous trifling with Words.

For his Charge of Mr. B—'s *Marking out the Bishops of the Established Church as scandalous Non-Residents*; Mr. B— shewed him, it had no other Foundation than his calling Non-Residence a *modern Practice*. And accordingly Mr. B— shewed him, that Non-Residence had been a common Practice in these latter degenerate Ages, particularly complained of at the *Council of Trent*; nay, shewed him from *Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation*, That it was too much in Use among ourselves. But that he charged none with it but the guilty, nor made any particular Application of it at all to those of the *Established Church*, or indeed of any other.

To this Mr. Dr— replies, "I know that Mr. B— pretends that he spoke of the Non-Residence of Bishops, as a modern Practice with respect to the Practice of the Church of Rome before the *Council of Trent*, that is near two hundred Years ago. But if this was really and without any Jesuitical Equivocation Mr. B—'s Meaning, it is so much out of the Road of common English, that I dare say none of the Readers of that Sermon understood it so. And we will see what excellent Sense, it will make according to that Interpretation. The Apostle's haste in going to *Jerusalem* would not permit his sending to all the Parts of *Asia*, to gather together so many Bishops in the Modern (i. e. near two hundred Years ago) Sense, unless we supposed them to have learned the modern (i. e. Two hundred Years ago) Practice, &c. This way of expressing Things I am sure is *Modern*; I dare say Mr. B—'s own, and a perfect *Original*, &c.

Answer. Mr. B— spoke of non-residence as too common among *Diocesan Bishops*, both several Ages before the *Council of Trent* ever met; and too common a Practice ever since; nay, (as Dr. Burnet owns) too much in use among ourselves too. And though he mentioned the complaints made against it at the *Council of Trent*, yet he was far from thinking that this Abuse had its rise about that Time; or that it has been generally reformed ever since: And therefore this absurd Paraphrase on Mr. B—'s Words is Mr. Dr—'s own, and founded on his own Mistake. And the genuine Paraphrase on them should be this, "The Apostle's haste in going to *Jerusalem* would not permit his sending to all the Parts of *Asia*, to gather together so many Bishops in the modern Sense, (i. e. *Diocesan ones*, as opposed to the *Primitive Parish Bishops*) unless we suppose them to have learned the Modern Practice (i. e. the Practice too common for several of the latter Ages, but unknown in the Primitive Times) of spending the greatest Part of their Time

"at a distance from their pretended Charge." And if any interpret them otherwise, 'tis the fault of their own Understandings or Wills, not of Mr. B—'s Expressions. And therefore if Mr. Dr— can (as he says) *insist still on his Accusation with the same Face as he did before, without the least blush in his Cheeks for doing so*, I shall not envy his Assurance.

For his next Charge, "That Mr. B— insinuated, the Religion of the Established Church to be corrupt, for retaining and justifying the *Diocesan Form of Church Government*." I need only desire the Reader to peruse Mr. B—'s Answer to it, *Postscript*, p. 65. and compare it with Mr. Dr—'s pretended *Vindication*, (*Introd.* p. 7.) and shall freely appeal to him, whether he has not plainly trifled in it. Mr. B— had told him, "My Religion, as to the *Doctrinal Articles* of it, is the same with that of the *Established Church*." And if he think, That the *divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy* is one of her *Doctrinal Articles*, I do herein differ from him; and shall have occasion under the next Head to shew, that he has not proved it to be so.

For that part of his Charge, wherein he saith, Mr. B— had termed the Members of the Established Church *degenerate Protestants, and Enemies to the Reformed Religion*. Mr. B— had told him, "That he called none *degenerate Protestants*, but such as confined the *Catholick Church* to the *Episcopal Communion*; and consequently excluded all those *Protestant Churches* that want the *Diocesan Form of Church Government* out of the *Catholick Church*; reducing them to as hopeless a Condition as that of *Infidels*."

To this Mr. Dr— has given an Answer, that I confess is very surprizing.

Mr. B— had mentioned this short Scheme of the Principles of such *degenerate Protestants*, "That there can be no true Sacraments administered where there is no true Priesthood: That there can be no true Priesthood conveyed without Ordination; that the Power of Ordination belongs to none but *Diocesan Bishops*: And the Priestly Office can only be conveyed by the Imposition of Hands: And this conveyance must be in an uninterrupted Line. And consequently, that all the *Reformed Churches* which are not under *Episcopal Government*, are without any true Priesthood or Ministry, and without any true Sacraments; and therefore are left to the uncovenanted Mercy of God. So that the Notion of the *Catholick Church*, cannot extend beyond the bounds of the *Episcopal Communion*; and those that are not under *Episcopal Government*, are excluded from any Relation to it.

Now Mr. Dr— tells us, "That this Character, if he do not greatly mistake the Matter, must extend to every true Member of the Established Church in this Kingdom. And that every true Member of the Established Church must in Mr. B—'s Sense be a *degenerate Protestant*; unless he renounce the *Thirty nine Articles*, and his *Common Prayer Book*."

Answer. I should be very sorry, if Mr. Dr— should be able to prove what he here asserts. For if a Man must either espouse these wretched uncharitable Principles, or renounce the *Thirty nine Articles* and the *Common Prayer Book*; it were enough to frighten all sober Protestants from the Communion of a Church, that would poison all its Members with such *Schismatical Doctrine* as this: And thus oblige them to renounce all Communion with the soundest and purest part of the Christian Church, that is to be found on the Face of this Earth. And if Mr. Dr— could make good his Assertion, he would

would lay a more insuperable Objection in the way of *Lay-Conformity* itself, than any I have yet met with. I will therefore try for once, whether the *Established Church* may not be vindicated from the *Charge* of so *uncharitable Principles* as these are; by examining what he alledges in proof of this Assertion.

First, He tells us, The *Thirty-sixth Article* assures, "That the Book of Consecration of Archbishops, and Bishops; and ordering of Priests and Deacons has nothing in it, that is of itself Superstitious and Ungodly."

Ans. But how will it hence follow, That because that Book contains nothing *Superstitious* and *Ungodly*, that therefore *Diocesan Bishops* have by *Divine Right* the *sole Power* of Ordination; and there can be no true Ministry, no true Sacraments, and no true Church, without such *Episcopal Ordination*? Many celebrated Defenders of *Episcopacy* own, That no particular Form of Church Government is of *Divine Right*, and therefore plead only for the *Lawfulness* of *Episcopacy*; and their subscribing to this Article, that the *Consecration Book* contains nothing *Superstitious* or *Ungodly*; by no means implies, that all Churches must be unchurched that want that particular Form of Government. Mr. Dr--- himself does not think *Archbishops* to be of *Divine Right*; but I hope he does not thereby think he has renounced this Article, and that he has charged the *Consecration* of them as a *Superstitious* and *Ungodly Practice*? And why may not others think the Office of *Bishops* only to be a *lawful Humane Constitution*, and yet with a good Conscience subscribe this Article?

His Second Argument is drawn from the *Seventh* and *Eighth Canons* of the Church of England, and the *Fourth* of the Church of Ireland; which Anathematizes all that say, "There is any Thing in our Ordinations repugnant to the Word of God."

Ans. These Canons are consistent enough with the Opinion of those Divines of the *Established Church*, that think *Diocesan Episcopacy* *Lawful*, tho' they think it not of *Divine Institution*; and much less though they think it not of absolute Necessity to the very Being of the Church. But for the *Charity* of such *Anathema's* as these, I must leave the Vindication of it to Mr. Dr--- himself; for I despair of succeeding in any Attempt that Way.

The *Third Argument*, is from the *Preface* to the *Book of Ordination*, confirmed by Act of Parliament, which tells us, "It is evident to all Men reading the Holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles Time there have been these Officers or Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests and Deacons. And that no Man shall be accounted or taken for a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tryed, examined, and admitted thereto, according to the Form hereafter following; or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination."

Ans. For that Position, "'Tis evident to all Men, &c." It only asserts as *Matter of Fact*, That there have been such Orders from the Apostles Time. But does not declare, that these Three Orders were of *Divine* and *unalterable Right*. Nor does it determine what Kind of Bishops were from the Apostles Time; whether *Diocesan*, or only *Parochial* ones. And if Mr. Calamy's Two Answerers may be allowed to understand the Sense of that Assertion, as well as Mr. Dr---, their Judgment is quite opposite to his. For the Reverend Mr. Olliffe, in his Answer to Mr. Calamy, in Reference to this Position, has these remarkable Words: "The Proposition of this Rubrick is formed or expressed with as great a Latitude

and Moderation, as could ever be expected from an Episcopal Church. It saith nothing of *Divine Right* or *Appointment*. That is but (i. e. Mr. Calamy's) Addition, as Mr. Hoadly well observes. It saith nothing of the distinction of their Powers and Offices; or whether they have been every where in every Church or no. But only, that from the Apostles Time there have been these Orders, &c. From which the most that can be inferred, is, That in such Churches where there has been need of them, or occasion for them all, there have been Three such Ranks of Ministers for the Government and Instruction of Christ's Church from the Times of the Apostles; which yet, by Mr. Calamy's Leave, does not prove a *Divine Appointment* of all, (however otherwise it may appear to him;) There have been other Things in the Apostles Days, which yet, for all that, are not allowed to be of *Divine Appointment*."

How then shall we reconcile these different Sentiments? Mr. Dr--- thinks that every Member of the *Established Church*, is obliged by this Position, to believe the distinct Order of *Episcopacy* to be of *Divine Right*; though no Declaration of Assent thereto be required from the Laity. Mr. Olliffe and Mr. Hoadly tell us, it does not oblige even those Ministers that must declare their Assent and Consent to all Things contained and prescribed in the *Ordination Book*, to believe any such *Divine Appointment*; and reckon it one of Mr. Calamy's groundless Objections against *Conformity* to think otherwise. What shall we do in this Case? If we declare our Assent, Mr. Dr--- will charge us with *Insincerity* and *Disimulation*, if we dispute the *Divine Right* of *Episcopacy*. If we refuse to declare our Assent, those Two Learned Defenders of the Cause of *Conformity*, will reproach us with raising needless Scruples, by stretching that Proposition in the *Preface* to the *Ordination Book* beyond due Bounds; and making it speak more than is really contained in it. It seems the safest to forbear, till the Sense of the Proposition be determined by Authority. Though were I to rely either on Mr. Dr---'s Judgment, or Mr. Olliffe's and Mr. Hoadly's, I should not be at any great Loss to know whose to prefer.

For the other Part of the Declaration, "That no Man shall be accounted, or taken for a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon; or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, examined, or tryed, and admitted thereto, according to the Form hereafter following; or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination." It plainly refers to the *National Church of England*, That they allow no others to be *lawful Bishops*, or *Priests* of that *National Church*, but what are ordained according to that Form. But does this oblige every Member of that Church, to regard all Ordinations either in *Foreign Churches*, where the *Diocesan Form* of Government is not established, or in *Dissenting Congregations* at Home, as not only *unlawful*, but even *null* and *void*? If it do not, then there is no Force in Mr. Dr---'s Argument. If it do, then Mr. Dr--- has furnished all judicious and charitable Protestants with an unanswerable Objection against the *Established Church*, by supposing that none can be a true Member of it, without entertaining such *Uncharitable* and *Schismatical Principles*. For I may well call those so, that cut off so many, and so eminently *Reformed Churches* from the *Catholic Church*. But of this I have had Occasion to speak, when I considered what Mr. Dr--- saith to that Objection against his Pretension of a *Divine Right* in the *Diocesan Form* of Government. And that the most eminent Divines of the *Established Church* in Queen

Queen Elizabeth's, King James I's, and I may add, in the succeeding Reigns, never understood these Passages in this rigid Sense, is manifest from the Charity they have all along expressed towards the Reformed Churches Abroad, that never had what is now called *Episcopal Ordination*, the Ministry of whose Pastors they never have declared to be *unlawful* or *null*; but have all along treated them as their Brethren, and all along corresponded with them as such. Which sure they would not have done, had they accounted them no more than *Laymen*, and looked on their Churches as no Part of the *Catholic Church*. And I shall only subjoin those remarkable Words of Dr. Stillingfleet, "Those that are for Ordination only by a superior Order in the Church, acknowledging a radical Power for Ordination in Presbyters, which may be exercised in Case of Necessity, do not think that any positive Law of God hath forbidden Presbyters the Power of Ordination. For then it must be wholly unlawful, and so in Case of Necessity, cannot be valid. Which Doctrine I dare with some Confidence assert to be a Stranger to our Church of England, as shall be largely made appear afterwards." (See Stillingfleet's *Irenic*, p. 276.) Whose Judgment then shall we believe concerning the Doctrine of the Church of England, Mr. Dr---'s or Dr. Stillingfleet's?

For the Charge of condemning the whole Church for fifteen hundred Years of Degeneracy and Corruption, Mr. Dr--- has said nothing to vindicate himself, but that he had proved the Primitive Church to have had the same Form of Government as that now called *Episcopal*; but how he has proved it, I leave to the Reader's Judgment upon what has been said.

For the last Part of his Charge, "That Mr. B--- excluded all that were not of his Persuasion, from that Purity that is necessary to every good Christian." Mr. Dr--- pretends it to be a necessary Consequence of what Mr. B--- had said. And he thus endeavours to make good the Charge, "He (i. e. Mr. B---) had said, 'That his Religion was pure uncorrupted Christianity, in Exclusion of all others who were not of his Persuasion.' [This latter Clause by the Way is false, and wholly Mr. Dr---'s own Addition.] "And of Consequence, all others must want that Purity and Incorruption, which if Mr. B--- thinks necessary to every good Christian, then what I say of him is grounded on his Assertions. But if he thinks not necessary, he condemns himself of an unpeaceable Spirit for separating from an Established Church in Things not necessary. But however, I suppose Mr. B--- will own, that all those who maintain corrupt sinful Terms of Communion, do want that Purity which is necessary. And that this is his Notion of the Established Church, is I think pretty manifest from this *Postscript*." And then he cites these Words of Mr. B---'s. "I profess to have mental Communion with all those Churches that retain the Essentials of Christianity. And how many such Churches are there, in whom the Essentials of Christianity are mixed with manifold corrupt Additions to it in Doctrine, Worship, and Practice? And I may exercise such mental Communion with them (though a very unsound and diseased Part of the Catholic Church) on the Account of what they retain of our common Christianity, when their imposing their corrupt Additions renders my external Communion with them impracticable. And for occasional external Communion, I can exercise it with many Churches that retain some Corrupti-

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ons and Abuses, and are guilty of some sinful Divisions, when nothing sinful is enjoined in those Acts of worship wherein I join with them."

Ans. The Foundation of this Charge, is a very strange Supposition of Mr. Dr---'s, that because Mr. B--- saith, "That pure uncorrupted Christianity is his Religion," (i. e. that he takes no humane Additions to be any Part of it;) That he therefore supposes none can be good Christians, that have made any sinful or corrupt Additions to our Religion, as laid down in the Bible. If Mr. Dr--- think the latter a necessary Consequence of the former, I must needs again tell him, that it looks like the Effect either of uncommon Ignorance, or unaccountable Inadvertency. If to profess Christianity in its uncorrupted Simplicity and Purity, were necessary to every good Christian, how came the Apostle Paul to suppose, that on the same Foundation (the Essentials of our common Christianity) some might build Gold and Silver, and precious Stones, and some Hay and Stubble, such Work as should be burned, and yet he himself should be saved, (though with Difficulty, and *tantum ex incendio*) yet so as by Fire? 1 Cor. iii. 11, 12, 13. Does Mr. Dr--- indeed think that every Error in Doctrine, or every Corruption in Worship, or every Abuse in Discipline, that Men by Mistake make a Part of their Religion, does nullify their common Christianity? I had thought that the Belief and Practice of the essential Doctrines and Duties of Religion, was all that was necessary to make a Man a good Christian. And that those sinful Additions that Men mix with it are so far pardonable, as they spring from involuntary Ignorance. Nay, so far as they are consistent with Sincerity in their Profession of the foresaid Essentials of Faith and Holiness.

But saith Mr. Dr---, "If Mr. B--- think not such Purity and Incorruption necessary to every good Christian, he condemns himself of an unpeaceable Spirit, for separating from an Established Church in Things not necessary."

Ans. If these Words have any Sense at all, the Meaning of them must be, That if Mr. B--- thinks a Man may be a good Christian, though through Ignorance he may take some corrupt humane Additions to be a Part of the Christian Religion; then he must be inexcusable and guilty of an unpeaceable Spirit, if he separates from any National Church, that imposes those Corruptions on all her Members, as a Part of their Religion, though he knows and believes them to be real Corruptions. And is not this in effect to say, That if Mr. B--- do not profess what he believes to be real Errors in a National Church, and comply with what he believes to be sinful Practices, (i. e. Sin against his Conscience) he condemns himself as guilty of an unpeaceable Spirit, provided he think those Errors and Corruptions consistent with Salvation in those that through Ignorance embrace them? And can any Proposition in the World be more unreasonable and absurd than this? Has our Blessed Saviour given any National Church on Earth, any Power to impose such corrupt Additions to his Holy Religion as the Terms of her Communion? Or obliged all Christians in that Nation to comply with such sinful Terms, though they know and believe them to be so? Must the Interests of Truth and Holiness, and of a Man's own Conscience, be thus sacrificed on Pretence of Peace? Or does not the Charge of Unpeaceableness in that Case wholly recoil on the Imposers, and the Guilt of the Division and Breach caused by such Impositions, lie at their Door? What if a Man think the corrupt Additions made by the

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Romish Church to our common Christianity, do not utterly destroy the *Essentials* of it; (as all those must think, who own the Church of Rome for a true, though extremely degenerate Church,) will it therefore argue the Protestant Churches to be guilty of *Unpeaceableness* in their Separation from her, on the Account of her imposing those *Corruptions*? How then will those that extend their Charity to the Church of Rome thus far, be able to justify their Separation from it?

But saith Mr. Dr-- "I suppose Mr. B-- will own, that all those who maintain any corrupt *sinful Terms of Communion*, do want that *Purity* that is necessary."

Ans. If he means that *Purity* that is necessary to their being good Christians and in a *salvable State*, Mr. B-- is so far from owning it, that his Words plainly suppose the contrary. That in some Churches that retain the *Essentials* of Christianity (and consequently have all that is absolutely necessary to their being good Christians, if they live up sincerely to them) there may be some *sinful Additions* held and imposed. With such "Churches; (saith Mr. B--) I have *mental Communion* indeed (*i. e.* I esteem them as true though not pure Churches, as I look on a diseased Man as a living Man though not a sound one, and approve what they retain of our common Christianity) but their *sinful Impositions* render my external Communion with them through their Fault impracticable. Nay,

he may maintain some *occasional Communion* with faulty Churches, in such Acts of Worship wherein no *sinful Terms* are imposed, when he cannot maintain a *Total Communion* with them. Nor is any Man obliged to prefer the *ordinary stated Communion* of a Church that retains many such *Corruptions*, before the *stated Communion* of such Churches as have attained a more eminent Degree of *Reformation* and *Purity*.

Since then Mr. Dr--'s *Vindication* of himself, is in every Branch of it so miserably lame and defective, I must leave it to the Reader to judge, whether the Complement he is pleased to bestow on Mr. B-- be not more applicable to himself viz. "That it fares with him as it happens to one fallen into a Bog: The more he strives and struggles to get out of it, the dirtier he makes himself, and the deeper he sinks." And let the World judge, Whether his *groundless* and *injurious Accusations*, or Mr. B--'s *gentle Reproof* of him for them deserves to be blamed? Or whether Mr. B-- have not treated him softly under such Provocations? I am sure an ingenuous Retraction of his mistaken Charge would have been much more for his Credit; and without it, he will hardly recover it with unbiassed Readers. And 'tis hard that when he takes this Liberty of Abusing Mr. B-- by such *injurious Reflections*, he should with such Assurance impute it to him as a *Crime* that he complains of them.

APPENDIX II.

SINCE the finishing of the foregoing Treatise, I have perused Mr. *Whiston's Four Volumes*, and particularly his *Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions*, wherein he pretends to prove them to be the most Sacred of the Canonical Books of the New Testament. And since he produces the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus*, wrote in the Name of the Church at Rome to that at *Corinth*, as one of his chief Testimonies to the Divine Authority of those Constitutions, I shall add a few Remarks thereon, wherein I hope to make it evident, not only that *Clemens* has no Reference in that Epistle to any Part of those Constitutions, but that no such Constitutions were made by the Apostles, or known to *Clemens* when he wrote that Epistle.

I shall only premise, that as I have already proved, That those Constitutions mention no other Bishop than a Parochial or Congregational one, so those Constitutions themselves give no manner of Countenance to the present *Diocesan Episcopacy*, but utterly overthrow it. And I dispute not the Divine Right of such Parochial Bishops, but the Divine Right of their Subject-Presbyters. For I think Dr. *Hammond* entirely in the Right, in his asserting all the Presbyters mentioned in the New Testament to be Bishops, (only he mistakes Parochial for Diocesan ones,) and that the Churches had no other Officers but Bishops and Deacons, and that those Subject-Presbyters that appear so early under the Parochial Bishops, were not of Divine Institution; only I differ from him in his precarious Supposition of their being instituted by St. *John* after the Death of the other Apostles. They seem rather to have come in (as I have formerly suggested) as Assistant-Curates to the Parochial-Rectors or Bishops, and Candidates of their Pastoral Charge and Care.

But because those Constitutions do assert a Difference of Order and Office between Bishops and Presbyters, and assign a peculiar Power to Bishops, viz. of Ordination, to the Exclusion of Presbyters from it, and suppose that those Presbyters do by a Divine Right owe Subjection to their (Parochial) Bishops; I shall consider whether *Clemens Romanus*, when he wrote this celebrated Epistle to the *Corinthians*, knew any Thing of such an Appointment of Christ by his Apostles, as the first Five Books of the Constitutions contain. For if he did not, 'tis evident that he was a Stranger to those Constitutions which so confidently bear his Name in the Front of them, and which Mr. *Whiston* supposes him to be the *Amanuensis* of the Apostles in drawing up.

That I may not misrepresent Mr. *Whiston*, I shall set before the Reader those Inferences he draws from the Constitutions relating to Church-

Government, p. 705, 707. Sect. V. "Hence we learn, " That the Government of some of the greatest " Churches was originally by a Pastor, with his " College of Presbyters and subordinate Deacons, " and that most of the lesser Churches were at " first governed under the Apostles by a College of Presbyters, with their subordinate Deacons only. And that the Apostles placed Bishops over many of these in their Life-time, and appointed that the rest should have Bishops placed over them also in due Time afterwards, and all this according to Christ's own Direction and Appointment. Sect. XII. Hence we learn the proper Distinction and Boundaries of Sacred Offices, particularly, That Presbyters have no Power to ordain, at least in Episcopal Churches. That Deacons have no Power either to consecrate the Eucharist or Baptize, but are only to assist the Bishop or Presbyter in those solemn Ministrations. Sect. XIII. Hence we learn the Number of the several Ranks, Orders and Degrees of Men and Women in the Church by the Apostle's Appointment, viz. 1 Bishops, 2 Presbyters, 3 Deacons or Ministers, 4 Subdeacons or Attendants to the Deacons, 5 Deaconesses, 6 Readers, 7 Singers, 8 Porters, 9 Virgins, 10 Widows. Besides the Orphans and Body of the Laity.

Let us then compare this with the First Epistle of *Clemens* to the Church at *Corinth*, which Mr. *Whiston* supposes to be wrote about A. D. 69. *Essay*, p. 34. He supposes the First Five Books and an Half of the Constitutions wrote A. D. 64. when St. *Paul* was absent from the general Council of the Apostles met on that Occasion. And that there was another Council of the Apostles, A. D. 67. wherein St. *Paul* was present to confirm the foregoing Writing, and to compose the Extract which was to be published to all. See *Essay* p. 29, 30. 'Tis hence evident then, that *Clemens* must have seen this Part of the Constitutions before he wrote his famed Epistle to the Church of *Corinth*. Nay, Mr. *Whiston* cites *Irenæus* as affirming that he had these Constitutions all along in his Eye while he wrote that Epistle, (though by the Way, all that *Irenæus* saith, is, that he had the Preaching of the Apostles, and the Tradition sounding in his Ears, and before his Eyes, which he might have, though he had never seen those pretended Apostolical Constitutions.)

Now, that *Clemens* knew nothing of these Apostolical Constitutions, and much less owned any such Books as a Part of the Sacred Canon, will I think appear with convincing Evidence: If I can shew,

I. That Mr. *Whiston* has not brought us the least Proof of his knowing or owning any such Book as the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

And II. That the Account which *Clemens* gives in that Epistle of the Manner wherein the Apostles settled the Churches, is very inconsistent with the Plan of Church-Government laid down in those *Constitutions*.

And if both these be made good, the Pretension of their Divine Authority as a Part of the Sacred Canon, falls to the Ground.

I. Mr. *Whiston* has not in all his Citations from this Epistle of *Clemens* (penned after the Writing of these *Constitutions*) brought us any one convincing Proof, that he ever knew or owned any such Book, and much less as dictated by the Apostles.

I have taken the Pains to run through all his Citations from *Clemens*, and to compare them with those Passages in the *Constitutions* that he supposes *Clemens* to refer to; and I cannot find that he does in one of them name any such Book as these *Constitutions*, or produce one Passage out of it to authorize and warrant any one Assertion, or any one Exhortation he delivers. As he frequently cites other Passages from the known Writers of what we call the *New Testament*, though there was all possible Reason he should do it, if he took this Writing (supposed to be composed by the Direction of all the Apostles) to be the most sacred Part of the *New Testament*. Nor do I find that he cites verbatim, any one Passage contained in those pretended *Apostolical Constitutions*, as he most carefully does what he produces from the Writings of any Evangelist, or any particular Inspired Apostle.

He tells us indeed, when he cites that Passage in *Clemens*, Let us come to the glorious and venerable Rule [*Κανὼν*] of our holy Profession, that *Κανὼν* or Rule was one Name for the *Constitutions*. But has he produced the least Proof from *Clemens* or any ancient Writer, that *Κανὼν* signified these *Constitutions*? May he not as well tell us, That St. Paul meant these *Constitutions*, when he exhorts the *Philippians*, as far as they had attained to walk by the same Rule [*Κανὼν*] Phil. iii. 16.

So when he cites that Passage in *Clemens*, Sect. XIII. "By this Command and these Rules let us establish ourselves, that so we may always walk obediently to his holy Words, he says, That *Ἐντολαὶ* and *Παραγγέλματα* are two Names of those *Constitutions*. But as this is mere precarious Assertion without the least Proof for it, 'tis manifest to any Man that peruses that short Section in *Clemens*, that he refers to those Rules of the Holy Scripture, (*viz.* Jer. ix. 23. 1 Cor. ix. 21. Luke iv. 36.) which he had just before cited. This was the *Ἐντολὴ* and the *τὰ παραγγέλματα* that *Clemens* refers to, not any *Apostolical Constitutions* which Mr. *Whiston* supposes him to be the Penman of.

So when he cites those Words Sect. XIX. "Having therefore so many and so great and glorious Examples before us, let us return to that Peace which was the Mark that from the Beginning was set before us." He tells us, this Mark was the *Constitutions* delivered just after Christ's Resurrection. But will any impartial Reader, whose Mind is not blinded with a prejudicate Fondness for his own Opinion, ever imagine that *Clemens* intended by these Words to refer to so considerable a Book as this, which he no where once mentions, no where

once recommends to us on the Account of its Apostolical Authority and Inspiration? May he not as well persuade us, that the Apostle Paul had these *Constitutions* in his Eye, when he exhorts the *Philippians* to press forward towards the Mark for the Prize of their High-Calling, which is of God in Christ, Phil. iii. 14.

Thus when *Clemens* exhorts the *Corinthians*, Sect. XXXVII. "To march on (or manage their Warfare) with all Earnestness in his Holy Laws." He tells us, *Πεδυγμένα* was one Name of the *Constitutions*. But does he bring the least Proof of it, or of *Clemens* owning any such Book under that Name, or citing one Command out of it, as a Command of Christ delivered in such a Book by the Apostles, as he does when he cites any Precept from the Writer of the New Testament? How manifestly does this Gentleman in such precarious Suppositions *Διὰ τὸν τὸν* *ὑποθέσει*?

So when *Clemens*, Sect. XL. exhorts the *Corinthians*, "To do all Things in Order (*Τάξει*) and faith, that they who make their Offerings at the appointed Seasons are happy and accepted, because that obeying the Commandments of the Lord, they sin not: He tells us that *Τάξις* was one Name of the *Constitutions*, and so was *Νόμιμα τῶ Δεσποῦ*." But does he think that any Man of Sense will, upon his bare Word, believe that this Book of the *Constitutions* was meant by these Words of *Clemens*, when there is not the least Shadow of Probability for it, when there is not one Citation from the Book at all, and much less under the Character of an inspired Book, to countenance such a supposition?

The same Observation may be made of his next Citation, Sect. XLI. *Clemens* exhorts them, "To bless God every one in his own Station with a good Conscience, and with all Gravity, not exceeding the Rule of his Service that is appointed to him." [*τὸν ἀεισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα*] And here Mr. *Whiston* tells us, That *Κανὼν τῆς λειτουργίας* was the Name of one Part of the *Constitutions*. But what Proof does he produce, That *Clemens* ever thought or heard of any Book that went under that Name? Or that he refers to any other Rule or Service, than what the *New Testament* as we now have and own it, prescribes? *Ne γὰρ quidem*.

The same is to be said of that Passage he cites from *Clemens*, "Let him that loves Christ, keep his Commandments." [*Παραγγέλματα*].

In short if we run through the whole of his Citations, we shall never once find any entire Paragraph of these pretended *Constitutions* recited as the Words of the Apostles, though he constantly does so, when he cites the Words of any inspired Writer of the *New Testament*.

'Tis true indeed, That *Clemens* alledges the same Story of the *Phoenix*, as a Proof of the Resurrection, that we find in the *Apostolical Constitutions*. But as he no where cites any Christian Author for it, much less the Apostles of Christ; so the Story is not only told in very different Expressions, but with several material Circumstances in *Clemens* that are not found in the *Constitutions*; as particularly, "That the new *Phoenix* takes up the Nest in which the Bones of its Parent lye, and carries it from Arabia into Egypt to a City called *Heliopolis*; and flying in open Day in Sight of all Men, lays it on the Altar of the Sun, and so returns from whence it came." Now since *Clemens* pretends to no inspired Author for the Credit of this Story; since all Men of Judgment are satisfied,

tified, that the Story itself is *fabulous*; 'tis much more probable that the spurious *Author* of the *Constitutions* may have borrowed it from *Clemens*, (as other later Christian Writers have done) than *Clemens* from him. Especially when 'tis not agreeable to the Character of inspired Persons, to support that *Doctrine* of the *Resurrection* (the Truth whereof solely depends on Divine Revelation,) by such fabulous Relations as this.

What mention *Clemens* makes of the *Works of Creation*, Sect. XX. is so entirely different in Expressions from the Passages Mr. *Whiston* refers us to in the *Constitutions*, that there is no appearance of the Former being borrowed from the Latter. He may as well argue, that *David* had those *Apostolical Constitutions* before him when he penned the 104th and the 119th Psalms.

The same may be said of Sect. XXXIV. compared with what occurs in the *Constitutions* concerning the *Holy Angels*.

In short, after diligently comparing all the Passages in *Clemens*, which he supposes to be parallel to those in the *Constitutions*, I find not one Paragraph wherein the Expressions are the same: Nor any wherein their Agreement in the like Sentiments may not be accidentally without the Writings of the one being seen by the other: Nor any Thing that should convince an unprejudiced Mind that *Clemens* should borrow his Reasonings from the *Constitutions*, rather than the *Author* of the *Constitutions* from him.

Now if *Clemens* had these *Constitutions* before him, and knew them to have been composed by the Apostles themselves, what tolerable Reason can Mr. *Whiston* give, why he never mentions such a Book and the inspired Authors of it? Why he never cites one entire Paragraph out of it, as he does so many out of the several inspired Writings of the *New Testament* which we have? Why he never once makes use of so sacred and venerable an Authority as that of a Council of the Apostles, to repress this dangerous *Schism* at *Corinth*, and confound the turbulent Authors of it? He recommends indeed to them *Paul's* Epistle directed to them, but never takes Notice of this more sacred Book, wherein the Joint-Authority of all the Apostles was so conspicuous, and which must have carried more Weight in it than the Writing of any single Apostle. This I think carries with it a far stronger Presumption that he knew of no such Book, than a mere imaginary Agreement, or Similitude of a few Passages that can scarce fail to occur in any Writers in so plain and obvious Subjects, does to the contrary.

But from this *Negative Argument*, I proceed to a more positive one, viz.

II. To shew, that the Account which *Clemens* gives us in this undoubted Epistle of his, of the Manner wherein the Apostles settled the Churches, is very inconsistent with the Plan of Church-Government laid down in the *Constitutions* that are supposed to be written before it.

The Account which *Clemens* gives, we have Sect. XLII.

"The Apostles have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent by God, the Apostles by Christ. So both were orderly sent according to the Will of God. For having received their Command, and being thoroughly assured by the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and convinced by the Word of God, and the fulness of the Holy Spirit, they went Abroad publishing that the

"Kingdom of God was at Hand. And thus preaching through the Countries and Cities; they appointed their First-Fruits, to be Bishops and Deacons of such as should after believe, having first proved them by the Spirit. Nor was this any new Thing, since long before it was written concerning Bishops and Deacons: For thus saith the Scripture in a certain Place, I will appoint their Bishops in Righteousness, and their Deacons in Faith.

Compare with this what *Clemens* saith, Sect. XLIV.

"So likewise our Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there should Contentions arise [*Ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*] about the Name (or on Account) of Episcopacy. For this Cause having a perfect Fore-knowledge, they constituted the aforesaid Persons, [i. e. Bishops and Deacons,] and then gave Direction on how when they should die, other chosen and approved Men should succeed in their Ministry (or Ministration, *ἡγεγίας*;) therefore we cannot think that those may be justly thrown out of their Ministry, who were either appointed by them, or chosen afterwards by approved Men, and who have with all their Lowliness and Innocence ministered to the Flock of Christ, in Peace and without Self-interest, and were for a long Time commended by all. For it would be no small Sin in us, should we cast those out of their Episcopacy (or Episcopal Office, *τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*) who have in any holy and blameless Manner fulfilled the Duties of it. Blessed are those Presbyters who having finished their Course before these Times, have obtained a faithful and perfect Dissolution. For they have no Fear lest any one should turn them out of the Place appointed for them: But we see how you have put out some who lived reputably among you from the Ministry, which they had unblameably adorned.

Compare with this Sect. XLVII. "Tis a Shame, my Beloved, yea, a very great Shame and unworthy of your Christian Profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the *Corinthians*, should by one or two Persons be led into a Sedition against its Presbyters.

Sect. LIV. "Only let the Flock of Christ be in Peace with the Presbyters that are set over it.

Sect. LVII. "Do ye therefore, who laid the first Foundation of this Sedition, submit yourselves unto your Presbyters.

I need not with respect to Mr. *Whiston* insist on what I have already proved, That this Church of *Corinth* at the writing of this Epistle was under the Government of Presbyters, and had no single Person then among them under the Title of Bishop, that pretended to any Jurisdiction or Government over these Presbyters. For this Mr. *Whiston* freely grants, "That the Settlement of Churches under Bishops, as distinguished from, and constituted in a superior Order to Presbyters, was not yet begun in the Church of *Corinth*, nor *Philippi*, nor perhaps *Thessalonica*; and at *Philippi*, not till A. D. 116. Essay p. 231.

Let us now compare this Account that *Clemens* gives of the Manner wherein the Apostles settled the Churches they planted, with what the Author of the *Constitutions* tells us, they unanimously determined concerning the Form of Church-Government, pursuant to the Commands they had received from Christ himself, during his

his Forty Days Converse with them after the Resurrection.

If we trace the first Five Books of the Constitutions, we find a clear Distinction in Office and Authority, between the Bishop and his Presbyters. "The Bishop sustains the Character of God among Men, he is set over all Men, over Priests, Kings, Rulers, Fathers, Children, Masters, and in general over all those subject to him. Const. L. II. c. 11. He is intrusted with the Souls of all that pertain to his Flock L. II. c. 14, 15, &c. He is entrusted with distributing all their Oblations and Gifts, L. II. c. 25. He is the Minister of the Word, the Keeper of Knowledge, the Mediator between God and his People in the several Parts of their Divine Worship. He is the Teacher of Piety; and next after God, their Father. He is their [Ἀρχὴν] Ruler and Governor, their King and [Δυναστεύς] Potentate. He is next after God, their Earthly God. He is one honoured with the Authority of God, which he is to exercise over the Clergy, and by which he is to govern all the People, L. II. c. 26. He is the High-Priest, L. II. c. 27. The Presbyters, who labour in Word and Doctrine, sustain the Place of the Apostles, as the Bishop's Counsellors, and the Crown of the Church, L. II. c. 28. His Priestly Office is beyond the Kingly, L. II. c. 34. The Presbyters and Deacons were to sit as Assessors with the Bishop in their Judicatories every Second Day of the Week, L. II. c. 47. The Presbyters sat in the Church on each Side of the Bishop's Throne, the Presbyters exhorting the People one by one, and the Bishop in the last Place as the Commander. The Bishop as the High-Priest offering the Eucharistical Sacrifice, L. II. c. 57.

L. III. c. 11. "Neither Readers, Singers, Porters, nor [ὑποδιάκονοι] Ministers (probably Subdeacons) nor Deacons are allowed to baptize. Nor are Presbyters allowed to ordain the inferior Officers, but only the Bishop. And c. 20. The Bishop is to be ordained by three Bishops, whereas a Presbyter or Deacon is to be ordained by one Bishop, and neither Presbyter nor Deacon must ordain: All that belonged to the Presbyters Office being to teach, offer, baptize, and bless the People, the Deacon ministering both to Bishop and Presbyter therein.

And L. VIII. c. 46. The Apostles are introduced as saying, "That being taught by the Lord the Series of Things, they distributed the Functions of the High-Priesthood to the Bishops, those of the Priesthood to the Presbyters, and the Ministration under them both to the Deacons, that the Divine Worship may be performed in Purity. For 'tis not lawful for a Deacon to offer the Sacrifice or Baptize, or give the greater or lesser Blessing. Nor may a Presbyter perform Ordination. Nay, the Apostles are introduced in the same Chapter, as telling us, "That after Christ's Ascension, they ordained Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

We see then by these Constitutions, the Office of a Bishop is supposed to be constituted by the Apostles as distinct from that of Presbyters, as vested with an Authority far superior to theirs, which they owed a Subjection to, and to which at least the Power of Ordination peculiarly belonged, and all this (as Mr. Whiston supposes) before the Writing of this Epistle.

Let us now see, how we can reconcile this with the Account which Clemens gives us of what was practised by the Apostles in the Settlement of the Churches they planted.

Clemens tells us, That the Apostles when they had converted a competent Number to the

Faith, did from the First-Fruits of their Labours appoint Bishops and Deacons among them, and ordered that upon their Death, other approved Men should succeed in their Ministration. If Presbyters were then a distinct Order from these Bishops, what Account can Mr. Whiston give why he should never mention them, and that in an Epistle wherein he pleads the Cause of the ejected Presbyters of Corinth? If both their Office and Names were already distinguished by the Apostles, how comes he to charge the Church of Corinth for casting their Presbyters out of their Episcopal Office? Nay, how comes he to suppose those Presbyters that had obtained an happy Dissolution, to be such Bishops as the Apostles had, together with Deacons, constituted in every Church in the Countries and Cities where they had preached? Nay, since the Constitution of this Church, if it had only these inferior Presbyters to preside in it, was extremely lame and defective, as wanting their High-Priest to govern these inferior Priests, and the Laity under them; Why does he never take Notice of this palpable Defect, and recommend to them the Choice of a Bishop, especially when their present Divisions rendered such a Bishop so necessary as the Centre of Unity among them? Nay, how comes he to pass over in entire Silence these inferior Offices of Subdeacons, Readers, Porters, Singers, that make up the rest of the Bishops Clergy? Can any Thing be more unaccountable than his Discourse on this Subject appears, on Supposition that he had before the writing this Epistle, seen and known this Book of Apostolical Constitutions?

If it be here said, That Clemens mentions the three Orders among the Jews of High-Priest, Priests, and Levites; 'tis true: But I have already shewn, he never applies that Comparison to a Christian Church (unless it be to the Catholick Church of which he asserts Christ to be the High-Priest.) But on the contrary, mentions no other Officers appointed in particular Churches, (whether in Cities or Countries) but Bishops and Deacons, and supposes the Bishop's Office to belong to these Presbyters, of whose unjust Ejection he complains. And therefore 'tis evident, That those later Writers, and particularly the Author of these Constitutions, have mistaken or perverted the Intent of these Words of Clemens concerning these three Orders in the Jewish Church, when they apply it to these three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in every particular Church, of which Clemens is not only silent, but saith what is manifestly inconsistent therewith.

And this Argument will appear the more clear and convincing, if we compare this Account that Clemens gives of the common Practice of the Apostles, with what occurs in the Acts and in St. Paul's Epistles. In the Acts we read, that the Apostles ordained Elders in every Church, Acts xiv. 23. The Elders constituted in the Church of Ephesus, are not only called the Bishops of it, but have the Government of that Flock committed to them, when the Apostle Paul took his last Farewel of them, as never like to see their Faces any more, Acts xx. 17, 28, 38. And that St. Paul ever made Timothy their Bishop, as superior to those Presbyter-Bishops, I have sufficiently disproved. Nay, I may leave it to Mr. Whiston's Conscience, when he considers the laborious Work enjoined the Bishops by these Constitutions, whether it was possible for Timothy to discharge it, whose Stay at Ephesus was so short and temporary, and whose executing such a stated Office in that Church was so inconsistent with his itinerant Ministry.

Add

Add to this, that *Clemens's* Account of the Officers constituted by the Apostles in every Church, is exactly Parallel to 1 *Tim.* iii. where only two such Offices of Bishops and Deacons are mentioned, and the Qualifications of such as should discharge them described. And 'tis no less agreeable to the Apostles Direction to *Titus*, to ordain Elders in every City or Town in Crete, which Elders are dignified with the Title of Bishops, *Tit.* i. 6, 7.— and the Office and Name implied to be the same. If *St. Paul* by the Bishops, whose Office and Qualifications he describes, 1 *Tim.* iii. meant Presbyters as an inferior Order, how comes he to pass over the Episcopal Order in entire Silence, and give no Directions about it? Nay, how comes he that was directed by the same Spirit with the rest of the Apostles to constitute Presbyters as Priests in every Church, without setting One as High-Priest over them? How comes he to give this distinguishing Name of a superior Order to them? If he meant Bishops as a higher Order, how comes he so exactly to describe the Qualifications of an inferior Order, viz. That of Deacons, as to pass over the superior Order of Presbyters in so profound Silence? Did he take it for an unnecessary or superfluous one, that he gives no Direction about it? We see then *St. Paul* and *Clemens* perfectly agree in the two Orders of Bishops and Deacons constituted in every Church, and in making the Presbyters and Bishops the same both in Name, and Office, and Qualifications. Both agree in their Silence about any inferior Order. Both therefore were entire Strangers to these pretended Apostolical Constitutions, that make so manifest a Distinction between the Office of Bishops and Presbyters, and that add so many new ones of Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, &c. to make up with a Sort of inferior and Subject-Presbyters the Clergy of the Parochial Bishop. And consequently these Constitutions must be of a far later Date than the Epistle of *Clemens*, and penned after the Priestly Office, (as 'tis called) was subdivided into that of Bishops and Presbyters, as the Ministering Office was into that of Deacons and Subdeacons; and the Readers, Singers, and Porters adopted into the Number of the Clergy, as distinguished from the Laity. And thus the pretended *Amanuensis* of these pretended Apostolical Constitutions, proves an irrefragable Witness of their being only a spurious Composure of some later Writers.

It were as easy to shew him, that *Ignatius* was an utter Stranger to these Constitutions, who never mentions any such Book. And that as to all the truly parallel Passages he compares in *Ignatius's* Epistles with some in the Constitutions; 'tis far more probable, that the Author of these Spurious Constitutions has borrowed them from *Ignatius*, than *Ignatius* from him. For though *Ignatius's* Epistle distinguished his Parochial Bishop from his Parish Presbyters, yet they mention nothing of his Subdeacons, the Deacon's Office not being then subdivided.

And the same might be said as to *Polycarp's* Epistle to the *Philippians*, who mentions no other Officers in that Church but Presbyters and Deacons (parallel to the Presbyter-Bishops and Deacons mentioned by *Clemens* at *Corinth*) to whom he exhorts them to be subject as to God and Christ. But of these pretended Apostolical Constitutions he speaks not one Syllable, though if that Church wanted an High-Priest so long, 'tis unaccountable he should never advise them to get one constituted among them.

But because the Examination of these Testimonies is foreign to my present Subject; and I doubt not some learned Antiquary that has more

leisure to trace the Footsteps of genuine Antiquity, will undertake the Detection of this spurious Piece, which this Gentleman would thus confidently impose upon us for the most sacred Part of the New Testament, I shall not pursue this Enquiry any farther at present.

I would only before I quit this Subject desire *Mr. Whiston* who so magnifies these Apostolical Constitutions, and even the Apostolical Canons themselves as inspired Books, to answer a few plain Questions which my present Subject leads me to ask him.

Q. I. Where he finds any inspired Writer of the New Testament, speak of Bishops in a Strain that carries so strong a Savour of nauseous Arrogance and Pride as the Apostolical Constitutions do? Where do they tell us, That the Bishop sustains the Character of God among Men; That he is set over all Men, even Kings and Rulers; That he is their Ruler (*ἄρχων*) and King, and Potentate, and next after God their Earthly God? How does this high-flown Language agree with our Saviour's rebuking his Disciples for their Contest, who should be greatest? Or with his declaring their Office to be not a Domination but a Ministry? How shall we reconcile it with *St. Paul's* Precept, that requires every Soul (the Clergy as well as the Laity) to be subject to the higher Powers? How dissonant is such Language from all the Examples of Humility which the Apostles themselves have given us? Nay, how much more suitable to those proud Popes that have so long endeavoured to exalt the Mitre above the Crown, and to that Man of Sin that sitting in the Temple of God, exalts himself above all that is called God and worshipped, than to a plain Parochial Bishop? One would think *Mr. Whiston* should at least suspect such Passages as these, to be Interpolations that owe themselves to some aspiring Bishop of Rome. And 'tis perhaps from these Constitutions that *Hildebrand* borrowed his Sentiments, when he preferred the Papal so much before the Imperial Power: For they prefer the Episcopal to the Royal Authority.

Q. II. Why *Mr. Whiston* was never so candid, as to distinguish this Parochial Episcopacy mentioned in these Constitutions and in *Ignatius's* Epistles, from that Diocesan Episcopacy that for so many Ages has overturned and swallowed it up, turning some Scores or Hundreds of such Parochial Bishops into mere Subject-Presbyters, to make up the Power and Grandeur of one Diocesan.

Q. III. If *Mr. Whiston* supposes these Apostolical Canons to be of Divine Inspiration, whether they do not subject all those Bishops through the Christian World, that owe their Advancement to the Nomination and Interest of Secular Rulers, to the Sentence of Excommunication; nay all those of the Laity that are in Communion with them? And consequently, how few true Apostolical Bishops have been for several Ages to be found in the Christian Church, if we allow not those Parochial Rectors or Pastors of particular Congregations to be such, that go under the Name of Presbyters and whose Ordinations so many on that Account have the Confidence to pronounce null and void? And whether *Mr. Whiston* does not confirm their rash Censure with respect to those he calls Episcopal Churches? *Essay* p. 707.

Q. IV. Whether *Mr. Whiston* can reconcile that Doctrine in these pretended Apostolical Constitutions that forbids any of the Clergy that are unmarried at their Ordination to marry afterwards, with the

the Doctrine of the inspired Writers of the New Testament, that assert Marriage to be honourable in all, Heb. xiii. 4. and oblige all to marry that have not the Gift of Continency (without any Exception of Clergy or Laity,) 1 Cor. vii. 9. And that make the Prohibition of Marriage, one Character of the Authors of the Grand Apostacy of the latter Days, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.

Q. V. Whether Mr. Whiston can find any Thing in our New Testament, to countenance such Consecrations of Holy Oil as these pretended Constitutions prescribe, and which look so like Magical Incantations?

As my Subject does not lead me thereto, so I shall not at present enter on any Examination of the Ancient Writers, whom Mr. Whiston would press into the Service of the Arian Cause.

I shall only suggest one Argument to him that seems to overthrow his Cause. He owns our Blessed Saviour to be the Maker of this material World, and accordingly fairly interprets those numerous Passages of Scripture, that ascribe the Creation to him, in their plain and literal Sense. And yet he plainly supposes him to be a created Being, and stily denies his Coeternal Existence with the Father. Now, I know not how to reconcile this with the Force of the Apostle's Argument, that supposes this visible Creation to be a demonstrative Proof of its Maker's Eternal Power and Godhead, Rom. i. 20. The Argument must be lame and inconclusive on his Principles, who sup-

poses, that this Creation may be owing to a Being that has neither the Eternity, nor the unlimited Power that belong to the Deity. But as I doubt not, that others far more capable will particularly examine his Scheme of the Primitive Faith, and the Authorities he has alledged to countenance it, so I shall no farther *falcem meam in alienam Messem immittere*.

I am desired by a Friend of Mr. Whiston's to subjoin one Question more to him, viz. he tells us, Vol. I. p. 72, 73. how earnestly he solicited by Letter the Reverend Mr. Shute of St. Andrews Parish, to admit him to the Participation of the Holy Eucharist in the Parish-Church, and how desirous he was of continuing in the Communion of the Church of England. Now my Friend would gladly know upon what Principles he acts in desiring Communion with an Established Church, whose Litany as well as Creed is directly opposite and contradictory to his own? And who (he knows) requires strictly Divine Worship to be paid to that Blessed Saviour, to whom Mr. Whiston must account it an Idolatrous Practice to pay it? For if there be any such Thing as Idolatry in the World, 'tis the giving truly and strictly Divine Worship to a Being to which the incommunicable Perfections of the Divine Nature do not belong. And others of his Friends are highly concerned in resolving the same Question.

An ADVERTISEMENT upon Occasion of this new Edition of the foregoing Treatise, entituled, An Account of the Ancient Episcopacy.

I think it but fair to inform the Reader, That there was an Answer to this Treatise published in Ireland by Dr. Drury, A. D. 1714. I had once designed to draw up a particular Reply to it; but was, by such prudential Considerations as I need not mention, dissuaded from it; and not from any real Strength I could discern in the Answer. For I can freely trust any judicious Reader, that will be at the Pains to compare the Evidence produced from the Epistles of Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Cyprian, and the Apostolical Constitutions, and Canons, &c. with the Exceptions the Answerer has offered, to judge whether the Former be not genuine, but the Latter forced and strained. And whereas the Answerer himself utterly disclaims his pleading for the Divine Right of Episcopacy as Dioecesan, (i. e. as extending to a considerable Number of Congregations that had each their distinct Communion Table,) I must still say, That he gives up the Cause, unless he could have first proved, That our Saviour has divided the Episcopal or Pastoral Office, and confined some Branches of it to one particular Order, excluding others of an inferior Order from them, and limiting them to some lower Branches of it. This he has not, as far as I can find, any where attempted to any purpose. And yet without some positive and clear Proof of this, the whole Design of his Book falls to the Ground. For in those Reformed Churches that have not the Form of Dioecesan Government, those whom they ordain are invested in the Episcopal or Pastoral Office and all the Branches of it, as it is described in the New Testament. And there are no such mere Presbyters among them, as the Answerer so frequently mentions. And the early

Allowance of some Presidency in Ordinations and Church-Censure to one above the rest of his Collegues that joined with him therein, was rather owing to Ecclesiastical Custom than any positive Divine Institution. This unhappy Dispute among Ecclesiasticks who should be greatest, so contrary to our Saviour's Caution, begun too early, especially in populous Cities, and grew by slow and almost imperceptible Steps, till upon the Project of casting the Ecclesiastical Government into the same Form and Mould with the Civil, it produced the Superiority of Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarchs, and at last in these Western Churches the extravagant pernicious Claim of the papal Supremacy. And had not great secular Honours and Wealth been annexed to these several Degrees of Superiority, the eager Contests about them had long since been at an End. An humble and laborious Service and Ministry to the Souls of Men would have been earnestly sought only by those that had a just and serious Sense of the Value of them, and a sincere Desire of promoting their Salvation. The warm Disputes about Church-Government have long made a noise, and occasioned great Disturbance in the Christian World. But, as far as I can find, our Saviour has appointed no other but what is *Persuasive*, and not *Dictatorial* or *Coercive*. The Latter has been too often the fruitful but fatal Source of *Spiritual Tyranny* and *Persecution* on the one hand, and of *Ignorance* and *Implicit Faith* on the other. It is the Office of Christian Pastors *πρεσβεύειν* and *νομαζειν*, but by no means *κατακυριεύειν* ἢ *κλῆρον*, To preside among and admonish, but not to lord it over the Heritage (or Lots) of God. 1 Thess. v. 12. compared with 1 Pet. v. 3.

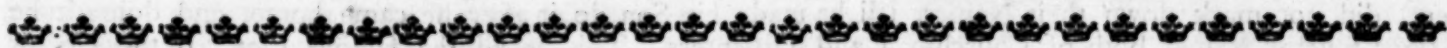
REMARKS

ON A

PAMPHLET publish'd by *W. Tisdall, D.D.*

AND INTITULED,

The Case of the Sacramental Test Stated and Argued.



The P R E F A C E.

TIS needful to acquaint the Reader, That these Remarks were wrote, soon after the Publication of Doctor Tisdall's Book, when the Pretender was in Scotland, and before his precipitate Flight had put an End to the Rebellion there, and freed us from our Apprehensions of an Invasion in this Kingdom. I do not think the Answers here given to Doctor Tisdall's Arguments against the Repeal of the Sacramental Test, have lost any thing of their force by the present happy Change in the posture of our publick Affairs.

The Doctor's Book evidently tends to infuse into all the Members of the Establish'd Church, the deepest Prejudices possible against their Protestant Dissenting Brethren, by representing 'em as their Mortal Enemies. The chief Design of this Answer is to persuade both Parties to regard and treat each other as hearty Friends. And such I am sure they are, or should be, if they consult their common Safety and Interest. Whether of these Designs be most agreeable to the Spirit of Christianity (of which mutual Love is the distinguishing Badge) I must leave all impartial Readers to judge.

We have since the Pretender's Flight been told from the Throne, That nothing can destroy the Inclination of our Enemies at home to give us new disturbance, but putting it out of their Power. The uniting all Protestants here in Interest as well as Affection, is (whatever the Doctor in his narrow Politicks suggests to the contrary) the best Expedient to put it out of the Power of our Enemies in this Kingdom, and consequently to render that publick Tranquillity and Peace firm and durable, which our late Successes have (thro' the Divine Blessing) given us the pleasing Prospect of. And if these Papers may any way serve this valuable End, the Author will think his time in writing 'em well employ'd.

Since the Printing these Papers, there has been a fresh Complaint made against the Protestant Dissenters in the North, in a Memorial presented to the Lords Justices of this Kingdom, by the Lord Primate and the Bishop of Down and Connor. The Memorial and Depositions were by the Judges of that Circuit laid before the Grand-Jury at Carrickfergus. The Matter came to a full Trial that lasted about seven Hours. The Doctor himself appear'd peculiarly active and industrious to support the Credit of the Facts alledg'd in the Depositions annex'd to the Memorial. But how utterly groundless and unreasonable the Complaint appear'd, I had rather the Reader should be inform'd from the printed Account of the Trial itself than from any imperfect Relation of mine. I only wish, That when such Accusations against Protestant Dissenters are so often found to be frivolous, That either the Doctor and others of his Kidney would for the future be more sparing and cautious to advance 'em; or that their Conforming Brethren would (in Justice to the wrongfully accus'd) be less credulous in entertaining 'em. I am sure they have no Tendency to promote either Charity or Peace.

I have had frequent Occasion in these Papers to shew the Doctor several of his gross Mistakes in Matters of Fact. I had pass'd over his last Fact with which he concludes his Book. Partly, because it appear'd too trifling to deserve any great notice: and partly, because I had then got no true Relation of it. I have since receiv'd the following Account of it from the Persons concern'd in it, which I think it not amiss to insert, to convince the Doctor, if possible, That in every One of his Matters of fact, he is either strangely abus'd by his Informers, or impos'd on thro' his own uncharitable Credulity.

The Doctor produces the following Certificate.

"I do hereby certify that upon the 2d Day of September 1715, several of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Derraghy (being summon'd) appear'd at Belfast in order to be array'd. But that several of the Churchmen of the said Parish were not call'd as they expected, upon which some of them spoke openly, and said, There were several there, who were not call'd, and desir'd to know the Reason of it.

"I do farther declare, That when the Array was over, I heard Mr. Malcome the Dissenting Teacher of Dunmurry ask Israel Abernethy, the Constable, How he came off? To which James King a Presbyterian Elder said, That he had omitted several of the Names of Churchmen, and that he was afraid the Constable would come to trouble about it. Upon which Mr. Malcome reply'd, It's all very well, It's no matter. Given under my Hand this 4th Day of Nov. 1715. J — F —

How unfair and false a Representation this Certificate contains, will appear from the following Letter of Mr. Malcome and the Testimonial annex'd thereto.

S I R,

As to the Certificate relating to me in the Case of the Sacramental Test, &c. I look upon it to be a meer Fiction, there being no Person in our whole Neighbourhood, that we can imagine to be design'd by those Letters J — F — And there was only one Man in company with Israel Abernethy, James King, and me, whose Name is A — J —

As to matter of Fact, I can aver, as if I was upon my Oath, that I ask'd no Question at all of the Constable, much less, How he came off? Since he was under no difficulty that I heard of. When James King, the Constable, and I, met accidentally at Belfast after the Array, James King did indeed tell the Constable, That he was to blame in omitting the Names of several Men, neither calling 'em Churchmen nor Dissenters: And I subjoin'd it was ill done not have the List full. Neither did James King say any such thing to the Constable, That he was afraid he wou'd come to trouble about it. And by the Account I had from several Men of good Credit who stood by all the Time of the Array no Man spoke openly, and said, That there were several there not call'd. Since the Doctor publish'd my Name, I have made strict Enquiry about it. (For indeed I had forgot there was such a thing) and do find the Truth to be this. The Constable of Derraghy (who cannot write well) warn'd all the Protestants within his bounds to go to the Array; But as he warn'd 'em, did not mark down their Names, till he made his Son do it after he came home, and doing it he forgot several Names both of Churchmen and Dissenters. This is all the famous Plot. If the Doctor were more employ'd in gaining Souls to Christ, he would not trouble himself with Trifles, and endeavour to make the World believe they are Plots. This is all at present from,

Dunmurry, Apr. 21st,
1716.

Sir,
Yours, &c.

J. Malcome.

We two which do here subscribe, do of our certain Knowledge own all above related to be Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as Witness our Hands

James King.
Israel Abernethy.

I leave the Doctor himself now to judge, upon what a sorry and ridiculous Foundation he has built the two grave Remarks with which he concludes his Book, which are as devoided of Charity (I had almost said of common Sense) as his Fact is of Truth. Has he so little regard to his Character as to prostitute it at this strange rate, by running to the Press with every groundless and malicious story he can pick up? Should he not leave it to the Jesuites to practise their own beloved Maxims, Calumniare fortiter, aliquid adhaerebit. Throw dirt enough, and some of it will stick.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, Entituled the Case of the Sacramental Test, &c.

For the Doctor's Preface I shall content my self with a few short Observations upon it.

THAT the Protestant Dissenters desire the entire Removal of the Sacramental Test is very true; because they regard a Capacity to serve their King and Country as the natural Right of every Loyal and Dutiful Subject, and account their being depriv'd of it, after all the signal Proofs they have given of their Fidelity to the Civil Government, and Zeal for the common British and Protestant Interest in this Kingdom, to be an unreasonable Hardship. And therefore their Applications to the Parliament of Ireland, and their Address to the late Queen, in order to obtain a Relief from this Grievance, were no other than regular and allowable steps, fit to be taken by Dutiful Subjects that seek Redress from the Government, of any Hardship they labour under. And they wanted not encouraging Ground for such Applications, from the clandestine manner in which that Clause enjoining the Sacramental Test was tack'd to the Bill for preventing the Growth of Popery,

from the reluctancy which the leading Members in the honourable House of Commons express'd in passing that Clause, and the Promises then made of taking the first Opportunity of repealing it, and from the visible Dangers that threaten'd the Kingdom by it's continuing in Force; of which the Dr. is pleas'd to take no notice tho' 'tis hard to think he can pretend Ignorance of it. And therefore for the Dr. to represent their renewed Attempts in such a peaceable and dutiful way, to obtain the Repeal of that Clause in several successive Sessions of the Parliament of Ireland, (and that by the Interest of the Government) as if they were criminal Actions, highly insolent and provoking, argues nothing but the Author's irreconcilable Temper towards his Protestant Brethren, and utter Forgetfulness of that grand Rule of Righteousness that obliges us not to do to others what we wou'd not they should do to us.

And yet in his Recital of the several Endeavours they have us'd for being eas'd of this Grievance, there are several Particulars that deserve some Animadversion. As,

1. That

1. That during the Interval between the Repeal of the Oath of Supremacy, and the passing the Clause for the Sacramental Test, *the Dissenters bore all down before 'em in Corporations, concerted a Monopoly of Trade, or made any other new Erections* than were occasion'd by new Protestant Dissenting Inhabitants, settling in such Places where there were few or none before, is still a *Secret* to them, which they will give Credit to, when the Author produces any Proof of it. And they desire him to bring better than he has done in his former Writings against the Dissenters, at least till he clear himself from the many gross Falshoods and Prevarications he has been charg'd with. For he has shewn himself too partial and credulous a Writer, for any unbiass'd Readers to take Matters of fact upon his bare word. And he should in all reason have vindicated his Sincerity and Truth in his former Invectives, before he trouble the World with new ones of the same Stamp.

I may, I think, on the contrary very safely appeal to the Judgment of all unbiass'd Members of the Establish'd Church, whether during the Reign of King William (whose Memory will be transmitted with Glory in the *British Annals*, while that of his Revilers will rot in their Graves) there was any such favour shewn the Dissenters, or any such Numbers of 'em employ'd in any Civil or Military Offices, as put the Establish'd Church in the least Danger? Tho' the Dissenters were not only then in a capacity for such Employments, but had come short of none of their Protestant Brethren in their Early Services and Sufferings in Defence of his Government here, and in the Preservation of this Kingdom when reduc'd to the brink of Ruin. Nay, so far were they from reaping any considerable Rewards of those Services and Sufferings, that thro' the influence of some (who on all occasions clogg'd the wheels of that excellent Prince's Government) there was little done of what was promis'd towards the Reparation of the great Losses they had sustain'd in that memorable Siege of Derry.

And if the Establish'd Church was expos'd to no such Danger for want of such a *Sacramental Test* during King William's Reign; I am sure, the Author can much less pretend any such Danger during that part of the late Queen's Reign that pass'd before this Test was establish'd here.

2. Tho' the *Sacramental Test* was in force in England many Years before, I wish our Author would resolve us, what other Effects it produc'd than the filling Corporations with a shoal of such Men, as prov'd the pernicious Tools of King Charles the 2^d's Reign, for advancing Arbitrary Power and enslaving the Nation.

3. That the Protestant Dissenters in this Kingdom *rejected all Overtures of a Toleration*, and that Mr. B. wrote against it with the utmost Contempt and Indignation, is utterly false, and what his own Eyes might have convinc'd him of the falshood of, if ever read the Papers that pass'd on that occasion. They earnestly begg'd a Toleration, and only desir'd it without such a Sting in the Tail of it, as the putting those who had so lately been instrumental in preserving the Kingdom, under the same Mark of Infamy, with those very Papists from whose destructive Rage they had done so much to save it. And it was this alone that Mr. B. in allusion to some Expressions of his Answerer call'd *Giving 'em a Stone instead of Bread, and a Serpent instead of a Fish*.

4. The Author tell us, concerning that Parliament in which this Clause pass'd. "That to their Honour be it spoken, the whole Body both of *Lords* and *Commons*, (some few excepted) pass'd the Clause with great Readiness, and defended it afterwards with as great Resolution.

That the whole Body of the *House of Commons*, (a few excepted) pass'd it with great Readiness, is also untrue, if their own Professions of their Aversion to it may be credited. He has been already told, that

the Leading Members of the *House of Commons*, when they pass'd that Clause for fear of losing the Bill against Popery, promis'd to take the first Opportunity of repealing it. I hope the Doctor will not reckon it any point of Honour to be worse than their Word; unless as the Church of Rome is against keeping Faith with Hereticks, he thinks none shou'd be kept with those whom he is pleas'd to call Schismatics.

5. The Author gives an high Encomium of the happy Effects of this Clause. "It prov'd like a Pillar of Fire and Cloud to the *Israelites* and *Egyptians*, "it was *Light* to those, but a *Cloud of Darknes* to those, &c.

No doubt he understands *Churchmen* by the *Israelites*, and the *Dissenters* by the *Egyptians*. But he seems in this Comparison to have forgotten, That the *Egyptians* were the Party that brought their fellow Creatures under hard Bondage, and therefore a fitter Emblem of such as are forward to put severe hardships not only on their *Fellow-Creatures* but on their *Fellow-Christians*. And that this Severity was us'd in a Reign when Joseph's Services were forgotten. And for the Corporations that (he tells us after his romantick way) were by this Clause recover'd out of the Hands of Dissenters, I wish he would also acquaint us, what Advantages redounded thereby to the Kingdom by the Inlargement of it's Trade and Commerce, or the better Government of those Corporations.

6. For the Reflections he casts on the Northern Dissenters for asserting in their Address to the Queen, "their untainted Loyalty in all Turns of Government, as the natural Consequence of their known Principles, which (he tells us) in the Mouths of their Adversaries concerning 'em, would be the greatest Irony and Sarcasm imaginable, we shall regard 'em when he has answer'd the Historical Essay. And I must now tell him, that their Principles, viz. That *Our's is a limited, not absolute Monarchy*; and the *Laws are the Measures of our Obedience and Submission*; in opposition to the Doctrine of *Unlimited Non-resistance*, and *Obedience without reserve*, are the very foundation of the late happy Revolution, and of the present Establishment; And whoever charges these Principles with Disloyalty can be no true friend to the present Government. We cannot so soon forget that the *Latter Principles* have in the compass of a few years twice brought these Nations to the brink of Destruction; And in the latter Edition of 'em were wholly calculated (together with that of *indefeasible Hereditary Right*) for the Pretender's Service. God be thank'd, King George has no need of any such *Slavish Principles* for the support of his Throne, and of that entire Interest in the Affections of his People, which his wise, his just, and mild Government has given him, however some look upon it with an envious Eye.

His arraigning the Northern Dissenters for insolent Treatment of her late Majesty, because they regret the *Sacramental Test* as incapacitating 'em to serve her in any future Exigency and Danger, shews how much stronger the Doctor's Passion is than his Reason.

How cou'd the Gentlemen of their Persuasion have serv'd her Majesty in case of an Invasion, when their accepting Commissions, and acting pursuant to 'em, would have expos'd 'em to such Penalties as must have ruin'd themselves and their Families, even by rendring 'em incapable of suing for a Debt? How could the People of their Persuasion have done it, when it was reckon'd a Moot point in Law, whether the Act did not extend to private Centinels in case of their *Receiving Pay*? They would no doubt in case of an Invasion have endeavour'd to defend their own Lives; but what Encouragement would they have had to march into any other part of the Kingdom, to defend those that could not screen 'em from being ruin'd for their Service? And must their humbly representing their present Disability to serve Her Majesty, and regretting it as their great Unhappiness, be

call'd

call'd insolent Treatment? And for the Doctor to put such a perverse Construction on their saying, they could not (under such Disability) serve Her Majesty in case of Danger, as to tell us they mean, *They would not*, shews only what an utter stranger he is to that *Charity* that thinketh no Evil.

7. For the Conduct of the Dissenters in the North at the time of the Pretender's Invasion in 1707-8, so much has been said to clear it from his gross Misrepresentation of it, in the Historical Essay, as may justly supersede any farther Consideration of that Matter, till he is pleas'd to give some Answer to it.

8. As to the Representation of the House of Lords, and the Address of the Northern Dissenters in Vindication of themselves, The Doctor is pleas'd to tell us, " 'Tis evident they were conscious of those Crimes where-
" of they stand accus'd, as appears by the Evasion
" they make to this high Charge.

Let any unprejudic'd Man read that Representation and their Apology, and judge of the Truth and Honesty of this Assertion of the Doctor's. Is this the Gentleman that so often charges others with *Impudence*, and *Prevarication*, and *Prodigious Boldness*? Was there ever a more groundless and indeed shameless Assertion advanced by a Man, that appeals to *Papers* that are still in Print to convict him of barefac'd Calumny? Do they appear in that Apology conscious of having persecuted Conformists? Or of invading their Congregations? Or of prosecuting and censuring their People for being married according to Law? Or of misapplying the Royal Bounty? Do they not positively deny these Facts, and appeal to all that know 'em concerning the notorious Untruth of them? Have not the Dissenters of Dublin and the South of Ireland made the same Appeal, if possible, in stronger Terms, as to what concerns them in the general Charge? Have they not challeng'd any that would accuse them, to produce even one single Instance of their Guilt? And has this Gentleman, after such solemn Protestations, the face to assert, " That 'tis evident they were conscious of the
" Crimes they were accus'd of, by their evasive Answers? Has he no regard to Truth or Modesty in venting so notorious a Falshood? And I must add, that if he (as common Fame reports) was one of those that gave their Lordships the Misinformations upon which that Address was grounded, should he not blush at his own Guilt in putting so vile an Abuse upon so Honourable a Body, by such false Accounts of known Facts? Does he not deserve their severe Censure for misleading 'em by such unjust Accusations? Do any future Calumnies he shall load the Dissenters with, deserve any Regard? And I may add, That it will not add the greater Weight to the Credibility of the Facts mentioned in that Representation, that a certain Peer who is said to have had the greatest hand in drawing it up, was not only a known bitter Enemy to Protestant Dissenters in this Kingdom, but has been lately declar'd by the present House of Commons, an Enemy to the Protestant Succession. And 'tis as just as well as general Observation, That those who have express'd the greatest Enmity to the Protestant Dissenters, have shewn the least Affection to the Protestant Succession, and the present Government. And that the real tendency of all the ill usage the latter have met with, was to promote the Pretender's Interest by fomenting Animosities among Protestants, whatever the Intentions of the Authors of those Hardships might be.

From the Apology of the Presbyterians in the North, The Doctor passes to the Address of the Dissenting Ministers in Dublin and the South of Ireland, and falls severely on that part of it, wherein they apologize for one of their Brethren in these words. " And we humbly
" conceive, That as the Author in that Passage makes
" no mention of the Legislature, so his Opinion, as
" there deliver'd, is conformable to the Sentiments of
" many excellent Divines of the Establish'd Church,
" who wish that some other Qualification were made

" the Test of Admission to Civil and Military Im-
" ployments, than the Participation of the Holy Eu-
" charist in this or that manner of it's Administration.

This the Doctor is pleas'd, according to his usual strain, to call a *Mixture of Impudence and Prevarication*.

But has the Doctor (who is so liberal of his hard Words) said any thing to refute the matter of fact which is the ground of their Apology, viz. That that Author's Opinion is conformable to the Sentiments of many excellent Divines of the Establish'd Church? To strengthen that part of the Apology I shall now add, That 'tis no less conformable to the Sentiments of many of her judicious Laity, even such whose high Rank, and bright Character should set 'em above all contumelious Reflections. The late King William in his first Parliament told 'em, that he hop'd they would leave Room for the Admission of all Protestants that were willing to serve him, which would tend to the better uniting them amongst themselves, and strengthen them against their common Adversaries. This Speech occasion'd the bringing in a Clause (to be added to the Bill for abrogating to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and that commonly call'd the Oxford-Oath) importing, that any Man should be sufficiently qualified for an Office, &c. who receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, either according to the Usage of the Establish'd Church, or in any other Protestant Congregation, &c.

The Question being put, Whether this Clause should be a part of the Bill? It pass'd in the Negative. But as several Noble Peers enter'd their Dissent, so they offer'd the following Reasons for it.

1. Because it gives great part of the Protestant Freemen of England reason to complain of Inequality and hard Usage, when they are excluded from publick Employments by Law. And also because it deprives the King and Kingdom of divers Men fit and capable to serve the Publick in several Stations, and that for a meer Scruple of Conscience which can render 'em by no means suspected, much less disaffected to the Government.

2. Because His Majesty, as the common and indulgent Father of his People, having express'd an earnest desire of Liberty for tender Consciences, to his Protestant Subjects, and my Lords the Bishops having divers of them on several occasions, profess'd an Inclination to, and own'd the Reasonableness of such a Christian Temper; We apprehend it will raise Suspensions in some Men's Minds, of something else than the Care of Religion and the Publick, and different from a Design to heal our Breaches, when they find by confining Secular Employments to Ecclesiastical Conformity, those are shut out from Civil Affairs, whose Doctrine and Worship may be tolerated by Authority of Parliament. (There being a Bill before us by order of the House for that purpose) Especially when without this exclusive Rigour, the Church is secured in all her Privileges and Preferments, no body being hereby let into 'em who is not strictly conformable.

3. Because to set Marks of Distinction and Humiliation on any Sort of Men, who have not rendred themselves justly suspected to the Government, as it is at all times to be avoided by the Makers of just and equitable Laws, so it may be particularly of ill Effects to the Reformed Interest at home and abroad, in this present Juncture, which stands in need of the United Hands and Hearts of all Protestants against the open Attempts and secret Endeavours of a restless Party, and a potent Neighbour, who is more zealous than Rome it self to plant Popery in these Kingdoms, and labours with the utmost Force to settle his Tyranny upon the Ruins of the Reformation all thro' Europe.

4. Because it turns the Edge of a Law (we know not by what Fate) upon Protestants and Friends

Friends to the Government, which was intended against Papists, to exclude them from Places of Trust, as Men avowedly dangerous to our Government and Religion. And thus the taking the Sacrament which was enjoin'd only as a Means to discover Papists, is now made a distinguishing Duty among Protestants to weaken the whole by casting off a part of 'em.

5. Because Mysteries of Religion and Divine Worship are of Divine Original, and of a Nature so wholly distinct from the secular affairs of political Society, that they cannot be applied to those Ends. And therefore the Church by the Law of the Gospel, as well as common Prudence, ought to take care neither to offend tender Consciences within itself, nor give offence to those without, by mixing their sacred Mysteries with Secular Interests.

6. Because we cannot see how it can consist with the Law of God, common Equity, or the Right of any freeborn Subject, that any one be punish'd without a Crime. If it be a Crime not to take the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England, every one ought to be punish'd for it, which no body affirms. If it be no Crime, those who are capable and thought fit for Employments by the King, ought not to be punish'd with a Law of Exclusion, for not doing that which it is no Crime to forbear.

If it be urg'd still as an effectual Test to discover and keep out Papists, the taking the Sacrament in these Protestant Congregations, where they are Members and known, will be at least as effectual to that purpose.

Concerning these Reasons alledg'd by these Noble Peers, I shall only observe, That they are much more forcible as apply'd to this Kingdom, and to the Posture of our Affairs when that Address was presented; And they are still more cogent, as apply'd to the present Conjuncture, when the Flames of an Unnatural and Desperate Rebellion are raging in the Neighbouring Kingdom; and we know not how soon they may be kindled in this. Where then is the Impudence of the Dissenting Ministers in Dublin and the South of Ireland, saying much less than these illustrious Peers had said before 'em?

The Doctor indeed tells us, That the Sacramental Test is design'd to suppress a State-Faction. And to that purpose he said, That the Conformists are not a Party, but the whole Constitution, while the Dissenters are not so properly the true and real Members of it, as the Tumors and Excrescencies that deform and endanger it.

If the Author by the Constitution means (as in all Reason he should) that Form of Government, which our Laws have establish'd, What Sense can we make of his Assertion? Does he not here strangely confound our Form of Government with those that live under it, and enjoy the Benefit of it? If by the Constitution he means the Kingdom, is it not equally absurd to say, That the Conformists are not a Party, but the whole Kingdom? Will he not hereby reduce our Body Politick to a very narrow compass, by cutting off near Nine parts in Ten under the Notion of Tumors and Excrescencies? But I suppose, what the Doctor intends (tho' very awkwardly express'd) is, That the Conformists are the only Persons who approve and comply with the present Constitution of the National Church as well as that of the State; whereas those call'd Dissenters, tho' they approve the Civil Constitution dissent from the Ecclesiastical Establishment. And has not the Doctor hereby made a rare Discovery? That the Conformists alone are conformable to the Establish'd Church, and the Dissenters are not. But as to the Kingdom, if the Doctor wou'd here insinuate, That the Dissenters are not true Members of it, and are only to be regarded as Tumors and Excrescencies that deform and endanger it; where is either

his Judgment or Charity in bestowing these vile Epithets on so considerable a Body of Protestants in this Kingdom, that have as firmly adher'd to our Civil Constitution, and bear as cordial and dutiful an Affection to the present Government, as he can pretend to? If the Dissenters here must pass for Tumors and Excrescencies that deform and endanger the Constitution; what will he say of those Conformists in South-Britain, who have join'd with Papists for the utter Subversion of it, to make way for the Tyranny of an Attainted Pretender? What will he say of the Episcopal Dissenters in North-Britain, who are so generally dipp'd in the same black design? Do not these look much more like a State-Faction? And if those who are manifestly disaffected to the present Government in South-Britain be properly a State-Faction, I apprehend the continuance of this Exclusive Test the Doctor pleads for, will serve to no other end than to cherish it; whereas the Removal of it would in all Probability be the most effectual Expedient to suppress it.

As to that Clause the Doctor produces in the Representation of Grievances presented to the Duke of Shrewsbury in these Words, "We beg leave to say, "That those Persons are inexcusable and chargeable "with all the bad Consequences that may follow, "who in such a Kingdom as this, and at such a time "as this, disable, disgrace, and divide Protestants, "a thing that ought not to be done at any time, or in "any Place, much less in this, " &c. He is pleas'd, in his wonted strain, to pass a very hard Censure on it. He represents it as most insolent and provoking, and calls it an Application with a Hat in one hand, and a Sword in the other.

That nothing but inveterate Ill-will could make the Doctor put so perverse a Construction on this innocent Clause, will appear to any one that looks back on the Time and unhappy Posture of Affairs to which it refers.

Can any reasonable Man now doubt, That secret Designs were then form'd to defeat the Protestant Succession, and to advance the Pretender to the Throne? 'Tis evident, that not only the Protestant Dissenters, but the most wise and considerate Members of the Establish'd Church were firmly persuaded that such a pernicious Scheme was projected. And the last House of Commons that sat here during the Reign of the late Queen, and under the Duke of Shrewsbury's administration appear'd possess'd with such Apprehensions; And the Rebellion now broken out, and carry'd on, not only by Papists, but by so many pretended Protestants, and particularly by such as were then at the Head of Affairs (such as the late Lord Bolingbroke, and late Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Mar, &c.) abundantly justifies their Suspicion. Is it not then evident that while the Hands of the Dissenters were so far bound up by this Test, while so many secret Enemies of the Protestant Succession were in the highest Places of Power, and while the truest Friends of it were disgrac'd and run down, it would have been an easy matter to have secur'd the Pretender's Interest in this Kingdom, where the Papists were so numerous, and were to a Man in his Interest? These, and no other, are the bad Consequences that the Protestant Dissenters in the North were apprehensive of, and reckon'd those would be justly chargeable with, who in so dangerous a juncture, would disable, disgrace, and divide Protestants, whose united Force they thought little enough to stem so strong a Torrent, that threaten'd the utter Destruction of the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom; and 'tis more owing to the seasonable and miraculous Interposal of Divine Providence, in blasting the Designs of the Enemies of the Protestant Succession before they were ripe for Execution, than to any Measures then taken for defeating 'em, that these bad Consequences were then happily prevented? And can any thing but Malice call such

an honest, and faithful, and seasonable Remonstrance of the publick Danger, insolent and provoking? Or an Application with an Hat in one Hand, and a Sword in the other? Did these Gentlemen threaten the Government or the Establish'd Church, that if the Test were not remov'd, they wou'd Rebel against the One, or endeavour to destroy the other? 'Tis to the last degree absurd to imagine, that such a Thought cou'd come into their Heads. But as they suppos'd the Duke of Shrewsbury by his prudent Conduct here, in opposition to the violent Measures of Sir Constantine and his Party, to be in the Interest of the Protestant Succession, so they humbly represented what they thought would be most effectual to secure all true Protestants in this Kingdom, from the Danger that threaten'd us all by the formidable Party the Pretender had in it. And this could not be thought insolent and provoking to any that were real Friends to the Protestant Succession, whatever it might be to the Pretender's open or secret Abettors. Nor did the Duke of Shrewsbury express any Dislike of that Representation when presented to him in order to his transmitting it to the Queen.

"But, saith the Doctor, their Arguments from the Danger of provoking their Multitudes, and of leaving the Conformists to the Power of the Papists, if matters came to a Crisis (as they express'd it) were equally absurd as they were insolent; because 'tis manifest, that such a treacherous Neutrality wou'd unite the Conformists among themselves, as the Dissenters are at this Day; and that while the former so united stood possess'd of all that Civil and Military Power which they now have by Law; they would be superior to the Force of either, if not of Both in Confederacy.

Now I would gladly know, in what Address or Representation, the Protestant Dissenters ever us'd any Arguments for Repealing the Sacramental Test, from the Danger of provoking their multitudes, and of their leaving the Conformists to the Power of the Papists, if matters ever came to a Crisis? Where did they ever mention or propose what the Doctor calls a treacherous Neutrality in the Case of Common Danger? Did they not in all their Addresses and Representations, declare their inviolable Adherence to the Protestant Succession, and Resolution to act to the utmost of their Capacity in Conjunction with their Conforming Brethren for the support of it; expressing their great Regret at the Disabilities they were under? For the Truth of this they can safely appeal to numerous Addresses, and other Papers presented during the late Reign, and some at a time, when they had reason to apprehend that Addresses of that strain were not the best Methods of making their Court to some, who then were in the highest Posts of Honour and Trust. And let any Man from hence judge, how unjust a Representation the Doctor has here made of their Sentiments, so contrary to their frequent publick Declarations.

But tho' the Dissenters are no way concern'd in the Arguments he is pleas'd to coin for 'em; it may not be a mis to consider his reasoning to shew the Absurdity of 'em.

Matters are now actually come to the Crisis he speaks of. If the Conformists be not united, he knows as well as any whose fault it is. But they seem at least to be so, in appearing for King George's Interest against the Pretender; they are actually possess'd of all the Civil and Military Power the Law gives them; but do they think this Power superior to the Force of the Papists, in case of that Invasion they are threaten'd with, on supposition of the Dissenters standing neuter? No, he finds to his Mortification, that the Honourable House of Commons are wiser Politicians than his Bigotry will suffer him to be, and think it necessary to invite and encourage the Dissenters to assist them in the Defence of the common Protestant Interest, by ad-

mitting 'em both into the Militia, and the Army. So far are they from the Doctor's Romantick Imagination, that their Power would be superior both to the Papists and Dissenters in Confederacy. Were such a dangerous Confederacy to be suppos'd, (tho' I confess we may as soon suppose a Confederacy between Light and Darkness, or between King George's Friends and the attainted Pretender's Adherents) yet on that absurd supposition, I am afraid these two raging Seas of Popery and Presbytery (as he is wittily pleas'd to stile 'em) would soon overflow his narrow Isthmus, notwithstanding all the Legal Banks that are set about it. But, God be thank'd, our Senators are wiser than to trust to his narrow Political Schemes; and judge no less than the united Strength of all the Protestants of this Kingdom, to be a sufficient Barrier against Popery and the Pretender. And I hope it will, by the Divine Blessing on their Union in so good a cause, prove an Impregnable one.

For the Doctor's Introduction, I have only these two Observations to make, viz. That his Representation of the Church of Ireland's being in danger from Protestant Dissenters, is untrue in itself, and at this time unseasonable and of ill Tendency.

'Tis untrue in it self. And what clearer Evidence can be desir'd to convict it of Falshood, than that the Protestant Dissenters have twice within the compass of our own Memories been highly instrumental to preserve that very Establish'd Church, to which he represents 'em as Enemies, equally dangerous with the Papists themselves; What would have become of the Establish'd Church in this Kingdom, had not the Protestant Dissenters concurr'd in making that noble Stand at Derry, that prevented this Kingdom's being overrun with a deluge of Popery? I hope he will grant, that Presbytery (as he calls it) did at that time not barely roar and foam against Popery, but effectually stemmed the Torrent of it. And this they did without the prospect of any other particular Advantage to themselves, than the securing the same Religious and Civil Rights they had before enjoy'd. And I hope, it will not be forgotten what part they acted when the late Ministry brought the Protestant Succession (and consequently the Establish'd Church) in so visible a danger of being overturn'd by the Advancement of a Popish Pretender. Their steady Adherence to the Protestant Succession, and to those of the Establish'd Church that were the truest Friends to it, broke all the Measures taken in this Kingdom, to pave the way for the Popish Pretender, whose Accession to the Throne must have prov'd destructive to the whole Protestant Interest. Let all impartial Men then judge, whether there be either Truth or Gratitude in this Representation? And as this Representation is in itself untrue. So,

'Tis in this present Juncture, most unseasonable and of very ill Tendency.

The Doctor here openly declares, That he apprehends the Dissenters equally dangerous to the Establish'd Church as the Papists, even as two raging Seas are to the Isthmus that lies between 'em. The Dissenters have but too great reason to take all those of the Establish'd Church for real Enemies to 'em, who have so unjust and uncharitable an Opinion of 'em. This Representation of his can serve to no other End, than to heighten their mutual Jealousy and Distrust of each other; And if it do not increase their mutual Animosities 'tis not the Doctor's Fault. Now how should two different Bodies so divided in their affections, and possess'd with such a Diffidence of each other, heartily concur in the necessary Measures for their common Safety in case of an Invasion, when they have an Enemy in their own Bowels vastly superior in Numbers to both? Does not he that would sow the Seeds of such mutual Distrust between 'em, take the most effectual course to render their hearty Union in the Defence of the Common Cause almost impossible? And whatever such a one may pretend concerning his Intentions,

Intentions, he cannot at this time do a greater Service to the Interest of the Pretender and of Popery. But, God be thank'd, this Plot so successfully manag'd in the late Reign, will not take in this. The Low-Church (as they are call'd) and the Dissenters have a more favourable Opinion of each other, as imbar'd in the same common Cause of the present Establishment of the Crown in the Illustrious House of Hanover, and of the Common Protestant and British Interest in this Kingdom. And while the former have their Ecclesiastical Constitution so fully secur'd, as it is by the late Union, (of which more hereafter) and the Latter hope from their Protestant Brethren, the Redress of any real Grievances they labour under, there is a solid Foundation laid for mutual Confidence and Trust, and consequently for their hearty Concurrence in their common Defence, against Enemies that would make no Distinction if they did once prevail. And I know none that have done more to obstruct this mutual Trust, than the Doctor and those of his stamp, who still labour to keep up that Distinction among the true Friends to the Protestant Religion, which His Majesty (in one of his late Speeches) wishes this *flagrant Attempt in favour of Popery* may abolish and take away.

For the State of the Case which the Doctor has laid down, I shall not trouble the Reader with any Exception against it, * but proceed to consider the Arguments he alledges to prove, "That all who are not Members of the Establish'd Church, and do not shew that they are so, by Receiving the Sacrament according to the Usage of it, ought to be excluded from all Civil and Military Offices.

His first Argument runs thus.

The Establish'd Church of every Nation, &c.

This Argument being equally calculated for the Service of all other National Churches as well as of this; Let us take a view of it as applied to the National Church of France, under the late Reign of Lewis the XIVth, and see how the Author will like it.

The Protestants of France, among other Instances of Persecution which prepar'd the way for their entire Ruin, complain'd of their Exclusion from all Civil and Military Offices; And much more reason they had to complain of their being utterly incapacitated for such Offices, by the entire Revocation of the Edict of Nantz itself. But if our Author's Argument be of any force, Lewis the XIVth, was not only justifiable in both these Steps, but in Conscience bound to take these wicked Measures. As will appear by urging the Author's own Reasoning (*mutatis mutandis*) in his Defence.

"The Establish'd Church of every Nation [and consequently that of France] is suppos'd by the Legislature [*i. e.* was suppos'd by Lewis the XIVth, whose Edicts in that absolute Monarchy have the force of Laws] to be a found part of the Catholic Church. And consequently all Religious Sects differing from the National Church [of France] and denying Communion with her, were by the same Power [*i. e.* the said French Monarch] implicitly presum'd Erroneous [*i. e.* All his Protestant Subjects.]

"Upon which Account, It was the Duty of the late French King to defend that National [Popish] Church by the most prudential Means he could devise; being oblig'd in Conscience to maintain what was establish'd by his Authority as Sacred and Orthodox, against what he suppos'd Erroneous and Corrupt. But he could not do this effectually by

"making Edicts for it's Security, so long as he allow'd any Persons [as particularly the Protestants of France] any share in the Execution of those Edicts. who could not in conscience execute 'em. [as indeed they could not in conscience execute a great Number of Edicts that prepar'd the way for the total Extirpation of their Religion.] And the Protestants of France being thus incapable to execute those Edicts, it follows, That Lewis XIV. was not only bound in Conscience to defend the National [Popish] Church, by wholesome Laws or Edicts; [such as tended to extinguish the Calvinian Herefy] but even in common Prudence to exclude all his Protestant Subjects from any Power of putting those Laws, or Edicts, in Execution, which were devis'd for the defence of the National [Popish] Church against those [Protestants] themselves; " And consequently to revoke that part at least of the Edict of Nantz, that put them into a Capacity of enjoying and exercising Civil or Military Offices.

And the same Reasoning will be as good for any Kingdom or Country in Europe, where Popery is the Establish'd Religion.

I must therefore desire the Author either to retract his Argument, or tell us plainly, Whether he approves these abominable and wicked Conclusions, that are naturally deducible from it.

But I may add, That tho' we should suppose the Author's Reasoning to be good, it would no way answer the End he proposes by it. It might indeed justify the excluding all that dissent from the National Church, from all those Offices that oblige 'em to execute any Penal Laws made against those of their own Persuasion in the matters of Religion; but it would no way prove, That they ought to be excluded from all Civil and Military Offices. Because a great part of Civil Offices, and all Military ones may be discharg'd by those who are no way concern'd in the Execution of such Penal Laws. To Instance in this Kingdom, What concern have the Officers of the Army in the Execution of any Penal Laws against Dissenters? The same may be said concerning all Civil Offices in the Administration of the Revenue, and many other Offices in Corporations. So that the force of the Argument, as laid down by himself, can only extend to the Office of Judges, Mayors, and Sheriffs, or other chief Magistrates of Towns, Justices of the Peace, &c. So might the Protestants of France, notwithstanding our Author's Reasoning, have been employ'd in the Army, in the Finances, and several other Offices that no way concern'd the Interest of the Popish National Church there. And I must here in Justice to 'em add, That that Spirit of Priest-ridden Bigotry that at last prevail'd with the late French King to exclude 'em, was one of the most impolitick Counsels he ever follow'd. Their Exclusion from Civil Offices soon sunk the Trade of the Kingdom; and their Exclusion from Military Offices so weaken'd the Strength of his Military Power, that had we pursued our Successes, instead of making such an unseasonable and inglorious Peace, that Kingdom had in all probability been reduc'd to the Necessity of sending the Confederates *Carte blanche* in order to avoid entire Destruction. So that their National Church as well as State, were put into the most imminent Danger by following our Author's pretended prudential Maxims. And I am sure these Maxims are much more impolitick in this Kingdom, where the Papists are far more numerous than both Conforming and Dissenting Protestants, and where

* Tho' it were easy to shew, That tho' it shou'd be thought reasonable to confine all Civil and Military Trusts to those that are conformable to the Establish'd Church; yet this wou'd no way justify the making the receiving the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Establish'd Church, a necessary Condition of their Admission to 'em; because this lays too many under a strong Temptation to receive it, who are utterly unfit for it, and cannot, without a visible Reformation of their evil Lives, be worthy Communicants at that Holy Table, (of which I had occasion to take some notice already.)

the Trade and Safety of it depend on their being united in Affection and Interest.

The Doctor's second Argument is, "That Dissenters are oblig'd in Conscience to refuse all share in the Executive Power of our Laws; especially of those Laws that directly or indirectly support the Church; because they cannot with a safe Conscience obey those Laws themselves which they see executed upon others, and therefore cannot accept of Commissions to put those Penal Laws in Execution."

To this Argument I have these following Answers to return.

1. That were his Argument valid, it would not exclude the Dissenters from any of those *Military or Civil Offices*, which are no way concern'd in the Execution of those penal Laws that are made for the Security of the Establish'd Church. And as I have before observ'd, both all *Military* and a great part of *Civil Offices* are of that Number. The Doctor has indeed very warily put in an Expression of large Extent, when he speaks of those Laws that *directly or indirectly support the Church*: It puts me in Mind of the Pope's assuming a Power over *Temporals in ordine ad spiritualia*. And how far the Doctor may stretch the meaning of what *indirectly supports the Church*, I know not tell he explains himself.

I add,

2. The Doctor having instanc'd in those penal Laws in force in this Kingdom, which he supposes the *Dissenters cannot in Conscience execute*, and consequently *cannot accept of Commissions that oblige 'em to execute*, it may not be improper to examine the Force of his Reasonings in reference to them.

The first Instance he mentions is that penal Clause in the Statute of the 2d of Eliz. that makes *all absent from the Church on Sundays or Holy-days liable to 12d. Fine*. Now this Offence he tell us is punishable by the Magistrates and Justices of the Peace by this Act.

Now I wou'd gladly know of the Doctor, Whether all Conforming *Magistrates and Justices of the Peace*, are oblig'd in Conscience to execute this penal Clause, or no? If they are, How come they so universally to counter-act that Obligation? Can he give us one Instance of it's being executed throughout the whole Kingdom? If they are not, Then where is the Force of this Argument; That no Dissenters can with a safe Conscience be in the Commission of the Peace, because they cannot execute this penal Clause? Is not this penal Clause justly to be reckon'd among those *Laws* that by *Desuetude* becomes *obsolete*, from the palpable Inconvenience and Mischief of putting them in Execution? Have we not several other Statutes that are yet unrepeal'd, and yet for this reason become obsolete? And does not this Reason hold strong as to this particular Clause, the strict Execution whereof would deprive many thousands of poor People of their Bread, and reduce them to Beggary and Ruin; some for not offering violence to their own Consciences in joining in a Worship they do not approve; and many for not doing what was impossible for 'em, when so many Parishes have no divine Service perform'd either on *Sundays or Holy-days*, and many more none perform'd in a Language they understand?

For that other Clause in the same Act, 2 Eliz. that makes it penal to *deprave or despise the Book of Common-Prayer*, I see not why a *Dissenting Justice of Peace* may not execute that Clause with a safe Conscience, (if the Sense of it be not strain'd) as much as it is ever executed by any *Conforming One*. Because no Principles of Dissenters either oblige 'em to, or will justify 'em in their depraving any Book, and much less one that has the stamp of publick Authority, nor in treating it with any *indecent Contempt*.

For his last Instance, viz. That Clause in the 17th

and 18th of Car. II. That if any Person who is by this Act disabled to preach any Lecture or Sermon, shall, during the Time that he continues and remains so disabled, preach any Lecture or Sermon, that then for every such Offence, &c. The Doctor is utterly mistaken in thinking, That this Clause extends to the preaching of any Dissenting Minister in the Kingdom, as he himself might have seen, had he observ'd the following Words in the Act, viz. *If he preach any Sermon or Lecture in any Church, Chapel, or other publick place of Worship*. I would therefore ask the Doctor why he left out this material Clause. If he did it wilfully, Where was his Honesty? If not, Where was his Understanding? Does he not know, that the Legislature of England never took the place of what they call in succeeding Statutes a *Conventicle*, for any *Church Chappel, or other publick Place of Worship*? (Those Expressions being confin'd to *consecrated Places*) Does he not know, that this part of the Statute was design'd only to exclude all Non-conforming Teachers from exercising their Ministry in the Establish'd Church, and in any of her consecrated Places of Worship? And that this was the Sense of the Legislature, I shall for once give him this obvious Demonstration. The Act of Indulgence pass'd in King William's Reign, suspends all the penal Clauses of former Statutes, that make the preaching of Dissenting Ministers in their Meeting-Houses penal, but it does not suspend this Clause. If this Clause extends to 'em, The Act of Indulgence could not screen 'em from the Penalty of it as often as they preach; and consequently would be of no Service to 'em, since it would leave 'em liable to be utterly ruin'd for the private Exercise of their Ministry. 'Tis hence evident, that the Parliament did not think them liable to the Penalty of this Clause for their Preaching in their Meeting-Houses. Otherwise they would and must have repeal'd it among the rest of the penal Clauses in other Statutes that are particularly mention'd. This the Doctor has been already told of in the *Historical Essay*, in reference to the Case of Mr. Biggar, who was upon this Clause imprison'd at Drogheda. But those that did it, were at last so sensible of this false and illegal step, that in the Accommodation of that Affair with the late Lord Primate, one Condition of Mr. Biggar's Enlargement without Fees was, that he should promise not to prosecute the Mayor for false Imprisonment, as he might most justly have done, had he not wav'd that Advantage against him for the sake of Peace. And yet, as if the Doctor had never heard of this, he trumps up this penal Clause, as an Argument to prove that the Dissenters cannot in conscience accept of any *Military or Civil Post*, whereas 'tis no Argument against their being *Justices of the Peace*, or even *Judges on the Bench*, since it no way concerns any *Dissenting Teacher* that does not invade the publick Churches; And should any of them be guilty of such *illegal Presumption*, I see not, why any *Dissenting Magistrate* should make any Scruple of Conscience to punish him for it. This Argument is therefore every way weak and inconclusive to the Doctor's purpose.

3. I would ask the Doctor, whether he would consent that the Dissenters should be admitted into all Offices that are no way concern'd in the Execution of any such Penal Laws? If not, his Argument as to them is manifestly *Lame and Defective*. If he would, what becomes of the main Design of his Book, which is written to justify their Exclusion from all Offices whether *Civil or Military*?

4. Whereas the Doctor advises the Dissenters, "If they would go fairly to work, first to procure a Repeal of our Penal Laws before they presume to put in for a share in the executive Power." I would gladly know whether he'll lend 'em his Assistance and Interest in so good a Work? I here only speak of such Laws as make it penal in such as dis-

sent from the National Church to worship God in a way they judge more agreeable to the Holy Scriptures (the only unerring Standard and Test of the Christian Religion). If the Author would, the Dissenters would commend his Moderation and Charity in forwarding such an honest Design. If he would not, as he gives them just Reason to suspect, how can he account himself a Member of that Church, whose Principles (if we may believe the Legislature of Great-Britain in their Preamble to the first Bill against Occasional Conformity) are against all Persecution on the account of Religion, and for Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences in those matters. For what can be call'd Persecution, if the subjecting Men to Civil Penalties for acting sincerely according to their best Light and Judgment in matters of Religion be not so? If the Author be of the same Sentiments with that Parliament, (whose Zeal for the Church I suppose he will not call in question) he should himself be for the Repeal of all Penal Laws against the Worship of Dissenters, as they declare themselves to be, by telling us, *the Act of Indulgence ought to be preserv'd inviolable*. And if they were repeal'd, the Foundation of the Doctor's Argument would be taken out of the way. If he be not, he is animated by that Spirit of Persecution, which they tell us the Church of England disclaims.

His Third Argument amounts to this, "That all Sects dissenting from a National Church, are oblig'd to attempt the Subversion of the Establish'd Religion. That the Dissenters as well as Papists are reputed Enemies to the Establish'd Church of Ireland; who if either were uppermost would tolerate no Religion but their own, but persecute all that dissent from them as Hereticks or Schismatics. And that Self-preservation does therefore oblige our Law-makers to exclude all Dissenters from the Civil Part, since they are profess'd Enemies to the Ecclesiastical; both parts of our Constitution being so interwoven with each other, that the one cannot fall without the utmost hazard at least, if not Destruction of the other, &c."

1. If the Doctor, by the *Establish'd Religion*, means any thing in it's Doctrinal Articles, Worship, and even Discipline itself, that has the stamp of divine Authority, the Dissenters are no Enemies to it at all, but hearty Friends; 'Tis the same Religion with their own, and those would but betray stupid Ignorance that represent them as Men of two different Religions. 'Tis the Additions made to our common Christianity, are the only matters in difference.

2. If the Doctor supposes, That any Principles of Dissenters oblige them to attempt the Subversion of the Establish'd Church, even in the present Constitution of it, by any illegal or violent Methods; or indeed by any other Way than by persuading those to whose Power it belongs to reform what they conceive amiss in it; or, That their Principles would oblige them, if they were uppermost, not to tolerate, but persecute all that dissent from them, 'tis utterly false.

3. The *Establish'd Church* of this Kingdom has (tho' the Sacramental Test were wholly repeal'd) the most impregnable Security that any National Church can reasonably desire; they had before the Union no other Civil Security than Acts of Parliament. But by that Union, it is not in the Power of a British or Irish Parliament, to alter the Constitution of those two National Churches without dissolving the Union itself. The *Establish'd Church* of North-Britain has the same Security, and are content with it without any such Additional Security as that of a Sacramental Test. So that the Danger of the Church, about which the Doctor makes such a Clamour, is not real but imaginary; and it's Establishment more firm and unalterable, than ever it was since the Reformation. And had the Dissenters in this Kingdom as strong

Inclinations to subvert it as the Doctor's Argument supposes them to have, they must for ever despair of attempting it, while that Union stands.

4. And yet I cannot agree with the Doctor, "That our Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution are so interwoven with each other, that the one cannot fall without the utmost hazard, if not destruction of the other."

The Constitution of the National Church of Scotland was at the Revolution Episcopal. But the Fall of that was so far from destroying or hazarding the Civil Constitution of that Kingdom, that it manifestly rescued it from the Power of a Prince that clam'd an Obedience without Reserve, and put it under the Protection of a Prince that was as tender of his People's Liberties, as of his own Prerogative. Nor did the Civil Constitution suffer the least prejudice from the Establishment of Presbytery, while Scotland continued an Independent Kingdom. And I must add, That if the Episcopal Constitution were just now restor'd in Scotland, the Author may easily see what would become of it's Civil Constitution. It must be given up to the revengeful Tyranny of a Popish Pretender, to whom the Episcopal Clergy are now making their fawning Addresses. And for the Union, it would be blown up by the new Convention of Estates, which we are told the Pretender has summon'd to meet, if our victorious Army would but give them leave to sit.

5. As our Ecclesiastical Constitution in this Kingdom has such an impregnable Security as I have already mention'd, so I must tell the Doctor he is so utterly mistaken in his Politicks, that neither that, nor our Civil Constitution in this Kingdom can be so effectually preserv'd, as by the Removal of this Sacramental Test, which he imagines to be a needful Security to both.

Should the Pretender invade this Kingdom with a Foreign Force, and the Papists here make a General Insurrection in his Favour, (and if we may credit the Account given by the Government here, the prospect of this Danger is not very remote, if the ill Posture of the Pretender's Affairs in Scotland do not discourage his numerous Friends and Adherents in this Kingdom) I would gladly know, what he thinks the Consequences of his Success would be? I can tell him what the Parliament here apprehends they would be, viz. The utter Subversion not only of our Civil Constitution, but of the National Church too, or what he calls our Ecclesiastical Constitution. And let our Author, like a wise Politician, resolve us, what could hinder his Success, if the Hands of Dissenters continue ty'd up by the Sacramental Test from opposing him? Does he think the strength of about eight Papists to one Protestant (including Conformists and Dissenters) to be no odds? Is there any Body of Protestants in this Kingdom so numerous or so united, so easily capable of raising a powerful Militia or an Army as these in the large Province of Ulster? Would it be any reasonable Encouragement to those of them that are Dissenters (and to the Doctor's great Regret they are most of them such) to march out of their own Province to preserve any other indanger'd part of the Kingdom, that they must not have one Officer of their own Persuasion to lead them; and must, as a certain Gentleman ingeniously express'd it, after the Service they have done for others be treated like the Tanner's Dog, who after having guarded his Master's yard all Night must return to his Chain in the Morning? And I must tell the Doctor, that tho' they would readily serve under such Conforming Leaders, as known Friends to the Government, and take them for hearty Friends too; yet they would not venture themselves under such as they suspect to be rather Friends to the Attainted Pretender, nor such as the Doctor has taught to reckon them Enemies and equally dangerous ones with the Papists themselves. Such Leaders as these they would be very unwilling to trust themselves under the Conduct of: And I am sure the

Doctor's Book tends rather to encrease than remove this mutual Diffidence and Distrust. And the Doctor now sees that the Honourable House of Commons, are so far from giving into his narrow political Schemes, that they think it reasonable to let the Dissenters into the *Militia* and the *standing Army*, as sensible that they both need their Assistance and may safely confide in their known Zeal for the present Government, and for the common Protestant Interest of this Kingdom.

6. I would also gladly know, how our Author will like his own Argument when transplanted into *North-Britain*.

Let us for the Trial of it, suppose the Establish'd Church there to make the following Use of it.

" This National Church being unhappily surrounded by several Religious Sects, [especially *Papists* and *Episcopal Dissenters*] all bound by Principles of Religion as well as Policy to Establish their own Worship as more pure and orthodox. It is plain that this Church is to be equally fenced against them all. Because however one Sect may be less corrupt in Doctrine, and more tolerable in a State than another, [Tho' by the way the *Papists* and *Episcopal Dissenters* are equally engaged in the Subversion of the present Government in favour of an Attainted Popish Pretender] " Yet it is certain, they are all oblig'd to attempt the Subversion of the Establish'd Religion, each Sect judging it to be unsound and corrupt; [And I may add, both *Papists* and *Episcopal Dissenters* agreeing in the uncharitable Opinion, that the Establish'd Church there is properly speaking no Church at all, their Ministers having no Mission and their Administrations being all null and void] " And in that respect they are all to be reputed Enemies, and to be provided against.

" The Legislature [of *Scotland* before they consented to the Union] was fully appriz'd, That both *Papists* and *Episcopal Dissenters* were agreed in an utter Aversion to the Establish'd Church there; The one esteeming her an Heresie, the other an Iniquity establish'd by Law [or as Dr. *Hickes* call'd it; *A sworn destructive Confederacy against the Catholick Church, even the Abomination of Desolation in the House or Kingdom of God*] I am sorry I cannot here follow our Author's words, when he saith, " That altho' perhaps either of these Sects would chuse to conform rather to the Establish'd Church than to each other. [For I am afraid the *Episcopal Dissenters* there would rather conform to the *Popish* than to the *Presbyterian* Church, if we may guess at their Inclinations by their Zeal for a *Popish Pretender*, and by their not owning the *Presbyterian* Church for any true Church at all; while they own the *Popish* one for a true tho' corrupt Church.] But I may safely now go on, " Yet both were prepar'd to subvert her, provided they could introduce their own way of Worship. And that then by their avowed Principles and Practices, they would tolerate no other Religion in the Nation, but persecute all as *Hereticks* or *Schismatics*.

" Now this being an undeniable Truth, and indeed the Foundation of all our penal Laws respecting Religion. [Here again the Parallel fails, there being no such Penal Laws in *Scotland*.] " And it being likewise certain, That the Ecclesiastical and Civil Parts of our Constitution are so interwoven with each other, that the one cannot fall without the utmost Hazard at least, if not Destruction of the other. [And here the Maxim is clear and strong, that the Establish'd Church cannot fall without the utter Destruction of their Civil Constitution by a *Popish Pretender*, that like his pretended Father would make Slaves of them all.] " It follows, That our Law-makers [the last Parliament in *Scotland* before the Union] were bound by the first Principles of Civil Policy, (Self-preservation) to exclude

" *Episcopal Dissenters* from any share in the Civil Part, since they are profess'd Enemies to the Ecclesiastical. [But it seems they either never understood these first Principles of Civil Policy, or strangely forgot 'em, when they took no such effectual Care to exclude those *Episcopal Dissenters* from the Civil part of their Constitution, who were profess'd Enemies to the Ecclesiastical. And yet the Reason for their doing it there would have been much stronger, not only from the *Papists* being less numerous in that Kingdom, but from the *Episcopal Dissenters* being so generally disaffected to the Civil Government ever since the Revolution.]

Now I would gladly know, whether our Author approves this kind of Reasoning on the other side the Water? And yet as I have shewn, 'Tis incomparably more strong and forcible there, than it can be here: Only it carries a scurvy Reflection upon the Understanding of the last Parliament in *Scotland*, that when they were about fixing the Union, they so strangely overlook'd or counteracted the Doctor's first Principles of Civil Policy. And I am afraid, That his Instructions come too late to remedy this fundamental Mistake.

The Doctor's fourth Argument is this, " That the Dissenters are but partial, or Half-Subjects, in as much as they refuse obedience to several Laws which are fundamental to the whole Constitution, and plead Conscience for such Exemption; and therefore 'tis absurd and unreasonable, that they should expect equal Advantages from the Crown and Legislature with the Conformists, who are Universal Subjects and obedient to the whole Law.

On this Argument the Doctor makes several Enlargements, with which I shall have occasion to meet, in the Answer I have to give to it: Only I would here observe, That the Doctor is so confident of the strength of this Argument that he tells us, " He dare venture to affirm, That there can be no instance given in any Christian Kingdom or Republick, or indeed in any Civiliz'd Heathen Nation, where a Set of Men that are but partial Subjects, and plead Exemption from several Laws, which are fundamental to the whole Constitution, were ever made the Executors of publick Trust in such a State. All Offices and the Emoluments annex'd to them, being reserv'd for those on whom the Government might depend for their Universal Obedience to the whole Constitution.

Now in answering his Argument, I beg leave to begin, 1. With this Assertion of the Doctor's.

Were the Doctor capable of receiving Counsel from a fair Adversary, I would for the future advise him, never to meddle more with matters of Fact; because he has the Misfortune above most Writers I have met with, to be almost always mistaken in them; and the more so, the more confident he appears in delivering them.

He saith here, " I dare venture to affirm (what I believe, no Man in his Senses will ever affirm after him,) " That there can be no Instance. &c. Has the Doctor never heard of the Kingdom of France? And I hope he will not deny that to be a Christian Kingdom, whose Monarch styles himself the Most Christian King. Has he never heard that the late King of France (*Lewis* the XIVth, whom I hope he will grant to have been no Fool in Politicks) did for several Years of his Reign admit his Protestant Subjects to some share both of Civil and Military Offices (as particularly the Marshals *Turenne* and *Schomberg* to the Command of his Armies). And yet they were but, in the Doctor's Language, Partial or Half-Subjects, that pleaded Exemption from those Laws that were as fundamental to the whole Constitution of that Kingdom, as the Doctor can pretend any Laws to be to our's. Nay they were in his Language no better than Church-Rebels. But notwithstanding all these hard Names which the Doctor's

Doctor's Argument bestows upon them, the late *French King* did employ them in several Offices of Trust as his Predecessors had done before him. And yet I find not that the Constitution of *France* receiv'd any prejudice thereby: I am sure that King did not, on whose Head his Protestant Subjects preserv'd the Crown, and well did he reward them for it afterwards, by putting it out of their power ever to do him such Service again. But at last the *French King* follow'd the Doctor's wiser Politicks. And what did he get by it, but the bringing the whole Constitution of that Kingdom to the brink of ruin, if our late Tory-Ministry had not by a very unseasonable tenderness in the very nick of danger stept in to prevent it?

If we go from the Kingdom of *France* to the Republick of *Holland* (and I hope the Doctor will not be so uncharitable as not to own it for a *Christian Republick*) does not the Doctor know, that several known *Papists* had Commissions in their Army, and some of great Trust and Consequence. And they were but in his Account such *Partial* or *Half-Subjects* there, as he supposes the Dissenters to be here, and *Rebels against the Establish'd Church* too.

If we travel into *Germany*; How common is it for *Lutheran Princes* (in whose Dominions *Lutheranism* is the Establish'd Religion) to employ those call'd *Calvinists*, not only in their Armies, but even in Civil Posts. (I could name him such in the *Electorate of Hanover*.) And yet these are but *partial* or *half-Subjects* in our Author's Account, and *Church-Rebels* too. The same may be said concerning the *Palatinate*.

Nay, since he talks of civiliz'd Heathens, I hope he will account, the ancient *Romans* such, and yet did he never hear of their employing *Christians* in their Armies, and even in Civil Offices? If they had kept to our Author's wretched Politicks, We had never been blest'd with the Reign of that Emperor *Constantine*, whose Authority he here cites to justify them.

And that I may confront his Assertion with all Religions, Did he never read the History of the *Mogul Empire* and of those *Mahometan Princes* employing *Rageputes*, that are *Indian Idolaters*, in the highest Posts of Government?

The Doctor may therefore see, That *Papists*, *Protestants*, *Pagans*, and *Mahometans*, all conspire in disclaiming his vile Maxims, which he so unjustly imputes to them.

I may add, That *Ireland* was a *Christian Kingdom* before the Sacramental Test took place in it. And I am sure, it would not lose one jot of it's Christianity by the Removal of it.

2. Before I come closer to his Argument, I would take the same Liberty with it as with the foregoing one, to carry it over to *North-Britain*.

For I must freely tell the Doctor, that such an Argument is not worth a Straw that loses all it's force by crossing the Channel, and will not serve for one Climate as well as another.

"It is to be consider'd, That [*Episcopal*] Dissenters are [in *North-Britain*] but (what we may call) *partial* or *half-Subjects*. In as much as they refuse Obedience to several Laws which are fundamental to the whole Constitution, and plead Conscience for such Exemption. And therefore 'tis absurd and unreasonable, they should expect equal Advantages from the Crown or Legislature with the [*Presbyterian*] Conformists, who are Universal Subjects, and obedient to the whole Law.

"Nay [the *Episcopal Dissenters*] are guilty of that *Schism* in the Church, which answers *Rebellion* in the State. And wherever the Revolt from either the Civil or the Ecclesiastical Governours begins, 'tis generally convey'd from the One to the Other, if not prevented by the Abilities of those who are in places of publick Trust." [An Observation exactly applicable here, since the Rebel-

lion of the *Episcopal Dissenters* against their Ecclesiastical Governours, has not only for many Years occasion'd a strong Disaffection to their Civil Governours, but has at last involv'd them in an open Rebellion against them. And they are become avowed Rebels against the State as well as the Church.]

"And if Rebellion against the State be capital, (as it is) should Rebellion against the Church be made capable of all the Rewards due to Universal Obedience?"

Should not then the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, pursuant to the Doctor's Argument, pass a Law, to reserve all Offices and the Emoluments annexed to them in *North-Britain*, for those on whom the Government might depend for their Universal Obedience to the whole Constitution?

Let the Doctor then honestly tell us, Whether he thinks his Argument cogent and conclusive there? If he does not, We shall take him but for a *partial* or *half-Disputant*, whose Reasonings vary and change within a few Degrees of *Northern Latitude*.

3. The Doctor has stated his Argument very warily, That the Dissenters whom he calls *partial* or *half-Subjects* would be absurd and unreasonable, should they expect equal Advantages from the Crown or Legislature with the Conformists.

I shall not at present stay to criticize upon his new Distinction of *half-Subjects* and *Universal Ones*. I could only wish that some of the Doctor's *Universal Subjects* in the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, had but been half as cordially affected to His Majesty's Person and Government, as those he calls his *half-Subjects* here, for then I am sure this unnatural Rebellion had never been begun, nor had received so much Encouragement from the *Neutrality* and *Luke-warmness* which so many shewed, while it was on foot, of which the *British* Parliament so justly complain.

But what if we should grant him his whole Argument, What would it signify to the Purport and Design of his Book? I am well assured the Dissenters of this Kingdom were never so absurd and unreasonable as to expect equal Advantages. But will it follow that how great Fidelity soever they express to the Crown, and whatever Zeal they shew for the good of their Country, they are to expect none at all, but be continued under an utter Incapacity of receiving them? May they not be allowed some small share in the Favours and Rewards of a Government they are so ready to serve without pretending to an equal share? Is it the Interest or Policy of any Government to put it out of their own Power, to employ such as are by their Abilities and Integrity qualify'd to do them considerable Services, even when the publick Safety may greatly need it? Have not most of the Kingdoms and States round about us (except such as are entirely Priest-ridden) thought it their Wisdom to ingage Men of Merit and Loyalty to their Interest, by intrusting a few of them with the publick Employments they were capable of, tho' of Sentiments and Principles different from the *National Church-Establishment*? And their doing so is always the more reasonable, when their Differences do not relate to the Essentials of the *Christian Religion*, but only to disputable Rites or Forms of Worship and Church-Government. And such Persons as dissent from the *National Establishment*, can have no Temptation to endeavour the Subversion of it, when they are not excluded from all Favours of the Civil Government, which their faithful Services may give them a just Pretension to. The Church of *Ireland* received no prejudice, but great Advantage from the late King *William's* having such a Power of employing a few Dissenters in his and the Kingdom's Service. Nor did he ever abuse that Power by giving them the least reasonable ground to apprehend the *Established Church* in any Danger thereby. And I see not any reason the Doctor can alledge, why King *George* should not be entrusted with the same Power, unless he will tell us

plainly,

plainly, That he thinks it not safe to trust him with it for fear of his endangering the *Established Church*, by being too lavish of his *Favours* to Protestant *Dissenters* here. There is too great ground to fear, That this Diffidence in His Majesty's Conduct lies at the bottom of all his Reasonings on this Head.

4. I shall not at present (because 'tis something foreign to the Subject) enter into any long Disquisition about the Charge of *Schism*, which the Doctor loads the *Dissenters* with, and which he compares to *Rebellion in the State*. If all such Separation from an Established Church be *Ecclesiastical Rebellion*, What a vile Character will this affix on all *Protestant Churches*, that are to be found in the Dominions of *Popish Princes*? If it be not, the Doctor should have proved that of the *Dissenters* in this Kingdom to be particularly such. And I could easily produce him the Judgment of some of the best Writers of the Established Church, that have laid the Charge of *Schism* at the Door of those who impose such Conditions of Communion as themselves must own *unnecessary*? not at *their's* who peaceably dissent from them because they judge them *sinful*. Nay, tho' the *Latter* should be mistaken in their Judgment, yet their Mistakes being *involuntary*, would render their Conduct far more excusable than the Rigour of such an imposing Spirit that is entirely *voluntary*. 'Tis the *Former* not the *Latter* that have the deepest hand in the *Divisions* that are the natural consequence of such *unnecessary* and therefore *unreasonable Impositions*. In short the Doctor has the whole Controversy of the Divine Right of the present Form of Church-Government to go thro', before he can make good his Charge of *Ecclesiastical Rebellion*. But perhaps his Head is turned more towards Politicks than Divinity.

5. If the Doctor mean no more by *Schism* than an involuntary peaceable Dissent from the National Church-Establishment, I deny that this has any Tendency to produce *Rebellion against the State*. 'Tis possible indeed it may do so in Fact, where a violent Persecution of such (otherwise peaceable) *Dissenters*, may tempt *Nature* (as a late Church-Memorial speaks) to rebel against *Principle*. He knows it was the Observation of the wisest of Princes, That *Oppression may make even wise Men mad*. And even in that case, those have no small share in the guilt of such *Rebellions*, who drive others into them by severe or sanguinary Laws, and the rigorous Execution of them. And if he will examine, he will find this to have been the chief Spring of all the real *Rebellions* mentioned in the *black Records* he talks of. If he will make the *Civil War* of 1641. a *Rebellion*, he knows it was begun by a *Church-Parliament*; it was occasioned by a long train of illegal and arbitrary Measures, carried on by a corrupt Ministry to the Destruction of the Liberties of the Nation. The *Dissenters* were drawn to join with the *Parliament*, partly from their Concern for the preservation of their Civil Liberties, and chiefly by the inexcusable Rigours of the *Star-Chamber*, and the violent Proceedings of the *Spiritual Court* against them. And for the destructive Consequences of that Civil War in the Murder of the King, and Subversion of our ancient Constitution, none did more openly oppose them, nor venture more for restoring the Royal Family and our ancient Form of Government. All this has been at large proved in the *Historical Essay*, which he has never thought fit to give any Answer to, tho' it entirely enervates the force of all his Reasonings here.

6. Let us once more apply what the Doctor offers here to the Case of *North-Britain*.

'Tis manifest, That the Dissent of the Episcopal Party in *Scotland* from the National Church-Establishment (which he may if he pleases brand as *Schism* and *Church-Rebellion* there) has actually engaged 'em in a Rebellion against the Civil Government. And this Rebellion is the more inexcusable, because they both had a *Legal Toleration*, and those of their persuasion were by no Test (except that of swearing Fidelity to the Govern-

ment) exempted from a Capacity of enjoying *Civil or Military Offices*. Nay 'tis a monstrous Aggravation of it, That they rebelled against a Protestant King, whose Right had all the Sanction that human Laws could give it, in favour of an Attainted Popish Pretender, and which is most unaccountable without capitulating with him (as the present Lord Chancellor of Great-Britain well observes) for their Religion, or so much as requiring (that he could find from any Examinations he had seen or heard) much less obtaining a frail promise, that it should be preserved or even tolerated. And if he will shew me any thing parallel to this in the Conduct of *Dissenters*, I shall be obliged to him. And what he will say in Excuse of those Members of the Established Church in *South-Britain*, who joined in that Rebellion, when they had no manner of pretence for it from the least thing done by his present Majesty, to the prejudice of the Established Religion or their Civil Liberties, I know not. I hope he will not pretend *Schism* to have been the source of this Rebellion, unless it be the *Schism* between *High* and *Low-Church*.

7. For the Authority he here cites to justify this Argument, I need only briefly suggest.

King James the First might justly call the *Papists* but *Half-Subjects*, because they own the Authority of a certain Gentleman at Rome, who claims a Power of deposing Heretical Princes (and would gladly exercise it if he durst) and therefore were (as pious Bishop Bedell justly said of them) *Only the King's Subjects at the Pope's Discretion*. But what is this to the Case of those that renounce any such foreign Jurisdiction?

For what he cites from Bishop Barlow, I shall only say, *Non stamus hujus Autoritati*. It is no new thing for such an Ecclesiastical Dignity, to give a narrow turn to a Man's Politicks.

For the Passage he cites of Constantine the Great, the Doctor should remember, That when the *Arrians* under some succeeding Emperors, got so great a Majority as to ingross the plausible Name of *Catholicks* themselves; they were very ready to follow such a Precedent as this, in turning all the Stream of Court-Favours to their own side; and by the Author's Argument were equally justifiable in doing it. For what pretence had the *Athanasian half-Subjects* and *Church Rebels* (as no doubt they would then call them) to any share therein? The Doctor forgets the homely Proverb, *What's Sauce for a Goose*, &c.

The Doctor's fifth Argument is this, "What the *Dissenters* hope for by the Repeal of the Test, and their Admittance into Offices of Trust, is, That they may approach nearer to a Parity of Power with the *Establish'd Church*. And this I take to be, a dangerous Experiment to both. Because 'tis plain, That such a Balance of Power must reduce them to a State of War, and a perpetual Struggle for Superiority; and this (he saith) will appear if we consider the Points in which these contending Parties differ.

These Points I shall consider in their Order, when I have examin'd the Force of his Argument.

That the *Dissenters* do by the Repeal of the Sacramental Test hope for any such Parity of Power, with the *Members of the Establish'd Church*, is utterly false. They never expected, They never obtain'd any such Parity of Power before the Sacramental Test took place. They did it not in King William's Reign, from whom they had as much reason to expect favour, as they can have from any succeeding Prince that is a Member of the *Establish'd Church*. They know, that the present Ecclesiastical Establishment here is on a firmer foot than ever it was, and that there is no fear that any wise Prince will ever try this dangerous Experiment he mentions, of advancing those that Dissent from it to any such Balance of Power. And yet no wise Prince would chuse to have it out of his Power to dispense his Favours (tho' with a sparing Hand) to such as are cordially affected to his Government, and

and qualify'd by Abilities and Integrity to serve him, tho' not within the *Pale* of the Legal Ecclesiastical Establishment. So that the Danger the Doctor speaks of is only *Imaginary* not *Real*; and his Argument only shews his Diffidence in the Wisdom of his Prince. The Argument is therefore wholly built on a false Supposition; and we are not concern'd in the Reasons he offers, to prove the Inconvenience of such a *Parity of Power* between the *Contending Parties* he speaks of.

And yet there are several Things alledg'd in his Reasons that I shall bestow a few Remarks upon.

1. He tells us, "The two Parties differ not only in Circumstances and things indifferent (as the *Dissenters* unfairly and occasionally pretend) but in Principles no less fundamental than those of *Ordination* and *Church-Government*: The *Presbyterians* founding them both in *Parity*, The *Establish'd Church* in *Imparity*; and both pretending to support their Doctrines upon the *Basis* of Divine Institution; so that upon each of their Schemes all Comprehension must be utterly impracticable.

Now if the Principles of Ordination and Church-Government be *Fundamental*, 'tis evident, That those who take them for such, must account all those that differ from them in these Principles of Ordination and Church-Government to be in a *Fundamental Error*, and must regard their Ordinations and Ministry as null and void. Now 'tis evident in Fact, That neither of the *Contending Parties* (who have any pretence to Judgment or Charity) entertain so vile and uncharitable an Opinion of each other. The *Dissenters* never declar'd *Episcopal Ordinations* null and void. The most judicious Divines of the *Establish'd Church* never declar'd the Ordinations of the Ministers of foreign Reformed Churches, in whose publick Confessions of Faith this *Parity* is asserted, null and void. Nor have they declar'd the Ordinations of *Dissenters* at home null, even while they have censur'd them as irregular. Much less have the foreign Presbyterian Churches pass'd any such harsh Judgment on the Ordinations of the *Establish'd Churches* of England and Ireland. And we must in all reason suppose the Legislature both of England and Scotland, to have been far from thinking either of these different Forms of Church-Government fundamental to the Christian Religion, when they consented to the Establishment of the one in South, and the other in North-Britain. And indeed those must be grossly ignorant of the nature of the Christian Religion, who think its Doctrines may not be believ'd, its Rules of Life obey'd, and its positive Institutions observ'd, under the one or the other Form of Government, whether its Ministers claim a *Parity of Power*, or an *Imparity*. The one or the other Form may indeed contribute more to the [bene esse] the Benefit and Edification of the Christian Church; but neither can pretend to be *Essential* to it: And to suppose either of them *Fundamental*, and consequently necessary to the Being of the Church, is a grossly *Schismatical* Principle, that will, in the genuine consequences of it, unchurch a great and most valuable part of the Catholick Church on the one side or the other. The *Dissenters* utterly disclaim so uncharitable a Principle; Let the Doctor and others of his Stamp look to it, how they will vindicate themselves from the Guilt of it, least while he makes such an Out-cry against Schism, he himself prove a most notorious *Schismatick*. For so every Man is, who would in his uncharitable Judgment cut off from the Visible Church of Christ such great Numbers of excellent Churches (whether *Episcopal* or *Presbyterian*) as truly belong to it.

And the Doctor is no less mistaken in thinking a *Comprehension* impracticable between these two Parties. I hope he will allow those *Non-conforming Divines*, that by King Charles the II'd's Commission soon after the Restoration manag'd a Conference with several Bishops and Dignitaries of the *Establish'd Church*, to be what

he calls *Presbyterians*. And yet tho' they thought *Parity* most agreeable to Divine Institution, They offer'd *Bishop Usher's Model for the Reduction of Episcopacy*, as the Ground-work of an Accommodation of their Differences about Church-Government, being willing for Peace-sake to submit to that *Imparity* which they thought only an human Constitution, and which would not have depriv'd the Senior Pastor of Congregations (who were in their Opinion the true primitive Bishops) of the Power essential to their Office of *Ruling* as well as *Teaching* their own Flocks.

2. This Author tells us, "That it is reasonable to believe, That this Scheme of *Parity* in Church-Government, has given the *Dissenters* in general such an unhappy turn against Monarchy, that they have ever been strongly dispos'd to reduce our Civil Constitution to their Ecclesiastical Plan of *Parity*: The Transition being so natural and easy from the one to the other.

The Doctor seems to have a large Faith. But it has the Misfortune in matters of fact to be seldom on the side of *Truth*, or in matters of Speculation on the side of *Charity*. And here his Faith is point-blank against both.

What is there in the *Presbyterian Parity* of Church Government, that should give them this unhappy Turn against Monarchy? Do they think, the Kingdoms of this World ought to be formed by the Model of Christ's Kingdom which is not of this World? Or if they did, Do they not own and plead for the Monarchy of Christ himself (the sole Universal Head of his Church as dispersed thro' the several Kingdoms and States of this World)? Or would the Doctor have a *Spiritual Visible Monarch* in every Kingdom, to sit cheek by jole with every Civil Monarch, and divide Empire with him? If this be the Monarchy he supposes they are so averse to, he may be much in the Right. But I find not that the *Establish'd Church* pretend to set up any such *Spiritual Monarchy*. And if the Author's Reasoning be good, we must suppose, that as our present Ecclesiastical Establishment sets up an *Oligarchy* in the Church, so they are for an *Oligarchy* in the State, and that their Principles have given them an unhappy Turn against Civil Monarchy. And the Transition is as natural and easy from *Oligarchy* in the Church to *Oligarchy* in the Civil Government; as from *Democracy* in the Church to *Democracy* in the State. So that the Grounds of the Doctor's pretended Belief are miserably weak and inconclusive. And for Fact, those he calls *Presbyterians* may safely challenge him to produce any sett of Men in these Kingdoms, that have more firmly adhered to Monarchy than they have done, provided he do not mean *absolute Monarchy* that would swallow up our *Laws* and *Liberties* in the Gulph of an *unbounded Prerogative*. Such a Monarchy indeed some aspiring Clergymen have been too prone to flatter our Princes with, when they hoped to aggrandize themselves by it, and to obtain from them a power of persecuting and oppressing all that dissent from them; but I could never find the Crown fat easier on their Heads for being over-loaded with such an excessive and illegal Power, or that the pernicious Counsels of such Clergymen ever did any real Service to those Princes that were so weak as to follow them. But for our *Legal* and *Limited Monarchy*, those whom the Doctor calls *Presbyterians* may safely vie with himself, or any of his stamp, in their cordial Affection to it, and Zeal for the Support of it, even tho' they never reaped such Advantages from it as their Conforming Brethren do.

3. Whereas the Doctor proceeds to a long Reasoning which he calls a *Demonstration*, "That if the Church and Kirk were brought to a Balance of Power, the Weight must fall into the Scale of the Kirk. I have already observed that he argues upon a Supposition that no wise Man will allow him to have the least degree of probability, and I think I may say possibility in

in it, without supposing too our whole Constitution, and the Union itself first overturned.

But let us for once admit his absurd *Supposition*. The Summ of his Reasoning from it is this "That the Power of the Kirk lies in its Ministers and Ruling Elders; that these claim an inherent Power to meet together at such Times and Places and Numbers as they think fit. That these *Ruling Elders* are a terrible sort of People, they are *Ecclesiastical Engineers, the Sappers and Miners of the Church's foundation*. That they are an embodied Force vested with an ample Commission in their several Districts. That they have not only the Reputations of their People, but their Trade and Business in their Power. That the Fingers of these petty Tyrants are more heavy than the Loins of the Civil Government; and the poor Church must be certainly ruined, if any of these be made Justices of the Peace, Magistrates of Towns, or Officers in the Army or Militia.

Now can the Doctor expect that any Man should set himself to a laborious confutation of such wild *Romantic Stuff*, as he here calls a Demonstration? Have these *Ministers, or Elders*, the least grain of Power over any Man's Body or Estate? Does any Man by disclaiming it run any hazard of any corporal or pecuniary Penalties? If any Man be expos'd to what he (in his wonted strain of Charity) calls the *Fury of their Ecclesiastical Assemblies*, may he not find an easy Remedy in renouncing Subjection to them, and taking Sanctuary in the Establish'd Church, where this Fury of their's cannot reach him, and where he may with Impunity set them at defiance? Have their Censures on scandalous Offenders any other Force than what the Consciousness of their own Guilt gives them? Do they any way affect his *Civil Liberty, or Property*? Or if he suffer in his Reputation with them, may he not easily recover it with others by turning Profelyte to the Church? Can their highest Censures do any more than exclude him from their Communion? They carry no such sting in the Tail of them as a Writ de *Excommunicato capiendo*, and the terrible *Civil Penalties* that follow it. They oblige him to no Charges and Fees of Professors and other Officers of the *Spiritual Courts*. I confess if any Man is sensible that he has dishonour'd the Christian Religion by scandalous Immoralities, the Threatnings of God, apply'd by his Minister, (with the Assistance of his Elders) may work upon his Conscience, in order to promote his Repentance and Reformation; or their Censures of him, if he impenitently persist in them, may throw that just shame back on himself that he has thrown on his Profession, and caution others against the like Immoralities; but other harm it cannot do him. What then does our Author mean by representing these poor innocent Elders in such a formidable Character, as *Ecclesiastical Engineers, Sappers and Miners of the Church's Foundations*? Have they the least Shadow of Power to subvert the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, or stop their proceedings in the *Spiritual Courts*? What does he mean by the *ample Commission of this embodied Force*, who have no power at all to hurt any Man's Life, Liberty, or Property? Who can do nothing more even to reform the Life of any scandalous Member than to reprove him for his scandalous Faults; and if he refuse to repent of them, concur in disowning him from being a Member of their Christian Society? What does he mean by calling them *petty Tyrants, whose Fingers are heavier than the Loins of the Civil Government*, when as Elders they are intrusted with no manner of Civil Power? Does not this look as if his Imagination was in this point some way hurt, as if with the *Spanish Knight* he took Windmills for Giants, and harmless Flocks of Sheep for Armies drawn up in Battalia? If indeed any of these Elders be made Justices of Peace, or Magistrates of Towns, they may become terrible to Vagrants and Sturdy Beggars, to Thieves and other Malefactors. Or if made Officers in the Army or Militia, they may become formidable to the Pretender and his Adherents; but as Elders they are

frightful to none but scandalous Members of their own Communion, and can do even them no manner of Prejudice as to any of their temporal Interests. The Doctor is now at Leisure to count up what his evident Demonstration amounts to.

I proceed to his

Sixth Augment. This is drawn from the different Behaviour of those he calls *Presbyterians* in their different States of Exaltation and Depression. And it contains such a Medley of *Trash* (to use his own Civil Expression concerning the *Essay*) as 'tis hard to reduce into any Order, or to discern where the Force of any Argument against the Repeal of the Sacramental Test lies in what he here enlarges on. And therefore I shall content myself with a few brief Remarks on what appears any way material.

1. To what purpose does the Doctor trump up the Rebellion of *Pentland-Hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*, when the *Historical Essay* has given so particular an account of them, and shewn they were occasion'd by violent and barbarous Oppression. And tho' that does not excuse the Crime; yet those that by such sanguinary Proceedings drove them into it, have of all Men least reason to reproach them with it. Will the Doctor take it well, that we should impute the present Rebellion in *North-Britain* to all of the *Episcopal Persuasion* in this Kingdom, tho' 'tis by many Degrees more inexcusable?

2. Is it any Wonder that the *Presbyterians of Ulster* should before the Revolution keep their Meetings more privately, when the Spirit of Persecution was so often let loose upon them, and do it more openly when assur'd by *King William* of his Royal Protection, and that as a Reward of their signal Services and Sufferings for his Interest, and the Safety of the whole Kingdom? He may as well wonder, why *Mariners* contract their Sails in a Storm, and expand them in fairer Weather? The making this matter of Accusation and Complaint, only looks as if the Author envy'd them that Calm, and would gladly have rais'd the Storm of Persecution if he could. But will he shew us any harm that either the Civil Government, or the Safety, Trade, and Prosperity of the Kingdom, or even the Establish'd Church sustain'd in any of her Legal Rights by this peaceable use of their Religious Liberty?

3. Why does he repeat his old Crambe about Mr. *Macbride's Sermon*, when that Matter is set in so true a Light in the *Historical Essay*, to which he has yet given no Answer?

4. He next brings on the Stage the Representation of the House of Lords in this Kingdom, and the Apology of the Presbyterian Ministers in *Ulster* presented to the Queen: And here because in that Apology, they not only disavow the *Facts* which they reckon to be groundlessly charg'd upon them, (and I presume the Doctor can best tell by whom their *Lordships* were misinform'd) but also represent some Grievances which they labour'd under, and beg the Redress of, The Doctor falls into a passionate Exclamation, "Good God, what monstrous Demands are here by Criminals not only accus'd, but self-condemn'd?"

That they were accus'd as Criminals in that Representation is indeed true. And who had the chief hand in drawing up that Accusation I have told him already. But that they were self-condemn'd, is an Untruth so notorious, that no Man need do any more to be convinc'd of the utter Falseness of than to read their Apology, as well as that of the Dissenting Ministers in *Dublin*, and the South of *Ireland*.

And now let us consider, What those Complaints and Requests of their's are, which the Doctor is pleas'd to call monstrous Demands.

One is in these Words, "We must acknowledge to your Majesty, that the Sacramental Test (of which their Lordships are pleas'd to take notice) is such a Grievance as doth in the most sensible manner touch us, and all others of our Persuasion."

"The

“ The Clause imposing it hath placed an odious Mark
 “ of Infamy upon at least one half of the Protestants
 “ of this Kingdom, whose Early, Active, and Suc-
 “ cessful Zeal for the late happy Revolution, gave
 “ them hopes that they should not have been rendred
 “ incapable of serving your Majesty and their Country,
 “ where the Papists are superior in number to the
 “ whole Body of Protestant Inhabitants in the propor-
 “ tion of eight to one by a Computation allow'd in
 “ the Honourable House of Commons in this Kingdom.
 “ And they hope that Dutiful and Loyal Subjects
 “ may modestly set forth the Inconveniencies and
 “ Hardships put upon them by a particular Law, espe-
 “ cially when the safety of the whole Kingdom is con-
 “ cern'd, in order to shew the Reasonableness of re-
 “ pealing it, without being guilty of censuring the
 “ Legislature.

Now where lies the *Monstrousness* of this Complaint and Request, unless in his own perverse Imagination? Does he think it no Mark of *Infamy*, for Dutiful and Loyal Subjects who have been so lately instrumental to save the Protestant Interest of this Kingdom, to be treated as if they were as unfit to be trusted with the least *Civil* or *Military* Post in it, as those *Papists* from whose pernicious fury they had help'd to rescue it? Does he think their being utterly *Disabled* no *Grievance*? Is it *monstrous* for dutiful Subjects, when aggrieved, to petition the Government for Relief from such a penal Clause, in a Law that had not it's rise from the Legislature here, and seem'd to pass, in one House at least, with so much reluctance, for fear of losing a good Bill to which it was clandestinely tack'd? What but inveterate Bigottry could give such a strange Turn to the Author's Imagination, as to call this *modest Complaint* a *monstrous Demand*?

Another Instance of these *Monstrous Demands* is, in these Words, “ We could heartily have wish'd that greater Lenity had been shewn in preventing many prosecutions for meer Non-conformity even in our settled Congregations, wherein we own we have enjoy'd the free Exercise of our Religious Worship since the late happy Revolution. Tho' it has been our constant Custom, since our first Settlement in this Kingdom, to solemnize the Marriage of those of our Communion, who scruple that Office in the Liturgy; (for which the Papists are seldom troubled) yet several of our Ministers and People have been prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts for this Cause, and some of them Excommunicated. And many have been treated in the like manner for not taking the Oath impos'd on Church-Wardens contrary to their Consciences, tho' they offered sufficient Conforming Substitutes who were rejected.

And must their complaining of being treated in this matter of their *Marriages* far worse than the Papists be call'd a *monstrous Demand*? Does the allowing this Liberty to the *Presbyterians* of *Ulster*, any more deprive the Establish'd Church of her *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* than the allowing it to *Papists*? Does the other Complaint relating to the *Oath of Church-Wardens* deserve such an odious Construction as he here puts upon it? I perceive every thing appears *Monstrous* to this Gentleman, that tends to the *Ease* or *Relief* of his *Protestant Brethren*.

“ Another Instance of these *Monstrous Demands* is, “ Their Complaint of their being depriv'd of the Liberty of entertaining School-Masters of their own Profession to instruct their Children, and even of those being prohibited and prosecuted who taught them to write and read.

For Dissenters to *teach to Write and Read* is not forbidden by the late *Schism-Bill* itself. And yet to complain of being prosecuted for the use of that Liberty, is one of the Doctor's *Monstrous Demands*. And should the Dissenters petition for the entire repeal of the *Schism-Bill*, no doubt the Doctor would much more

give it that hard name. And yet will any Man that considers the natural Right of Parents in the Education of their own Children, reckon it *Monstrous* in the Dissenters to desire that that Right may be preserv'd to them, or that they should complain of their being depriv'd of it as a *Grievance*? Would the Doctor think such a Bill equitable if it extended to those of the Episcopal Persuasion in *North-Britain*, or if it did, would he think it *Monstrous* in them to complain of it? If not, where is his regard to the Grand Rule of Righteousness, *not to do to others, what we would not they should do to us*?

Since then these Complaints and Requests appear so reasonable; in my humble Opinion, the Doctor had shew'd more Reverence for the Name of God, if he had left it out of his passionate Exclamation, instead of making such an Appeal to him as the Witness of his own uncharitable Temper towards his inoffensive Brethren. A good God does not think our humble Addresses to him to ease us of our Burdens monstrous Demands; and good Princes will be ready to imitate his Benignity in taking off such uneasy Yokes from the Necks of their dutiful Subjects.

5. The Doctor represents the Dissenters Exercise of their Discipline among their own Churches as a *Transgression of the Laws*. Now I would gladly know what Laws they violate by it? I know of no Statute against it unless he intends the Statute against *foreign Jurisdiction*. Now besides that the Exercise of their Discipline is no *coercive Jurisdiction*, nor properly speaking any *Jurisdiction* at all; 'tis evident by the tenor of that Statute, that 'tis levelled against *foreign Jurisdiction*, of such as own a Subjection to some foreign Prince, Potentate, Pope, or Prelate, and therefore no way concerns those that own no Subjection to any foreign Authority, and use no other Discipline but what is necessary to preserve the Purity, the Order, and Regularity of their own Religious Societies, and to preserve them from scandalous Disorders and Irregularities. As this no way intrenches on the *Royal Prerogative*, so neither does it obstruct the *Jurisdiction* of the *Bishops* in their Spiritual Courts; where then is the common Sense of our Author's telling us, “ That if they desire a Liberty for the Exercise of this Discipline among themselves; They may as well proceed to demand an Establishment of the *Jus divinum* of Presbytery in opposition to Prelacy, and insist upon a maintenance for what they call a Scriptural Ministry instead of Anti-scriptural Episcopacy? Is there no difference between a *Liberty* by *Toleration* without any *Legal Maintenance*, and an *Established Jurisdiction* supported by ample *Legal Honours* and *Revenues*; that they who beg the one as a *Favour* may as well demand the other as their *Right*.

I shall conclude the Remarks on this Argument with an Application of the Doctor's entertaining Story of the *Lyon*, to the Men of High-Church in their late behaviour in *England*. They had in the successive Reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. *tasted the Blood of Dissenters*, and enjoyed the sweet Power of perfecting them, they were restrained and grew tame when they saw the Whip of Popery hang over their Heads; they were afterwards chained up by the *Toleration* in King William's and a great part of Queen Anne's Reign; towards the End of it, under the late Ministry, they began to break their Chain, and Dr. Sacheverell having displayed the *Bloody Flag* of High-Church they begun to draw Blood; and the Taste of it was so ravishing, that for fear of being with-held, they grew in the beginning of King George's Reign outrageous and ungovernable, running into furious Tumults and Riots; and at last attempted to fall upon their Keepers, by breaking out into open Rebellion, and resolved upon a *New Keeper* that would rather animate them to, than restrain them from devouring their beloved Prey. The Doctor may see his story has two Handles, let the Reader chuse which he thinks most à propos.

For

For the Doctor's VIIth, or (as 'tis by mistake called) his VIIIth Argument, 'tis made up of a long story of the pretended inconsistent Behaviour of the *Presbyterians* upon the *Pretender's first Invasion* in 1707. and his last in 1715.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Examination of this tedious story of their Behaviour upon the first Invasion, because 'tis but a Repetition of what he publish'd before, and that Matter has been set in so clear a Light in the *Historical Essay*, that 'till he vouchsafe us the *Answer* he promises, 'tis not my business to transcribe that part of the Essay. I shall therefore content myself with giving him this obvious Reason, why the Dissenters were so *slow* to inlist then, and so *cheerful* and *forward* now. They had two good Reasons to be more *slow* and *cautious* then; the one was, that they had more reason then to suspect whether the Officers under which they were to inlist, were indeed hearty in the Government's Interest against the *Pretender*; The other was, that they had no rational Assurance of being indemnified in what they did, and much less of having any Officers of their own to command them. To which I may add, That they did not apprehend the Danger at that time to be so great or near. Whereas at present these Difficulties were removed, they had the Prospect of such Church-Leaders being chosen as they could trust; They had a rational Prospect of Indemnity, and some Encouragement too by having Leaders of their own. And they apprehend the present Danger far greater and nearer by the flame of Rebellion actually raging both in *South* and *North-Britain*, and the spreading of it into this Kingdom much nearer in view. And these Reasons are sufficient to shew, That there was no *Inconsistency* in their Conduct at that time with their present Behaviour. And this short but true and just Account of that matter, takes away the Foundation of all the *Author's* Argument from it.

For the two *Positions* he mentions at the close of this Argument as frequently maintained by the *Kirk*, viz. That *Dominion is founded in Presbytery*, &c. Let the *Author* produce any Proof of their being maintained by those whom he calls the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*, or he must give us leave to tell him without mincing the matter, That they are *down-right Lies*, borrowed from the *Father of Lies*.

His IXth Argument is, "That Offices of publick Trust and the Emoluments annexed to them are by the Intention of the Legislature the Legal Properties of Conformists. And the Doctor desires to know, "What they have done to forfeit any share of that Property, or rather with what Assurance can the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland* expect they should give it up to them?"

If this Argument be duly examined, It will appear to be what the Logicians call *Petitio Principii*, or *Begging the Question*.

Offices of Trust and the Emoluments annexed to them are no Man's Property, however conformable he may be to the Established Church. They are the voluntary Favours and Gifts of the Government. All therefore that the Doctor can be supposed to mean, is, That by the Intention of the Legislature, the Government is to bestow them on none but *Conformists*; and none else, while the present Law enjoining the Sacramental Test is in force, are in a legal capacity to enjoy them, without qualifying themselves as that Law requires. And who doubts or denies this? But the Question is, Whether it be not reasonable and expedient, and in our present Circumstances necessary for the safety of the Kingdom, that the Legislature should take off this *legal Incapacity* they have put upon all Dissenters that cannot qualify themselves as the present Law requires? And the Doctor in this Argument offers no reason at all why they should not. Let us for once suppose, That when the Distinction between *High* and *Low-Church* grew so violent after Dr. *Sacheverell's* Trial, the next

Parliament (in which *High-Church* had the Ascendant) had passed a Law confining all Civil and Military Offices to those called *Tories* and *High-Church-Men*, by some *Political Test* that would have excluded those called *Whigs* and *Low-Churchmen*. Might not the former, whilst such a Law continued in force have claimed all such Offices as their *Legal Property*, in our *Author's* Sense? But would this have justify'd such an *Exclusive Test*? Could the *Whigs* be charg'd with *Involving their Legal Property*, if in a succeeding Parliament they had petitioned for the Removal of such an *Exclusive Test*. The Case is parallel, and the Application obvious. As the *Conformists* have done nothing to forfeit their *Legal Capacity* for Offices of Trust, so they will retain that *Legal Capacity* still, and no way give it up to the *Dissenters*, tho' their *Legal Incapacity* were removed by the repeal of the Sacramental Test. So that his Argument amounts to no more than this, By the Law now in force, it was the Intention of the Legislature, that none but *Conformists* should enjoy such Offices; thence he infers they have a right for ever to monopolize these favours of the Government, and it would be a wrong to them for the Legislature to restore the *Dissenters* to any Capacity of the least share in them; whatever need they may have of their Services for the Security of the Kingdom, and whatever the *Dissenters* may do by their legal and dutiful Behaviour to deserve such a Favour. On the contrary, The *Dissenters* look on a Capacity for Offices of Trust, to be the *Natural Right* of all *Dutiful and Loyal Subjects*. They think they have done nothing to forfeit that *Natural Right*, and therefore regard their being deprived of it by the Sacramental Test, as an *Hardship* on them, and in point of Policy as of dangerous consequence to a Kingdom, where the united strength of all Protestants is necessary for their common Safety from those Enemies that far out-number them. The Doctor has therefore in this Argument, instead of proving only begged the thing in question.

Nor is there any thing in the Doctor's Enlargement on this Argument, but what has already been sufficiently obviated. What Civil and Religious Liberties the Dissenters enjoy thro' the Protection or Favour of the Government, they are thankful for; tho' they cannot reckon it so very extraordinary a Favour as the Doctor does, that they are not put under all the Restraints laid upon those Papists, whose destructive Designs against the Protestant Interest they have so strenuously and successfully on all occasions oppos'd. But they never pretended to what he calls the *Guardianship of the Constitution*. And for the Doctor to tell us, That the *Kirk* (as he calls it) is in some respects on a better foot than the Church of *Ireland*, is one of those Romantick Paradoxes which none but such a bold Adventurer in reasoning as himself would ever undertake to maintain. The only Instance he brings to countenance his Assertion is, "That the *Kirk* is on a better foot than the Church in point of her Synodical Jurisdiction, which she now exercises in the Kingdom independent on the Civil Magistrate, while the Church deriving that Power from the Crown is call'd Synodically only with every Parliament, and has always acquiesc'd when the Prince has not thought fit to embody her Clergy by Provincial Writs."

I need say no more to expose the Ridiculousness of this Comparison, than to suggest the following Particulars; The Church has a *coercive Jurisdiction* confirm'd by our Laws; The *Kirk* (as he calls it) has none at all. 'Tis true the Dissenting Ministers meet sometimes in lesser, sometimes in greater Bodies, to consult about the regulating the Affairs of those Religious Societies they minister to, and come to some voluntary Agreements about them, which no Man is by Law oblig'd to comply with, but may with Impunity reject if he think them unreasonable. Whereas the *Canons* agreed on by a Convocation if ratify'd by Parlia-

Parliament have the Force of Laws, and the Violation of them exposes to Temporal Penalties as well as Spiritual Censures. Nor do I know of any Law that forbids the Clergy of the Establish'd Church, to meet when and where they please for such mutual Consultations as the Dissenting Ministers use. The Bishops themselves are a part of the Legislature. No Dissenting Minister ever was a Member of either House of Parliament. With what confidence then can the Doctor here tell us, "That upon a fair and impartial View" it appears, that the Kirk stands on a better foot "than the Church of Ireland in point of Synodical Jurisdiction." Would he not, if the Kirk should propose changing conditions with the Church in this point, call it a *Monstrous Demand*? Would not common Sense teach him to retract his Argument, and reject the Proposal with the utmost Indignation?

I now come to his Xth Argument, viz. "That 'tis the Fundamental Maxim of the Kirk's Policy to give no Toleration to any other Sect of Christians, but to persecute them either as Hereticks or Schismatics, and to exclude all Persons from publick Trusts as will not take such Tests as she shall impose".

I will for once, like a fair Adversary, for Argument sake, take his Historical Matters of fact which he here alledges for granted, and doubt not to show him, That notwithstanding this Concession his own Argument turns against himself.

It must be own'd, That most Parties when they have had the Ascendant and the Government on their side, have in their several Turns been too rigid and stiff towards such as dissented from them, and too eager to ingross all Civil and Military Power into their own Hands. But the Question is, whether they have in the one acted according to the Rules of our common Christianity, which requires mutual forbearance in doubtful matters? Or in the other, according to the Maxims of true Civil Policy? That they have not, in refusing Toleration to such as dissent from them in lesser matters, acted according to the Rules of Christianity, is I think evident to all unbiass'd Judges of Things. And that they have not either in that, or in their Attempts to ingross all Power into their own Hands, acted according to the true maxims of Civil Policy, one would think all Parties should by this Time have learn'd by dear-bought Experience. And we need only reflect on the History of those times to convince us of this great Truth. The illegal and arbitrary Proceedings of King Charles the Firsts Reign, occasion'd those Contests between him and his Parliament, that at last brought on a Civil War. The Rigor and Severity of the Bishops then most in power, both towards several of the Conforming Clergy that would not comply with their Innovations, and towards the Dissenters, engag'd both to espouse the Parliament's Cause. The Parliament call an *Assembly of Divines*, most of whom had been hitherto conformable to the Establish'd Church (for there were not half a score Dissenting Ministers among them) and by their Advice throw out *Diocesan Episcopacy* and the Liturgy, and Establish'd the *Directory*. The Parliament's Affairs being at first unsuccessful, They call in the Scots to their Assistance, who brought the Covenant with them, and prevail'd with the Parliament to make the taking of it a *Test* for Military and Civil Offices. With the Assistance of the Scots, they in a little time beat the King's Army and ruin'd his Affairs. The Presbyterians who seem'd then to have the Ball at their foot were against a Toleration of those call'd *Independants* and *Anabaptists*. And what was the Consequence? Those whom they would not tolerate fall in with the victorious Army, whose Leaders puff'd up with their Successes were forming ambitious Projects of their own; and this Army becomes Oliver's Tool, to garble the Parliament, by open violence, of it's Presbyterian Members (who were upon a Treaty with the King in order

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to his Release and being restor'd to his Dignity) and establish a *Rump* who fell in with their design of cutting off the King, and subverting the Constitution by turning the Kingdom into a *Commonwealth*. Oliver getting the Army entirely at his beck, and flush'd with new Successes in Ireland and Scotland turns out the *Rump*, and sets himself up for *Protector*, and by giving Liberty to all Parties (except the Prelatists) kept the Reins in his Hands (tho' with some difficulty) as long as he liv'd. His Son Richard designing to proceed on the same foot his Father had done, a discontented and prevailing Part of the Army that were resolv'd to have the ruling of the Roast, quickly turn him out, and set up themselves under various Names and Forms; and fixing their Authority upon so narrow a bottom, they gave the Presbyterians and other Royalists the advantage (by the Assistance of Monk's Army which they drew on their side) to turn out these mad Projectors in Policy, and restore the Royal Family and our Ancient Constitution almost without a drop of Blood. To these Instances I may add a later one, viz. That the unchristian Severity us'd by the Prelatists in Scotland, during King Charles the II's Reign, and especially the sanguinary Laws that were pass'd against the Presbyterians at the close of it, join'd to the Bishops stiff adherence to the Cause of his abdicating Successor (notwithstanding all he had done to subvert our Civil Constitution) pav'd the way for their own Overthrow, and for restoring the Presbyterian Church-Government in that Kingdom. Now what other Instruction should all wise Men learn from these historical Monuments, but the extreme Folly of any Party whenever they are uppermost; to refuse Toleration to such as peaceably dissent from them, and of setting the Government upon too narrow a Basis, by monopolizing all Power into their own hands; and contriving Tests to weaken the foundation on which they stand; whereas the contrary Measures are the surest Method to enlarge and to secure it. And therefore as a wise Prince will no doubt think it most conducive to the Peace and Safety of his Government, to advance those to the highest Places of Trust, who adhere to the National Church, as well as the Civil Constitution, and to accumulate his Royal Favours on such with a Distinguishing Liberality; so he will never think it for his Interest to be depriv'd of the Power of bestowing some lesser Favours on some that dissent from the Ecclesiastical Establishment, but are cordially affected to the Civil Constitution, and fill'd with a dutiful Respect to his Person and Government. A Power of rewarding the fidelity and services of all his dutiful Subjects as he has occasion, sets his Government upon a more wide and stable Foundation, and keeps all of them more inviolably attach'd to his Interests both from Duty and Inclination. And if such a Power be expedient in any of his Dominions, 'tis peculiarly so in this Kingdom, where in case of danger from our numerous Popish Enemies both at home and abroad, he needs the Assistance of all his Protestant Subjects for the Preservation of the publick Safety. And one would in Charity hope, that all Parties have by this time learn'd the Weakness and pernicious Tendency of all contrary narrow Politicks, only I am afraid the Doctor and some of his stamp remain yet very unteachable, and would gladly render all others as unteachable as themselves. The Truth is, such High-Clergymen as he were never cut out for Politicians; all their Politicks have too deep a Tincture of Bigottry.

His XIth and last Argument is made up of late Matters of Fact, by which he pretends to make us not only see, but feel the Danger of arming the Dissenters with any Civil or Military Power.

For his first Fact relating to Mr. Mac-Gowan's Conduct towards Mr. Matthews, I would only ask him this short Question, Whether he will think it reasonable to impute to any considerable Body of Men, whatever one of their Number does in a Fever or Frenzy;

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or what is much the same, under the Conduct of wild and senseless Passion? He himself tells us, "That he is persuaded that the more temperate among the Dissenters will disclaim and condemn what Mr Mac-Gowan did to Mr. Matthews. And he needed not have delivered himself with so much caution. For none will do otherwise that have a grain of Temper or Judgment left, if the Fact be true as he relates it. And therefore Mr. Mac-Gowan alone is responsible for it,

His second Fact relates to Mr. Mac-Cracken, concerning which he tells us at the close of his long Narrative of it, *That 'tis true in all its Circumstances.*

I have had occasion several times in these Papers already to remind the Doctor of his gross Mistakes in Matters of Fact. And in reference to this tedious story, Mr. Mac-Cracken, who should best know the Truth of what concerns himself, charges the Doctor with the following down-right Falshoods in it; and desires he would either make good his Charge, or honestly retract it.

1. That the Presbyterians in Scotland sent Instructions to the Dissenting Teachers of Ireland, to refuse the Oath of Abjuration, is false.

2. That Mr. Mac-Cracken brought over any such Instructions from them, is false.

3. That there were 22 unqualified Presbyterian Teachers in the County of Antrim alone, is a notorious Falshood.

4. That Mr. Mac-Cracken upon the expected Invasion of the Pretender 1707, dissuaded his Congregation from taking up Arms is notoriously false. All that were summoned appeared, and were ready to take up Arms against the Pretender, and are so now.

5. That Mr. Mac-Cracken wore a Sword when travelling abroad, is true; That he did so in the Country, is false.

6. That upon his Prosecution by some Justices of the Peace he went to Scotland, is true, That he thence returned soon to Lisburn is false. For he went thence to London, and did not return till the late Duke of Ormond (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) told him, *He should have no Trouble from the Queen or the Government.*

7. That Mr. Mac-Cracken made his Escape out of Goal, is false. For 'tis well known to all the Sheriffs that have been in Office from November, 1713 to this Day, that he hath been under confinement, having no Liberty but at their Discretion; and he is still under confinement, tho' he hath taken the Oath of Abjuration as now worded by the British Parliament.

Besides these Falshoods in Fact that Mr. Mac-Cracken charges the Doctor with, he has several material Observations to make on the Doctor's Narrative.

As all that were acquainted with Mr. Mac-Cracken knew that his Scruples were not against the Substance of the Oath, but the wording one Clause of it, and that he was as much against the Pretender's Claim, and for the Protestant Succession, as the Doctor or any of his Friends; so that the Gentlemen of the Country (except Mr. Spencer, Mr. Waring, Mr. Green, and another Justice of the Peace, Sir Constantine's known Creatures and Friends) were concerned for his being taken, and thought of it of publick Service, is the Doctor's precarious Assertion without proof. On the contrary, the prosecution of him was so generally construed to be the Effect of Party-malice by persons of all Persuasions, that no Man, not so much as the meanest Day-labourer could be engaged to be a Witness against him; so that Mr. Spencer was obliged to provide four Female-Witnesses, whose Character is sufficiently known where they live; and even his Diffidence of their Testimony obliged him to procure Summons from the Judges to several of Mr. Mac-Cracken's own Congregation to come and swear against him. To prevent their Trouble Mr. Mac-Cracken appeared, and before the Court owned his being for the Protestant Succession and against the Pretender, upon

which the Judges looked at one another, and neither Council nor Solicitor moved in it, being sensible (as he has reason to believe) that the Prosecution was only malicious.

That Sir Con's three Justices of the Peace (who were successively made High-Sheriffs of the County) should procure Grand-Juries of their own Stamp, is no wonder; nor is it any wonder, that one of those Grand-Juries should, in their Address to the Queen, value themselves upon this Prosecution. But what true Zeal they had for the Protestant Succession will best appear by their fawning Address in favour of Sir Con; and by their Presentments against known hearty Friends to the Protestant Succession, and particularly Mr. Upton, who has given more substantial Proofs of his Zeal for it, than the Doctor and his three Justices put all together.

The present Lord Chancellor is best able to satisfy the Doctor of the reasons of his turning his three Justices as well as himself out of the Commission of the Peace; and I am told, the Doctor will be much obliged to his Clemency, for not calling him to an Account for the artful Innuendoes in this Narrative, to his Prejudice, as he was for his declining to name him, when he made his just Complaint of it in the House of Lords.

There is ground to believe, That none were concerned in sending down Council and Solicitor at Mr. Mac-Cracken's Tryal after his Apprehension, but Sir Con. himself and his Three Justices above-mentioned. For Mr. W—g he had not been seen for some time of his Creditors but under a Covert or Protection; and tho' he appeared at the Time of the Assizes in his scarlet, yet he thought it proper for his own Safety to disappear the Night before they were over. 'Tis said indeed that the 500 l. Fine they had in view, was designed to relieve his Necessities; but since Sir Con. went off, he seems as much deserted as the Highlanders since the Pretender and Marr left them in the lurch. And since that Prosecution ceased, Mr. W—g has not appeared in the North, but betaken himself to some Sanctuary where his Creditors cannot come at him.

For the Extraordinary Expence which the Doctor tells us the Crown was at in the Prosecution of Mr. Mac-Cracken, 'Tis not his Province, but that of others (if they think it proper) to enquire into it.

If Mr. Mac-Cracken would take common Reports for Facts, he might object much more to the Character of some of the Doctor's three Justices.

Having thus offered to the Doctor what Mr. Mac-Cracken has to say in his own Vindication, I may safely appeal to any unbiassed Man's Judgment, whether it can furnish him with the shadow of an Argument against the Repeal of the Sacramental Test, or any part of it, which is the Design of his giving us this Narrative, which he may now see in the most material Circumstances of it is so void of Truth.

His next Fact is Mr. Upton's carrying his Election for the County of Antrim, tho' opposed by Persons of Quality and Estate in that County.

And what can he infer from all this, but that the Electors had a good Opinion of his Capacity and Inclination to serve his King and Country, and of his hearty concern for the Safety and Welfare of the Kingdom, and thought these Considerations of more weight and moment, than any particular Obligations that many of them might have to their Landlords! And is this any just matter of Reproach or Complaint against him or them? Would the Doctor persuade their Landlords to sacrifice their own Interest to his Bigottry, by casting off good substantial Tenants, because Presbyterians, before they can provide themselves with as good conformable ones? Does he envy his Protestant Brethren that they subsist and thrive in the World? Or does he think Tenants obliged to chuse none but whom their Landlords recommend? Is that any Condition

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put into their Leaves? And for the virulent Reflection he adds of *Presbytery* being a *lasting Faction in the State*, as well as *Schism in the Church*; one would think the Doctor should blush to fix such an odious Brand on a Body of Men, among whom he cannot find one single Person that is disaffected to the present Government. Were there no other *Faction against the State* in this and the Neighbouring Kingdom, both *State* and *Church* would be safe enough. What can we think then or say of the unreasonable Rancour of such Language as this, but that the Doctor's Gall would burst if he did not thus frequently give it vent. The best of it is, That it can hurt none but himself. If one of the *Pretender's* Advocates should miscale them thus, they would not wonder at it.

His fourth Fact relates to the *solemn League and Covenant*, concerning which he tells us, "When some probable reasons were offered, that their Teachers and Elders took the Covenant as their Directory requires, (or some Oath equivalent thereto) they thought it seasonable in their *Address* to the *Queen* to deny the Fact, but they now seem to throw off the Mask, and begin to maintain not only the Doctrine of that Covenant, but the binding Obligation thereof upon all Presbyterians, and upon that foot to justify the Rebellion of 1641, as well as that of *Pentland-Hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*. To which purpose the Doctor cites a Passage out of the *Historical Essay*."

As to this Fact (as he calls it) I would offer the following Particulars to the Doctor's second Thoughts.

1. When the Convocation of the Clergy in their *Representation* insinuated their Jealousy of this Fact: 'Tis fit to remind the Reader what Reply the Dissenters made to it.

In the *Address* from those of the *North* they thus express themselves, "We are surprized that the Convocation should insinuate any Cause of Fear, that our Ministers should be obliged at their Ordinations to take the solemn League and Covenant, seeing they cannot but know that all our Ordinations are solemnly performed in the face of numerous and publick Congregations, where generally diverse of the Established Church are present. And yet we are assured, that not any one Instance of that kind can be given, nor is it done either in the Established Church of *Scotland* or among us."

In the *Address* from the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of *Dublin*, and the *South* of *Ireland*, they say, "There is another Complaint insinuated against us, of so high a Nature, that if it were believed we should not be surprized, if your Majesty should think us unworthy of your Royal Favour and Protection. 'Tis in these Words, *There is but too just reason to fear, That at their pretended Ordinations the Dissenting Teachers are obliged to take the solemn League and Covenant, They never yet having made any publick Renunciation of it, And it being required in the Directory as a necessary Preliminary to Ordination.*"

As to this Suggestion, We beg leave to say, "That if the Convocation have any secret reason of their fears, we can pass no Judgment on them. But as to matter of Fact, we are as certain as that we know our own Practice, That no Dissenting Preacher among us, was ever obliged to take the solemn League and Covenant, nor was it ever taken by any one of us at our Ordination, or in order to it. And we are well assured, That the Convocation cannot produce one Instance of this kind since the Restoration of the Royal Family in 1660. And for those Reasons of their fears which the Convocation suggests, *Our never having made any publick Renunciation of it, and it's being required by the Directory in order to Ordination*, we humbly conceive they are of no Validity to justify such an Insinuation that has no matter of fact to support it. Especially since there is no Law that now requires any publick Renunciation of it from either Conform-

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ing or Dissenting Preachers. We look not on ourselves as any way bound by the Authority of those that enjoined the taking it; nor think ourselves bound to do any thing prescribed by that Directory to which the Convocation refer, any further than as it appears to us conformable to the Word of God."

Whether the Doctor gave in any Informations to the Convocation that possessed them with these groundless Fears, he best knows himself: But he seems now so conscious, That the Fact was utterly untrue; that he has slyly put in this Parenthesis (*or some other Oath equivalent to it*) viz. to the solemn League and Covenant. I perceive his Invention is very fruitful when the Dissenters are to be aspers'd; and where his proofs of real Crimes fail, they must be help'd out with such imaginary ones as his jealous Fancy can suggest. For who but himself ever heard or dream'd of this *Equivalent Oath* he speaks of! will he tell us what it is? Were any such Oath taken, would none of those Dissenting Ministers that have left them, and turned to the Church, oblige their new Friends, and particularly the Doctor, with so grateful a Discovery? Does this vile Insinuation (so entirely groundless) favour of that *Charity* that *thinketh no Evil*, even of that divine *Charity*, without which the Apostle tells us, *1 Cor. xiii. 15.* That *tho' he could speak with the Tongues of Men and of Angels, he would become but as Sounding Brass and a Tinkling Cymbal.* But the Doctor seems in his practice towards the Dissenters to give us the Reverse of the Apostle's Charity. His *Charity thinketh all Evil of them, believes nothing good concerning them, and hopes for no good from them.*

Secondly For what the Doctor cites from the *Historical Essay*, I would gladly know, Whether he do's not think the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*, obliged pursuant to their Sentiments to wish for the Restoration of Prelacy, and as they have occasion to reason for it. But as this would be very consistent with their peaceable Deportment under their present Toleration, and would bind them to no illegal methods of over-turning the present Legal Establishment of Presbyterian Church-Government, such and no other Obligation does the Author of the *Essay* suppose to lie on those that think the Presbyterian Form of Church-Government, to be more conformable to the Word of God, to desire and, as occasion offers, plead for the Reformation of what they think amiss in the plan of Diocesan Prelacy. But this is very consistent with their calm and peaceable Behaviour where the latter is established, and binds them not to take the least illegal step towards the Alteration of it. And where is the Harm or Danger in the one Case any more than in the other? Nay those called *Presbyterians* in *England* (as I have observed before) were willing for Peace-sake to have submitted to *Archbishop Usher's* Model, for the *Reduction of Episcopacy*. But for that Covenant, the Dissenters of this Age are no way concerned with it, or bound by it to any thing but what the Principles upon which they dissent from the present Ecclesiastical Establishment necessarily oblige them to, and what the Principles of those that dissent from the Presbyterian Plan in *Scotland* equally oblige them to.

Thirdly 'Tis a strange Blunder in the Doctor to tell us, "That the Dissenters do upon this foot (*viz.* the Obligation of that Covenant) justify the Rebellion of 1641." Does he not know that the Rebellion of 1641 (as he calls it) was begun by an *English* Parliament made up almost entirely of Members of the Established Church, a considerable time before ever they called the *Scots* to their Assistance, and consequently before their Covenant had any place in *England*, or was ever imposed there? How then should the Obligation of that Covenant be alledged to justify a Rebellion that had no Relation to it, and was wholly founded on political Maxims, which *Episcopacy* and

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Presbytery had no concern at all? It was the Parliament's claiming the Power of the Militia gave the true Rise to the War between the King and them, as he may see from my *Lord Clarendon's History*. And they had at that time nothing to do with the *Scot's Covenant* at all.

4. I shall leave the Doctor to dispute that point with the *Author* of the *Historical Essay*, Whether the *Civil War* was in it's first Rise a *Rebellion* on the Parliament's side. It is sufficient to my purpose to remind him, That if it was he must own, That the Members of the *Establish'd Church* had the chief Hand in it, and those call'd *Dissenters* were only *Accessaries*, and driven to become such by long and unreasonable Oppression.

5. 'Tis a wonder with what face the Doctor should tell us, "That the *Historical Essay* is collected from "all the most *Villainous Papers* which those Times produced to inflame the *Sectaries*, &c. If he is pleas'd to call the Speeches of those *Lords and Commons*, (most of whom were strict *Royalists*) or my *Lord Clarendon's History*, *villainous Papers*, he may use his freedom. For 'tis out of these chiefly the *Author* of the *Essay* draws his matters of Fact. But that the main Scope of that Book is calculated to turn the Hearts of the People against *Monarchy* itself, by throwing most *Gross and Scandalous Reflections* upon all the King's *Royal Ancestors*, between the *Reformation* and the *Revolution*, &c. is utterly false, as he may see by the *Preface* to it. Will the *Author* undertake to justify all the Advances towards *Arbitrary Power* made by *King James the First*. All the illegal *Grievances* of *King Charles the First's* Reign, before the Commencement of the *Civil War*. All the *Male-Administration* of *King Charles the Second's* Reign; and all the violent Steps taken by *King James the Second* towards the Subversion of the *Protestant Religion*, and our *Civil Liberties*? And yet these were only the faults of the *Persons*, but by no means imputable to our excellent *Civil Constitution*, in which the *Prerogative* of the *Prince* is so happily temper'd with the *Liberty* of the *Subject*. And those very *Princes* whose *Reigns* have been most unhappy, by grasping at such an *Arbitrary Power* as the *Constitution* never gave them, owe much of their *Misfortunes* to *Clergy* and *Court-Parasites*, who for their own ends flatter'd their *Vanity* with their inflaming *Doctrines*, and misled them into measures destructive of the *Liberty* and *Property* of their *Subjects*. But this is far from giving any reasonable Man the least *Prejudice* against our *legal* and *limited Monarchy*, which shone with so bright and beneficent a Lustre in *King William's* and *Queen Mary's* Reign, in the greatest part of *Queen Anne's* (till the *Revival* of *Tory-Politicks* and Measures cast a shade over it) and which now appears with so radiant a *Glory* in the *Just* and *Gracious* Reign of his present Majesty, and we hope will be the more resplendent by the baffled Attempts of the present barbarous *Rebellion* to eclipse it.

His Fifth Fact relates to what pass'd at *Bally-Walter*, Nov. 10. but in relating it, he has according to his wonted manner mix'd *Falshood* with *Truth*, as the Reader may see by the following Account of it.

"The People being inform'd, That such Officers "would be set over them as pass'd under the Character of *Tories*, when they were call'd by the Commissioners of *Array*, one *James Mac-Cormick* desir'd to know, Who were to be their Officers? where-upon Captain *John Montgomery* said, Come forward, Sir, that I may know who you are. One *Boyd* interposing on *Mac-Cormick's* behalf, the Captain call'd for a *Constable* to seize and commit him. No *Constable* appearing, Captain *Montgomery* went into the Croud with his Hand to his Sword, offering to draw it; *Boyd* seeing this, took hold of him, desiring him not to draw his Sword, for none there design'd him any Harm. The People seeing this struggle, suppos'd the Gentlemen design'd to fall

"upon them and beat them, and came to rescue *Boyd*. "Upon which Lieutenant *Baily* furiously struck *Boyd*, "and tho' desir'd to forbear, continuing his Strokes, "several made at him with Clubs drawn out of a Carr "that was near them, saying, They would fight for "King *George* with their Lives and Fortunes, but "would serve under no *Tory-Officers*.

This being a true Narrative of Fact, the Doctor has tack'd the following Untruths to it.

'Tis not true that either Mr. *Cormick* or *Boyd* pretended to speak in the Name of the Parish, or to have commission from them to say what they did. If they had done so, they would have said what was untrue.

'Tis false, that *James Baily*, the Miller, has made Oath before Captain *Montgomery*, That this was done by Combination of the Parishioners, and that several of them said publicly they scorn'd to be headed by Officers that were Churchmen. For the said *Baily* is ready whenever judicially call'd to make Oath to the contrary.

'Tis not true, That Mr. *Gaudy* laid little to the Charge of the Rioters, but a great deal to the Charge of the Gentlemen and Commissioners of *Array*. What he said to blame the Conduct of the latter was short and modest; what he said by way of just Reproof to the former, was more full and sharp; as might fully appear were it worth the while to trouble the Reader by reciting at length what he spoke on that occasion.

I am so sensible, That the Reader is by this time tired with the Doctor's idle Stories, (which never fail of passing thro' his Hands with some false Colours added to them, or untoward Misrepresentation of them) that I shall not trouble him with examining the Tattle and Chat he has pick'd up about *Derragby*, tho' I doubt not it will upon Enquiry appear of a Piece with the rest.

Having gone thro' the Doctor's Book, I must leave the impartial Reader to judge how far he has perform'd the Task he had undertaken. I hope this short Answer will convince others (whatever it may himself) that his Talent lies not so much in close Reasoning as in bitter *Invectives*. A way of Writing very unbecoming his Character, and which I have no Ambition to vie with him in. But I suppose the Doctor thought it necessary to his Design of preventing the *Dissenters* having the least share in the Favours of the Government, to dress them in *Bears-Skins*, and paint them in all the odious Colours his Ill-will could invent. But, God be prais'd, the Behaviour of the *Protestant Dissenters* has been such, that the Doctor will hardly be able with all his Calumnies to make many *Profelytes* to the vile Opinion he has entertain'd of 'em. Those must be strangely blinded with *Prejudice* that do not see, that those call'd the *Low-Church*, and the *Protestant Dissenters* have been the sincerest Friends of the *Protestant Interest*, and the *Protestant Succession* in this Kingdom; and that the Safety of both does greatly depend on their charitable Opinion of, and hearty Affection to each other; and that those highly deserve the Common Interest, who would persuade them to regard and treat each other, as if they were irreconcilable Enemies. The *Protestant Dissenters* look upon those liberal Rewards his Majesty has bestow'd on such of the *Established Church*, as most eminently signaliz'd their Zeal for his Succession, with a pleased Eye. And 'tis hop'd none such will look upon their being put into a Capacity of enjoying some smaller Favours from his Royal Bounty with an envious One. To such as would repine at their having the least share in the benign Influences of his Majesty's Reign, after all the Demonstrations they have given of their inviolable Affection to his Person and Government, the Words of our Saviour may be justly applied, *Is thine Eye evil, because I am good?* Matth. xx. 15.

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To the Seasonable Advice, &c.

TH E following *Seasonable Advice*, wrote by an Anonymous but Judicious Author, being communicated to us for our Perusal, we could not but be much pleas'd with the truly Christian and healing Spirit that appears in it. It not only gives a just and fair Account of the present Differences among our Brethren in the North, and of the Reasonings about them us'd on both sides, as well as of the most material Proceedings of their last General Synod at Belfast, which have been since strangely misrepresented; but it is happily calculated to promote among our Brethren there the Exercise of mutual Forbearance and Love, notwithstanding some different Sentiments among them; not different Sentiments (as some would most groundlessly and uncharitably suggest) about any important Doctrines of the Christian Religion; (in which we are perswaded there is an happy Agreement) but about the Expediency of the Methods to be us'd for securing those important Doctrines, and preventing the contrary Errors.

We cannot but heartily approve this excellent Design of the Author, and apprehend it to be entirely agreeable to the Intentions of the late Synod at Belfast. For tho' they thought themselves oblig'd to bear their Testimony to the particular Truth most remarkably oppos'd in the present Age, by their Declaration concerning the Essential Deity of our Lord and Saviour; yet in reference to the Point wherein their different Sentiments chiefly lay, viz. *The voluntary Subscription of Ministers already Ordain'd to the Westminster-Confession*, which the Synod allow'd; they were studious to prevent any mutual uncharitable Jealousies or Censures, by the Charitable Declarations which those Ministers who accepted the Allowance given them by the Synod of a voluntary Subscription, made in favour of their Non-subscribing Brethren; and by the like charitable Declarations of the Non-subscribers with respect to their Subscribing Brethren, both which Declarations the Reader will find mention'd in this Paper. And as we our selves who were then present in the Synod, and had the honour of Sitting and Voting as Correspondents and Members in it, heartily approv'd those mutual charitable Declarations; so we had hoped that they would have laid a solid Foundation for Amity and Peace between our Subscribing and Non-subscribing Brethren: And we cannot but still hope that they will produce this desirable Effect among all our worthy Brethren on each side, who are Men of solid Judgment, and of a truly peaceable and charitable Temper.

The mischievous Attempts of a late Incendiary in his Paper entitled *The Mind of the Synod, &c.* to inflame their Differences by false Representations of Matters of Fact, and most base and unjust Insinuations against all those whose Practice was different

from his Sentiment in the point of Subscription, carry such a direct Opposition to these charitable Declarations in the Synod, that we hope none will approve them who pay any deference to the Judgment of the Synod itself, much less will they be agreeable to those who regard as they should, that excellent Description of Charity (or Godlike Love) which an inspired Apostle has given us, That it beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. 1 Cor. xiii. 7. and who duly consider that this Charity is declar'd by the same Apostle to be greater even than Faith and Hope. ver. 13. This we are sure of, that if the Mind of the Synod is to be understood by the declared Sense of a great Majority, it was quite contrary to what that Writer would represent it.

It is therefore matter of great Trouble to us to hear, that some Congregations in the North (or at least some part of them) have had so little regard to the charitable Declarations of the late General Synod, as to give great uneasiness and disturbance to their worthy Pastors, on the account of their declining that voluntary Subscription which the Synod only allow'd, but never pretended to enjoin. We heartily wish that those who appear so eager and forward to make a Rent in Congregations on this account, would seriously lay to Heart what the judicious Author of this pacifick Paper has offer'd to their consideration to dissuade them from such Divisive Courses, so opposite to the real Intentions of the Synod, so inconsistent with their own Principles with respect to Church-Government, and (what is far worse) so contrary to the unalterable Rules of mutual Forbearance and Charity which the Gospel so frequently recommends, and so strictly prescribes.

'Tis an hard Case, that any worthy Pastors who have so long discharg'd their Ministry with Faithfulness and Diligence, whose Ministry has been so useful and attended with remarkable Success, (and some of whom have been a singular Ornament and Defence to the common Cause of Nonconformity) against whose sound Doctrine and blameless Conversation no man has ever brought any Accusation which he was able to make proof of, should be in any danger of being deserted by their people, meerly because they decline complying with their humour in a matter contrary to their own Judgment, and which no General Synod has thought fit to require. This looks too like very injurious and ungrateful Usage towards those whose painful Labours among them (upon very self denying terms) have well deserv'd other Treatment at their hands. And we would gladly hope, that those Reverend Ministers who concurr'd in the Voluntary Subscription allow'd by the Synod, will yet have that tender regard to the just Reputation and Usefulness of their worthy Brethren, to their common Interest, and to

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the maintenance of that mutual *Love* and *Peace* which will be both their *Glory* and their *Strength*, as to use their best Endeavours to discountenance such unreasonable and fatal Divisions. Divisions of this kind have been so often attended with woful and pernicious Consequences in all the Reformed Churches, not only to the breaking their Peace but to the weakening the Interest of practical Religion among them, and we have such fresh and lamentable Instances of it in the present Age as should deter all that value our common Christian Profession from being accessory to them, or even neglecting to give a timely and seasonable Warning against them.

And therefore as we cannot enough commend the charitable and christian Behaviour of those Worthy Ministers in the *North*, who tho' they fell in with the Voluntary Subscription allow'd by the *Synod*, have yet shewn that just regard to their Non-Subscribing Brethren as to disapprove the uncharitable Censures past upon them and discountenance their people's unreasonable desertion of them on that account; so we heartily wish this good Example were more universally imitated and that all who profess a Zeal for Truth would strictly observe the sacred Rules of *Veracity*, *Charity*, and *Common Justice*, in their Endeavours to support it. Truth needs no unjustifiable or unfair Methods for the defence of it, but is manifestly disserv'd and dishonoured by them. And we must add, that the Interest of our Lord Jesus Christ is so far from being promoted by those fierce Contentions and bitter Animosities, which are too commonly the Effects of a blind and misguided Zeal, that nothing can have a more direct Tendency to obstruct the Success of the Gospel and marr the Edification of precious Souls under the Ministrations of it. And as this Consideration above all others, moves us to lament those unhappy Divisions that are among the *Northern* Dissenters; so we would fain hope our Reverend Brethren, who, we are persuaded, wish as much as we can do, the Advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom, and the Furtherance of the common Salvation, will be so far influenc'd by it, as to see a necessity of contributing, their joint Endeavours towards re-establishing the Peace of their Congregations, and bringing their present Differences; to an amicable Issue that they may stand fast in one Spirit, and with one Mind comfortably strive together in the Work of the Gospel, having no other Contention among them but how shall be most instrumental to glorify God and to save both themselves and those that hear them.

That pious Ministers themselves should differ in their Sentiments about matters of *Expediency*, and particularly about that of the Expediency of Subscription to human Composites, that descend to the Decision of many particular Points which are comparatively of small moment, and about which the wisest and best Divines may disagree, is not to be wondred at. This is what may be reasonably expected in this present State of Darknes and Imperfection, where the best of us know but in part, and see as thro' a glass but darkly, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12. But that they who are happily agreed in all the important Truths and Duties of Christianity, should, on the account of such different Sentiments about such matters of *Expediency*, avoid Communion with each other, rashly attempt to divide and break Congregations, whose Members have hitherto liv'd in mutual Amity, and endeavour to blast the Credit and destroy the Usefulness of such as have been *Burning and Shining Lights* in the Church of God, is a Practice most directly contrary to all the Injunctions of mutual *Forbearance*, *Peace* and *Love* which the Gospel abounds with, and particularly to that excellent and invariable Rule which the Apostle *Paul* has given for our Conduct, *That we should receive one another, as Christ also received us to the Glory of God.* xv. Rom. 7. And therefore we cannot but earnestly dissuade all those that love our Lord Jesus in Sincerity from incurring the Guilt of it.

'Tis a dangerous thing, 'tis an heinous Injury, to reject or desert those (or even to grieve their Hearts and weaken their Hands) whom Christ himself will receive and own as *faithful Labourers in his Vineyard*, and that meerly for acting according to the best of their Judgment in matters wherein Ministers truly *sound in the Faith*, and of *great Integrity of Life*, may easily entertain different Apprehensions. This will render no Man's account comfortable in the great Day of final Judgment.

And we would further observe, how unreasonable the Conduct of such Deserters is, with respect to the late Act of *Toleration*. It effectually deprives their Ministers of that legal Liberty which the Government has thought fit to allow them, and fixes an indelible Reproach on our common Profession, when tho' the Government has given all of our Persuasion such a Liberty, we cannot in lesser Differences tolerate one another, but the people will of their own heads desert those whom the Government protects, and whom no Ecclesiastical Authority own'd by themselves has cast out or censur'd. We cannot but look upon this as an ill Improvement of that signal Favour that has been so lately granted us, and a most improper Return both to God and our Governours, whose Clemency and Goodness we gladly take this opportunity thankfully to acknowledge, and are for our parts resolv'd to behave upon all occasions so, as that they to whom we owe this inestimable Benefit may never have cause to repent their Kindness to us.

As to the Case of *Intrants* and the Subscription requir'd of them by the Rules of the *Synod*, the Author has modestly offer'd what he judg'd most proper to preserve Peace, notwithstanding the difficulties that may occur in Presbyteries with reference to it. We would only beg leave, (with all due Deference to our Reverend Brethren) to suggest our humble Advice as to that if ever the Affair should again come under the Consideration of the General *Synod*. There is in our opinion an easy and safe Expedient that would entirely remove that embarrassing Difficulty, viz. Allowing the *Intrant* his choice, either to subscribe according to the pacifick Act, or to make a Declaration of his Faith in his own Words, in which if any thing be found contrary to *sound Doctrine* and the *wholesome Words of our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Presbytery that are to concur in his Ordination may refuse to admit him. We think this latter to be of the two a clearer Evidence of the *Intrant's* Knowledge and Soundness in the Faith, and of his Sincerity in what he declares, than a meer Subscription to a Confession already drawn up to his hand. And as the allowance proposed will no way derogate from the honour of the *Westminster Confession*, which is justly esteem'd by all the Protestant Dissenting Churches both in *England* and the *South of Ireland*, as an excellent and useful Summary of the Christian Doctrine, tho' they never insisted on a Subscription to it as necessary to the Admission of Persons into the Ministry among them; so on the other hand, it will not put any fatal Bar in the way of such deserving Intrants, as may not have freedom in their Judgments to countenance, by their own Practice, the imposing of Subscriptions to Confessions, drawn up by uninspir'd and fallible Men, as the necessary Conditions of Ministerial Communion in any Church whatsoever. For whether they are right in their Judgment as to that point or not, we should think it hard and unwarrantable to exclude such from the Ministry among us whom Christ has eminently qualify'd for publick Service in his Church, and who are read to give all reasonable Satisfaction to their Ordainers concerning their acquaintance with and belief of the Principles of Christianity by their own voluntary Declarations, and by answering any Questions which those that are to ordain them may think fit to ask as a farther Trial of them. This *Alternative* would, in our humble opinion, lay a solid and lasting Foundation

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tion for intire Concord and Peace among our Northern Brethren. We (pursuant to our Instructions) used the brotherly Freedom of recommending this Expedient in an *Interloquitur* of the last General Synod; but the *Proposal* coming too late, and the Ferment that then appear'd rendering it unseasonable, we take this occasion of reminding our Reverend Brethren of it, as what we think deserves to be maturely weigh'd, and would, we hope, if agreed to, secure a firm and durable Union among them; a Union fixt upon a Foundation entirely consistent with the Liberty of private Judgment, and yet such a Liberty as is not liable to be abus'd to the introduction of any dangerous Errors. It was this alone we aim'd at in making this friendly Motion to our Reverend Brethren, and we would again recommend it to their impartial Thoughts.

We can safely appeal to the Great Searcher of hearts, that there is nothing we more earnestly desire, than to see both *Truth* and *Peace* preserv'd inviolate among them; and to behold them happily united in ardent Love to our common Lord, and fervent Affection to one another. Our *Subscribing* and *Non-subscribing* Brethren are both honour'd and esteem'd by us. We hope both are influenc'd by upright Intentions, and both act in Sincerity according to their best Judgment, and will be found among those faithful Pastors, whom the chief Shepherd will adorn with an *unfading Crown of Glory*. We only wish such Brethren may not fall out in

their Way to Heaven, but bear with one another in some difference of *Sentiments* about more doubtful Matters, and of *Prædication* according to those different Sentiments. We shall rejoice to see their Flocks united and peaceable, their Congregations *Edify'd and Multiply'd*, and those unreasonable Jealousies and Animosities extinguish'd that threaten an unhappy Breach among them. And we request all our dear Brethren to put a candid and favourable Construction on our thus appearing, to recommend the *healing Advices* contain'd in this *Paper* to their serious Consideration, and to the Blessing of God on them, for promoting that great End, of mutual *Love and Peace*, which the *Author* appears to have in View. *Blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be call'd the Children of God.* Matth. v. 9. as it is under this Character we desire to appear and not as Abettors of any Party whatsoever; so if after all our reconciling Attempts, the groundless Jealousies and Passions of Men by a judicial Infatuation shall push things to a fatal Rupture, we shall indeed be mournful Spectators of so deplorable an Issue; but we shall have this inward *Comfort* left us, that we have deliver'd our own *Soul*.

NATH. WELD.

J. BOYSE.

R. CHOPPIN.

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SINCE the Reverend Mr. *Mastertoun* has been pleas'd, in his *Apology*, wrote in Answer to the *Seasonable Advice*, to make several Remarks on the *Recommendatory Preface* we prefix'd to that healing Paper, we think it a piece of respect due to that Author, as well as needful for our own Vindication, to take some Notice of what he objects against that Preface, and against our interposing as *Mediators of Peace*, in the unhappy Differences among our reverend Brethren in the *North*.

If any in the *North* have talk'd concerning us, in so foolish and romantick a Stile, as the Reverend Mr. *Mastertoun* represents them in his *Apology*, pag. 2. He may assure himself, we no way approve such odious Comparisons to detract from the just Reputation of any of our reverend Brethren. We hope none are so weak (as he would insinuate) as to make an *Idol* of our *well-meant Advice*, and to give in to our Charitable Sentiments with an implicit Faith, for our part we could wish the Spirit of the noble *Bereans* on all Sides reviv'd: But we are sorry to find that the reverend Mr. *Mastertoun* ascribes it to the *Justice of Divine Providence*, that our *Advice* should be blasted, and rendered *diserviceable to the End for which it was intended*. For as we gave it in the Sincerity of our Hearts, and can, as yet, see no good reason to retract it; so we still think, that if it had been followed, both *Truth* and *Peace* had still been preserved among our reverend Brethren, and that woful Alienation of Affections, that is since so much increas'd, had been effectually prevented or at least allay'd. And as we intended our *Advice* for no other end, so we heartily wish that all concern'd in it, would take Notice of the righteous Hand of God in the sad Effects that their own uncharitable Jealousies and Passions have since produc'd, to the great Grief of all their sincere Well-wishers.

Had the *Charitable Declarations* of the General Synod at *Belfast*, 1721. been adher'd to, and the People acted pursuant to them, (as we earnestly exhorted them in that *Preface*, and we think with Argu-

ments which this reverend Author hath said nothing that can weaken the Force and Evidence of) we had never seen the Jealousies of so many of the People, rise to so lamentable a Height, as the deserting their once beloved, and justly esteemed Pastors, merely on the Account of their declining the voluntary Subscription, which that Synod only allow'd, but never *enjoin'd*: Nor would so many of the Subscribing Ministers have refus'd that brotherly Assistance of their Non-subscribing Brethren, which formerly they so readily desir'd and accepted, and thereby have given so much Encouragement to the divisive Humour of their People. But since Mr. *Mastertoun* has offer'd nothing to invalidate those Scriptural Arguments, with which this our earnest *Advice* was inforc'd, we must leave them to stand or fall with their own weight. For as to what he suggests pag. 44. of the Non-subscribers forfeiting their Claim to the charitable Declaration at *Belfast*, by asserting (what he calls) their *Non-subscribing Principles*, we cannot allow the *Author's* Argument to be of any Force, unless he suppose; That to think no human Compossures of fallible Men, ought to be made the fix'd Tests of Orthodoxy, we prove those that hold such an Opinion to be *unsound of the Faith*: And by what sort of Reasoning he will prove such an Assertion, we must confess ourselves at a loss. There may indeed be a Mistake on the one Side or the other of that Question, but not such as argues either of those that have different Sentiments about it, to be *unsound in the Faith*; and we cannot but think those to be in a dangerous practical Error, who would confine their Christian Communion either to such as *abet* or such as *deny* that Opinion. There are such plausible Arguments on both Sides of the Question, as may be reasonably supposed to sway the Judgment of Men that agree in all the momentous Doctrines of the Christian Religion (as we are persuaded that our reverend Brethren on both Sides of that Question do).

And

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And so far the General Synod at Derry, 1722. seem'd to approve that Charitable Declaration of the Synod at Belfast, that they came into this as their fifth Resolution. "Tho' this Synod will not impose upon the Consciences of such of our People as scruple Submission to the Ministry of our Non-subscribing Brethren; yet we earnestly and seriously exhort all of them to condescend as far as their Consciences will allow them, in adhering to their Pastors." On which Resolution we beg leave to make this obvious Remark, that if the Synod had thought the people had any just Reasons against adhering to their Non-subscribing Pastors, they could not with Sincerity so earnestly and seriously exhort them to it. For as to any Right of imposing on the Consciences of Men, both Parties disclaim it, and must do so, while they own God alone to be the Lord of Conscience. But they must suppose their Consciences not duly inform'd who deserted their Pastors meerly on the Account of their Non-subscription, and had their People been of the same Mind in this with the Synod, their Peace might have been preserv'd, and those wretched Effects of Non-communication prevented, which threaten an open Rupture.

We cannot without Concern observe the great pains Mr. M. has taken, to enlarge upon the Reasons on which the People scruple Submission to the Ministry of the Non-subscribing Ministers. We would gladly know whether he approve of these Reasons as a just Cause of their Non-communication with them, or not. If he do, we must conclude he has chang'd his Mind since the General Synods at Belfast and Derry: if he do not, we think he has acted no Charitable and Christian part, in enlarging so much upon them, without endeavouring to remove the Grounds of their Scruples; but instead of that has endeavour'd to invalidate all the Answers he supposes the Non-subscribers to make. But as this matter concerns the Non-subscribers themselves, so we leave them to defend their own Cause, which in our opinion they will in this point find it no difficult Task to do.

But the chief Quarrel Mr. M. has with the *Dublin Prefacers*, is, for their taking the Liberty to propose an Overture for healing their Differences. The Overture was this, "To allow the Intransigent his Choice, either to subscribe according to the *Pacific Aet*, or to make a Declaration of his Faith in his own Words, in which, if any thing be found contrary to sound Doctrine, and the wholesome Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Presbytery that are to concur in his Ordination may refuse to admit him; and the Ordainers are allowed to ask any question they think fit, for the farther Tryal of the Intransigent." Against this Overture or *Alternative*, the reverend *Apologist* offers some *Objections*, and then considers the *Reasons* the *Prefacers* had used to recommend the Overture.

His *First* Objection is, "That the Reasoning of the Non-subscribers tends to prove, that no Church hath a right to require of Intrants into the Ministry, as a Condition of their Admission, a Declaration of their Faith in other than Scripture Words. Indeed, saith he, this specious Overture will save the Synod, and the *Prefacers* the Labour of any Overture, excepting one, for forming a Comprehension of all Denominations of Christians, and for declaring a Subscription to the Letter of the Bible, a sufficient credible Profession of Christian Faith, to entitle one to Christian and Ministerial Communion."

To this the *Answer* is obvious, that as to our Overture, 'tis so far from supposing what the Author here suggests, that it supposes the contrary, viz. The Intransigent's Declaration of his Faith in his own words; and if those be not the words of the Holy Scriptures; the Ordainers have a Liberty of comparing them therewith; if they be, of demanding in what Sense he understands them, in order to their Satisfaction

that he does not wrest or pervert them. And for his Non-subscribing Brethren, we believe they will tell him, he has given a very untrue Representation of their Sentiments and Reasonings in this Matter. And for that strange *Comprehension of all Denominations of Christians*, of which he speaks, we think, he knew the Mind of the *Prefacers* so well, as that he might have spared such an invidious Suggestion. For their Overture had no Tendency to so vile a purpose, and we supposed this Insinuation rather addressed to the Passions of weak people, than to their Judgments. What he adds under this Objection, "That this Overture had been made by some of the Non-subscribing Ministers, before the Advice from Dublin was heard of," it is of no force against the Overture, for if the Overture be a reasonable one, and a most likely Expedient to heal their Differences, and every way suitable to the great Rule of Christian Forbearance, with respect to unavoidable Differences in Judgment and Practice, as to things uncommanded in the Holy Scriptures, it well deserves their serious Consideration. If they upon such deliberate Consideration, find the *Alternative* to answer this Character, it is a sufficient Ground of their falling in with it, whatever their former or later *Resolutions* were: if they do not, none propose it as a meer act of good Nature, and a meer voluntary Concession in those that are otherwise minded. All that the Non-subscribers have hitherto insisted on is only this, that Presbyteries, when concern'd in the Ordaining of Intrants, may not be so ty'd up by any Synodical Rules, as will oblige them to reject all Intrants that scruple subscribing according to the *Pacific Aet*, tho' they have as full Satisfaction as they can desire of their having all the Qualifications for the Ministerial Office, that the Gospel requires; and particularly of their being sound in the Faith, and well furnish'd to instruct others in it. And this is a *Concession* which Ministers who are duly conscious of the Weakness of human Understanding, and declare against imposing on the Consciences of their Brethren, may with a good Grace (to use the Reverend *Apologist's* Expression) be humbly intreated to make, without any harsh Reflections on those that modestly offer this Advice, with a due deference to their Judgment.

His *Second* Objection is, "That the Overture seems to be subversive of itself, for in one part of it, the Intransigent is allowed to declare his Faith in his own Words; in another he is obliged to answer to what Questions the Ordainers shall think fit to ask him, for farther tryal of the Soundness of his Faith. But who doubteth, but the Ordainers unless they all turn Non-subscribers together, will ask the Intransigent, what his Judgment is, concerning the *Westminster Confession*? Whether he believes the Doctrines contain'd in it to be the Doctrines of the Holy Ghost? to which if the Intransigent be obliged to answer directly, the *Alternative* falleth to the Ground."

Answer. The reverend *Apologist* might easily know, that the *Prefacers* plain meaning was, that if the Intransigent's Words, in which he expresses any Article of the Christian Faith, appear to the Ordainers ambiguous, they may desire to know his Mind and Sense more fully; if he express it only in the very Words of Scripture, they may enquire in what Sense he understands them, (especially such as have been notoriously wrested) if he omit any Article they judge to be important, they may urge him to declare his Judgment about it.

But since he supposes, that all Ordainers (unless they turn Non-subscribers) will put those Questions to the Intransigent, which he mentions; we beg leave to ask him one Question, viz. Whether his Question relate to the Confession and the Doctrines of it in general, or to every Doctrinal Proposition in particular?

If the Question only relate to the Confession and the Doctrines contain'd in it in general, we shall for Argument's sake suppose the Intransigent to make the following answer. That

That he judges it to be an excellent Confession, a good Abridgment, containing all the necessary Articles of the Christian Faith, in the Main agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and very useful for promoting Divine Knowledge; but whereas it is very long, and descends to several particular Points, that are controverted among Pious and Judicious Protestant Divines; he thinks as to the Decision of some of them, he is no competent Judge in those nice Controversies, and cannot with a safe Judgment and Conscience, subscribe to the Decision of them, on the one side or the other, till he has more maturely considered the grounds of such Decisions; and besides, he thinks such things as are controverted among the most eminent Protestant Divines, no proper distinguishing Tests of any Man's Soundness in the Faith. Now we would gladly know whether such an Answer would be thought satisfactory to the Reverend *Apologist*? Or whether any more ought to be said, concerning the best Writings of fallible and uninspired Men, in whose large Composites some Marks of human Imperfection and Ignorance may be reasonably Expected? And whether it be Reasonable to demand that in Points controverted among Divines, generally reputed sound in the Faith, he should assent to the Decision of them on one side or the other, when he has had no Leisure or Opportunity by long reading and study to ripen his own Judgment concerning them?

But if the Question relate to all the particular Doctrinal Propositions contain'd in the Confession, we may reasonably suppose that many deserving Intrants may return such an Answer as this,

" That several particular Doctrinal Propositions, in that Confession, appear to me ambiguous, and capable of different and inconsistent Senses; and till the determinate Sense and Meaning of them be clear'd, I cannot declare whether I believe them to be the Doctrines of the Holy Ghost, or no. To illustrate more particularly what I intend, I beg leave to observe what has very lately pass'd in Scotland. The General Assembly there in the Year 1720. censur'd several *Erroneous Propositions* contain'd in an *Antinomian Book* call'd (*The Marrow of modern Divinity*) which was re-printed there in the Year 1718. with an ample *Recommendation* prefix'd thereto; at the next General Assembly, 1721. twelve Ministers drew up a *Representation and Petition* to the General Assembly, greatly complaining of this Censure, and vindicating several Propositions contain'd in the Book call'd, *The Marrow, &c.* (which the General Assembly had censur'd as *Erroneous*) as founded upon their *Confession and Catechisms*; and particularly that Proposition in the 181 page of the *Marrow*, *Would you not have Believers eschew Evil, or do Good, for fear of Hell, or hope of Heaven? Answer, No indeed, for so far forth as they do so, their Obedience is but slavish*; They also attempt to vindicate those other passages in the *Marrow*, censur'd by the General Assembly, which place the Nature of Faith, in an appropriating Persuasion, that Christ is theirs; or (as the *Marrow* expresses it) being verily persuaded in their Hearts, that Christ is theirs; and that whatever he did for the Redemption of Mankind, he did it for them, and that upon their believing this, they should have Life and Salvation by him. And whereas the General Assembly had censur'd what is contain'd in the *Marrow*, from p. 150. to p. 153. and in particular that passage, *If the Law says, good Works must be done, and the Commandment must be kept, If thou wilt obtain Salvation, then answer you, and say, I am already sav'd, before thou camest, therefore I have no need of thy Presence, for in Christ I have all things at once, neither need I any thing more, that is necessary to Salvation; Christ is my Righteousness, my Treasure, and my Work. I confess, O Lord, that I am neither Godly nor Righteous, but this I am sure of, that he is Godly and Righteous for me: The Represent-*

ters reply, that it is astonishing, to them to find that part of the Marrow, which lies from p. 150. to p. 153. condemn'd in Cumulo, as contrary to the Scriptures, and the Confession of Faith, while they must frankly own, if they understand the Gospel, the forecited Passages contain a Bundle of sweet and pleasant Gospel Truths, which, instead of slackning People's Diligence in the Study of Holiness (as is alledg'd in the Act of the General Assembly) do discover the true Spring of Evangelical Obedience to the holy Law as a Rule: And speaking of the last Passage recited above out of the Marrow, they say, that in this Act of the Assembly's, they find the Believers Plea in case of Justification, in answer to the Demands of the Law, cut off and condemned.

" To this Representation and Petition, the Commission of the General Assembly reply'd, and take some Pains to justify the Censure which the Assembly had pass'd on the several Propositions collected out of the Marrow, and which the Representers appeal'd to the Confession for the Vindication of them.

" By this it plainly appears to me that such as subscribe the Confession, are not agreed about the Sense of many doctrinal Propositions contain'd in it, and therefore agree in Sounds rather than Sense; and I observe, that in Reference to that important Doctrine of Justification, tho' all orthodox Divines seem to agree, that no inherent Righteousness of ours can answer the demands of the Law of Works; and that Christ's Obedience and Satisfaction, is the only meritorious procuring Cause of our Justification; and that the Faith which the Gospel requires in order to our Justification, is always accompanied with other Graces and Works by Love; yet they differ about the Sense of that Phrase, of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness to us, there being a sound and an unsound Antinomian Sense of it: They also differ about the Sense of Christ's being our Surety, and fully discharging our Debt, and they differ no less about the Latitude and Extent in which Faith is to be taken, when it is mentioned in the Confession as the sole Instrument (or appointed Means) of our Justification; whether its Influence on our Justification is to be confin'd to some particular Acts of it, according to the Distinction some make (*inter Fidem quæ & qua justificat*) between the Faith that does justify, and Faith as it does justify: Or whether Faith as concern'd in our Justification, must be taken in that extensive Latitude which the Confession gives it in their excellent Description of Saving Faith? And till the determinate Sense of these several Phrases us'd in the Confession upon that Article is clear'd, I know not whether I believe them to be the Doctrines of the Holy Ghost, or no. And therefore I desire my Ordainers to acquaint me first, in what Sense they are to be understood in order to my professing my Assent to them. And as I apprehend the different Sense given of them to be inconsistent, I will freely acquaint them which I think most agreeable to the Doctrine of the Gospel. And particularly whereas the Confession asserts, that God neither imputes Faith, nor any Act of believing to us for Righteousness, or (as the larger Catechism has it) neither the Grace of Faith, nor any Act thereof is imputed for Justification, I cannot out of Reverence to the inspired Apostle Paul own this to be the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost, when it is, in Terminis contradictory to his express words, that unto him that believeth, his Faith is imputed for (or unto) Righteousness (*ei imputatur*) and he repeats the Expression six or seven times in the same Chapter. For whatever the Apostle there understands by Righteousness (which the larger Catechism explains by Justification) 'tis evident to me, that by Faith he understands either the Grace or the Act of Faith, and affirms it to be imputed to us for Righteousness, or Justification. And whereas the Confession and Catechism oppose God's imputing Christ's Righteousness

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“ to us, to his imputing either the Grace of Faith, or any
 “ *Act thereof for Justification*; the Compliers seem to
 “ me to have oppos’d two things that must both ne-
 “ cessarily concur in our *Justification*. God accounts
 “ and accepts Christ’s Obedience and Satisfaction as
 “ the only meritorious procuring Cause of our Justi-
 “ fication; and he accounts and accepts our Faith as
 “ the necessary Qualification of those to whom he has
 “ in the Gospel Covenant promis’d that blessed Pri-
 “ vilege of Right to Impunity and eternal Life; and
 “ these Words of the *Confession* seems to me, to put a-
 “ funder what the Holy Scriptures have inseparably
 “ conjoin’d. ’Tis therefore my humble opinion, that
 “ the several Propositions in the *Confession*, relating
 “ to this important Article, ought to be so explain’d,
 “ as to clear them from the *unsound Sense* that the *An-*
 “ *tinomian* Writers have put upon them, and from the
 “ *Erroneous Consequence* they draw from them, and
 “ which *unsound Sense* some others have fallen in with,
 “ who yet disclaim the Name of *Antinomians*, and
 “ detest many of the Consequences they deduce from
 “ thence, because they discern not their necessary Con-
 “ nection with the main ground of the *Antinomian*
 “ Scheme. And ’till these *Propositions* are thus ex-
 “ plain’d, I cannot regard them as a proper Test of
 “ any Man’s *Soundness in the Faith* in reference to that
 “ important Article of *Justification*.

Now we would gladly know what the Reverend
Apologist would say to such an *Intrant* that labours un-
 der such Difficulties as these. Would he have him
 assent to Propositions without knowing in what Sense
 they are to be understood, when he finds them taken
 in different Senses by such as have subscribed? or will
 he undertake to fix their determinate Sense for the
Intrant? or will he allow the several Presbyteries to
 fix the determinate Sense for him? or must the deter-
 minate Sense of them, which the Presbytery that is
 to be concern’d in his Ordination fixes or allows, be
 revis’d and approv’d by the General Synod? or shall
 the General Synod fix the determinate Sense of them
 by such a new Explication as every Presbytery shall
 be oblig’d to require the *Intrant*’s Assent to? and so
 make the *Confession* (as large as it is already) much
 larger by such authoris’d Explications? Will there be
 no Difficulty to bring the Synod to agree unanimou-
 sly in such Explications? are the greater part of their
 ruling Elders very competent Judges in such Matters?
 Or after all, will not the *Intrant*’s drawing up a De-
 claration of his own Faith be a surer Indication to his
 Ordainers, of his own free and undisguis’d Sentiments
 in reference of all the momentous Articles of the
 Christian Faith, than a bare Assent to *Propositions* which
 may admit of different and inconsistent Senses, and
 his Ordainers be in the dark in what Sense he takes
 them? These Difficulties we humbly conceive, well
 deserve the *Apologist*’s second Thoughts and closer Con-
 sideration. And if they are maturely weigh’d may
 possibly abate his Confidence, and persuade him to
 admit a Doubt, whether some Ordainers (without turn-
 ing Non-subscribers) may not have so much Modesty
 and Prudence, as to wave that Question concerning
 the Doctrines contain’d in the *Confession*, which he
 seems so sure they will put to the *Intrant* and oblige
 him to give a direct Answer to.

Mr. *Master-toun*’s third *Objection* against the *Dublin*
Alternative, is this, that the *Overture* is contrary to
 the declared Principles of the Subscribers, which is,
 that there ought to be one *common Confession of Faith*
 of Ministers, within the Bounds of the General Synod.
 But when the *Intrant* has deliver’d his *Confession*
 in his own Words he cannot be judged to have espou-
 sed the *common Confession*, not only unless the Ordai-
 ners give it as their Judgment, but he himself give it
 as his, that all the Doctrines contain’d in the *common*
Confession are contain’d in *his*; and that all the Do-
 ctrines contain’d in *his* are contain’d in the *common Con-*
fession; and if such a Judgment be given, ’tis plain

that the two Members of the *Alternative* are not Con-
 tradistinguish’d, and consequently the *Alternative* is
 good for nothing.

Answer, If by a *common Confession* he intend such a
Confession, which tho’ it contain several Propositions,
 that are controverted among the most eminent Prote-
 stant Divines, and may be held on one side or other,
 without any just Impeachment of a Man’s Soundness
 in the Faith, (*i. e.* in all the important Articles of it,
 that have an Influence on practical Holiness of Life)
 yet may be made the necessary Condition of Mini-
 sterial Communion within such Bounds as those of
 their *General Synod*, the Subscribers in our Apprehen-
 sion are in the wrong, in asserting, that there ought
 to be such a *common Confession*; for this is inconsistent
 with the plain Rules of the Gospel, concerning *mutual*
Forbearance and Charity, with respect to those lesser
 Differences of Judgment, that are unavoidable among
 the best of Men in this State of Imperfection, which
 Rules no human Constitutions whatever, can vacate
 our Obligation to observe. This were to make the
 Terms of Ministerial Communion narrower than our
 Common Lord has made them, which no Synods were
 ever warrant’d by him to do. But tho’ the Re-
 verend Mr. *Master-toun* had the Honour of being *Mode-*
rator of the last Synod, we very much question, whe-
 ther any such Principle will be own’d by all that go
 under the General Character of *Subscribers*, we have
 some Reason to believe, that many of them will think
 themselves much injur’d in his asserting this to be their
 common declar’d principle. For we doubt not but
 many of them have so much Judgment and Charity as
 to think, that many *Intrants* may be very *sound in*
the Faith, who yet may disown some Propositions of
 small Importance, contain’d in the *Westminster Con-*
fession, and whom they dare not on that account
 exclude, from the Service of Christ in the Ministry.
 But if what Mr. *Master-toun* suggests be the declared
 Principle of all the *Subscribers*, and they are resolv’d
 to bind all within the Bounds of the *General Synod* to
 act pursuant to it; There is no Room we confess for
 the *Alternative* we propos’d; and there is nothing left,
 but to desire them to consider well, how far such a
 Principle is consistent with the plain Rules of the Gos-
 pel, and how they themselves would like such an im-
 posing Spirit in others.

His *Fourth Objection* against the *Alternative* runs thus,
 “ The Northern Presbyterians alledge, that they have
 “ not such Advantage, nor so fair an Opportunity of
 “ judging of an *Intrant*’s Soundness in the Faith by
 “ an upstart *Confession* of his own making, which the
 “ *Intrant* is at Liberty of forming as artfully as he
 “ can, and which those concern’d in the Ordination,
 “ are perhaps to hear but once deliver’d in a tran-
 “ sient Manner, as by requiring him to give his Judg-
 “ ment of a *Confession* which both Ministers and
 “ Laity have all possible Opportunity of considering,
 “ and of comparing it with the Word of God.

Answer, To this *Objection* against the *Alternative* it
 may be justly reply’d.

First, That the *Apologist* does not fairly represent
 the Practice of those that allow the *Intrant* to draw up
 his *Confession* in his own words, for his Ordainers are
 wont not only to hear it deliver’d in a transient Man-
 ner, but to receive it in Writing, which they take time
 deliberately to examine, and to compare with the
 Scriptures, in order to their Satisfaction concerning the
 Knowledge of the *Intrant*, and his Soundness in the
 Faith, (which the *Apologist* is pleas’d, by way of Deri-
 sion to call an upstart *Confession*.)

Secondly, That this is a much more satisfactory Evi-
 dence to his Ordainers, of the *Intrant*’s Soundness in the
 Faith, than his subscribing any *Confession* already
 drawn to his hand, which he may subscribe without
 so much as understanding it, or may mistake or per-
 vert the true Sense of any Propositions contain’d in it,
 (of which more will occur in what follows.)

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The Intrans giving his Judgment concerning the *Westminster Confession*, either refers to the main momentous Articles of it, that contain a sufficient Summary of the Principles of Christianity, or to every particular Proposition in it. If to the former, we apprehend the Intrans will have no Scruple against declaring such a general Approbation of it. If to the latter, we cannot but look on this as a severe Imposition on many deserving Intrans, whose Sentiments may differ from that of the Compilers of the Confession, in some particular Propositions of theirs that are of very small Importance, and may be affirm'd or deny'd by such as yet ought not to be thought *unsound in the Faith*, and who may think other Propositions too *ambiguous* to be assented to, till the determinate Sense of them is fix'd: For they are reduc'd to the hard Dilemma, of either subscribing such Propositions contrary to their Judgment, or of being deny'd Access to serve their Blessed Lord in that sacred Office, which they have been at Pains and Cost by their preparatory Studies to qualify themselves for, and to which they are most sincerely willing to devote themselves, within the Bounds of the *General Synod*, where the Providence of God has cast their Lot, and may most probably open a Door of publick Service for them, most convenient for their comfortable subsistence in the World, and to the greatest Satisfaction of their Relatives and Friends, to whom their Life and Conversation is best known. And for such particular Propositions about which the greatest Divines in the Reformed Churches have entertained different Sentiments, we think the Presbyterian Laity (speaking of the Generality of them) are no very competent Judges, having neither Capacity nor Leisure, nor any great need to weigh the Arguments *Pro* or *Con* on either Side.

Having thus far considered the Reverend *Apologist's* Objections against the *Alternative* we propos'd, we proceed to consider the *Answers* he gives to the *Reasons* we suggested, in order to recommend it to their serious Consideration.

"The *Prefacers* (saith the *Apologist*) alledge, that allowing the Intrans to declare his Faith in his own words, is a clearer Evidence of his Knowledge, Orthodoxy, and Sincerity in what he declares, than a meer Subscription to a Confession already drawn up to his hand. To this I answer, that the Argument doth not conclude but upon a very unfriendly Supposition, viz. that the Northern Presbyteries use no other method for trying the knowledge and Sincerity of the Intrans, but by a meer Subscription to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. 'Tis well known that the Northern Presbyteries have used more Strictness in trying of Intrans, than is insinuated in this unfavourable Representation of their Conduct". Accordingly the Reverend *Apologist* gives a particular account of their Method.

Answer, The *Prefacers* Argument proceeds on no such unfriendly Supposition at all. They very well know this Method of Tryals in the North, and they can tell him the like method of Tryals is used by the Dissenters in the South of Ireland. But they took it for granted, besides all the particular Tryals he mentions, the Ordainers should be satisfied, that the Intrans has so well studied the Holy Scriptures, as to understand all the principal Articles of the Christian Religion reveal'd therein, and to have a Body of Divinity, or orderly System of Divine Knowledge in his Head. And the Question is, whether the Ordainers have not fuller Satisfaction of this Knowledge of his, by his being able to draw up a Declaration of the Christian Faith in his own words, than by subscribing a Confession drawn already to his hand. The former we think must be readily own'd as a clearer Discovery, how far he is (*Isidore*) apt to teach, and what is the Result of his own Thoughts and Judgment upon his reading the Holy Scriptures, and comparing therewith

such Systems of Divinity as he has perused; than the latter, which a Man may do, without understanding that Confession, or ever having thoroughly examin'd or digested it. And whereas the Reverend *Apologist* insinuates, "that the Intrans is at Liberty to draw up his own Confession as artfully as he can" 'tis easy to reply, that if he be an artful Man, he may easily wire-draw the Words of the Confession to a Sense the Compilers never intended; whereas his Ordainers if they find any thing in his own Confession ambiguously or doubtfully express'd, may desire him to explain them to a more clear and determinate Sense. The Ordainers cannot indeed penetrate into his heart, but what he freely declares himself when at full Liberty to express his own Thoughts, carries a more probable Evidence of his being sincere, than when he only subscribes what others have declar'd before him; and perhaps mistakes the genuine Sense of several Propositions contain'd in the Confession to which his Subscription is requir'd; and so agrees with the Compilers in Sounds but not in Sense. And 'tis hop'd the *Apologist* may be convinc'd, by what has been already said, that several Propositions in the Confession are ambiguous and capable of different and inconsistent Senses, that greatly need to be explain'd, before a well studied Intrans can with Judgment subscribe them.

The Reverend *Apologist* adds,

"The *Prefacers* alledge further, that their Overture will secure a lasting Peace in the North, but seeing they offer no Argument to justify their good Opinion of their own Scheme, the Northern Presbyterians are the more at Liberty to differ from them, and to alledge that the *Dublin Overture* tendeth rather to perpetuate divisions, and promote such a disorder as is roundly condemn'd in the Church of Corinth, by the great Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. How it is then, Brethren, when ye come together, every one of you hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, hath a Tongue, hath a Revelation, hath an Interpretation? let all things be done to edifying. We had many Years experience of an undisturb'd Concord in giving in to one common Confession, until some among us espous'd and unnecessarily publish'd some peculiar Notions to the contrary.

Answer, When the *Prefacers* recommended the *Alternative*, as a proper and most effectual Expedient for Peace, the *Apologist* might be well assur'd, they understood not a Peace on one Side only; they well knew there were different Sentiments among them, about the Method of guarding against pernicious Errors; some judging subscription to some human Confession the best Expedient to attain that end, and particularly Subscription to the *Westminster Confession*, which had been so long in general and just Esteem among them; but Mr. M. has now carried the Matter so high as to plead not only for the Expediency but even the Necessity of it. But we hope that this is not the common Sentiments of the Subscribers themselves. Others not only judge that other Methods might be as effectual, but that the making a Subscription to any set Form, compos'd by fallible and uninspired Men, (in whose Composition some marks of human Imperfection are reasonably to be expected) and much more to make such a Form as the *Westminster Confession*, (that is so large and descends to the Decision of so many Points that are controverted among Divines, that are evidently found in all the momentous Articles of the Christian Faith) the necessary Condition of Ministerial Communion, is an unreasonable Inroad on the Liberty of both Ordainers and Intrans. On the Liberty of the former, by obliging them to reject such Intrans concerning whom they are in their Judgments satisfy'd of their being sound in the Faith, furnish'd with all valuable Ministerial Abilities, for the instruction and guidance of a Christian flock, and likely to be happy Instruments of promoting the Interest of the

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Kingdom of Christ, and the Salvation of precious Souls: On the Liberty of the latter, viz. *Intrants*, because some of them tho' sound in the Faith, may be unable in Consistency with their own Judgment to subscribe some Doctrinal Propositions in the *Westminster Confession*; and others may be unwilling by their Practice to countenance the imposing Subscription to any particular human Confession, as a fix'd term of Ministerial Communion.

Now since we found so different Sentiments among our Reverend Brethren in the North; what could we offer as *Mediators of Peace*? Both alledg'd plausible Reasons for their different Sentiments. We had little hope of succeeding in any thing we could say to persuade those on the one Side or the other to quit their particular Opinion. The only thing practicable we could offer, was the leaving the Intransigent to his own choice of subscribing according to the *Pacific Aet*, if he did not scruple it; or if he did, drawing up a Declaration of his own Faith, of the Soundness whereof his Ordainers were to be proper Judges, and leaving the Presbytery, to be concern'd in the Ordination, to the Liberty of acting pursuant to the prevailing Sentiments of the Majority. And had this Alternative been agreed to, we hop'd it would have secured a firm and durable Union among them, an Union fix'd on a Foundation entirely consistent with the Liberty of private Judgment, and yet such a Liberty as is not liable to be abus'd to the Introduction of any dangerous Errors.

"But the Reverend *Apologist* tells us, That this Overture would perpetuate their Divisions, and promote such a Discord as is roundly condemn'd in the Church of *Corinth* by the great Apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. *How is it then, Brethren, when ye come together, every one hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, hath a Revelation, hath an Interpretation? let all things be done to edifying.*

Answer, If this would be the necessary Effects of the Overture we propos'd to their Consideration, we should be very ready to disclaim it; being no otherwise concern'd in their Divisions than in lamenting them, and using our best Endeavours to heal them. But we cannot see what Divisions would be perpetuated by this Alternative. But rather that the leaving the Intransigent to his own choice, would at once take away all the Ground of them. For if the Intransigent made it his own choice to subscribe according to the *Pacific Aet*, both *Subscribers* and *Non-subscribers* would have no scruple to allow him to do it. If he had no Clearness in his own Judgment to do it, why might not both accept a full and sufficient evidence of his Soundness in the Faith, given them by his own Declaration of it, unless they think that no other satisfying Evidence can be given without subscribing the *Westminster Confession*? And can any man think that the faithful Ministers of Christ could have no sufficient Evidence of an Intransigent's Soundness in the Faith, till that *Confession* was compil'd about Eighty Years ago; or that if it were now lost, they would be at a Loss for sufficient and satisfactory Evidence without it? This were in effect not only to equalize it to, but even to prefer it before the Holy Scriptures, as if those sacred writings were too obscure or ambiguous, and did not afford us as much Light to distinguish between the *Sound* and the *Unsound* as a human Composure can do.

But we are a little surpriz'd to find the Reverend *Apologist* telling us, "That this Overture we propos'd would promote such a Discord as is roundly condemn'd in the Church of *Corinth* by the great Apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. *How is it, Brethren, when ye come together, every one hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, hath a Tongue, hath a Revelation, hath an Interpretation? Let all things be done to edifying.* For a *Tongue*, for a *Revelation*, for an *Interpretation*, we presume the Author will own, that they are nothing to his purpose, unless any among them pretended to have the *Gift of Tongues* or to have any particular Re-

velation. Nor do we find that *Subscribers* or *Non-subscribers* in the North, use different *Psalms*. And we do not find but the same Doctrine contain'd in the Holy Scriptures in all the important Articles of it, is preach'd by those of both Sides in the debates about Subscription, as it is among us, that never made use of that Confession as a Test of Orthodoxy. If this Overture therefore promote any disorder, 'tis wholly owing to the Ignorance and misguided Zeal of weak people, who so overvalue that Confession, as unjustly to suspect every Man to be unsound in the Faith, that either scruple Subscription to every Proposition in it, or is in his Judgment against making the Writings of fallible and uninspired Men a fix'd Test of Orthodoxy, and Subscription to them a necessary Condition of Ministerial Communion, and who on that account unwarrantably disclaim Communion with as judicious and faithful Pastors as any we know among them. And 'tis this woful Disorder that we humbly conceive the Overture we propos'd, would have a Tendency to heal. But in our Opinion the Reverend *Apologist* has quite mistaken the Scope of the Apostle in the place he cites, who is not blaming the *Corinthians*, as if any contrary *Doctrines* or *Revelations* were deliver'd among them, but only for the Irregularity and Confusion of the publick Ministrations, in which no due Order was observ'd and the Gift of Tongues needlessly used, without any Interpretation of them, that should render what was spoken, serviceable to the Instruction or Edification of the Hearers. But what has this to do with the Congregations of *Subscribers* or *Non-subscribers*, in which the same regular and edifying Order is observ'd, and the same Doctrine preach'd, unless where the Ignorance of the Preacher is alone blameable for it, and not his being either a *Subscriber* or *Non-subscriber*?

And whereas Mr. M. adds, "We had many years Experience of an undisturb'd Concord in giving in to one Common Confession, until some among us espoused and unnecessarily publish'd some peculiar Notions to the contrary.

We *Answer*, Their worthy Predecessors had, as far as we can learn, as undisturb'd Concord many years before that Confession was compil'd, they had the like Concord before the first Act of any General Synod in the North made Subscription to it the necessary Condition of Entrance into the Ministry. That Act gave the first rise to their Differences and Dissensions. The *Pacific Aet* was fram'd with some Liberty of varying any scrupled Phrase or Phrases, but prov'd only a palliative Cure, because those who voted for it, had different Sentiments concerning the Extent and Latitude in which it was to be understood. This Overture which we propos'd seemed to us the most effectual Expedient to remove all the grounds of their Dissensions, by leaving the Intransigent to his own Choice of giving Satisfaction to his Ordainers either in the one Method or the other.

And this leads us to consider, what the Reverend *Apologist* answers to the next Reason we offer'd in favour of the Overture, Page 28.

Moreover the Prefacers insinuate, "That insisting on a Subscription to the Confession of Faith according to the *Pacific Aet*, may put a fatal Bar in the way of some deserving Intransigent. I *Answer*, that some Intransigents may be very deserving otherwise, yet at the same time very unfit for being admitted as Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland: The General Synod hath been still regarded as a body, not of three Denominations, but of one only; if any Intransigent then, tho' otherwise deserving, retain such inconvenient Notions as we judge inconsistent with that Freedom and Openness, which the Scripture maketh necessary to a credible Profession in a Minister of the Gospel, none can blame the Northern Presbyterians, to chuse such only to be their Ministers, who will deal candidly and openly with them,

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“ them, as to the Doctrines contain’d in their publick Confession, and who will not look upon it as a Spanish Inquisition to require them to do so, as a Condition of their being Members of a united Body of Presbyterian Ministers.

Answer. The Debates about subscribing the Confession, have (as we conceive) no relation to the Form of Presbyterian Church-Government; and both *Subscribers* and *Non-subscribers* may continue a *Body of one Denomination* with respect to that; notwithstanding their difference about the Point of Subscription. Nor do we know of any such inconvenient Notions entertain’d by the *Non-subscribers*, as are inconsistent with that Freedom and Openness, which the Scripture maketh necessary to a credible Profession in the Ministers of the Gospel.

We cannot but think such invidious and irritating Insinuations as these (which by the way are too common with this Author, where there is no sufficient Proof to support them) very unsuitable to the Character of a candid Writer, and much more of a Christian Minister. But where as the *Apologist* tells us, “ None can blame the Northern Presbyterians for forming a Resolution, to chuse such only to be their Ministers, who will deal candidly and openly with them, as to the Doctrines contained in their publick Confession, and who will not look upon it as a Spanish Inquisition to require them to do so, as a Condition of their being Members of a united Body of Presbyterian Ministers.” We would only inquire of him, whether on Supposition of the Intran’s dealing with them, with all the Freedom and Openness they can desire, and telling them that he looks on the Substance of that Confession to be very agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and what he very much approves, but finds some Doctrinal Propositions in it, he doubts of the Truth of, and others that he thinks of too small Importance to be made Tests of any Man’s Soundness in the Faith, and others that he does not understand the determinate Sense of, and till they are authentically explain’d, knows not whether he assents to them or dissents from them, and condescends upon the particular doctrinal Propositions he hesitates about; whether upon such a frank Declaration, his Ordainers, tho they find him sound in all the momentous Articles of the Christian Religion, will yet exclude him from being a Member of their united Body, for not subscribing according to the *Pacific Act*? If they do, how will they answer it to their Blessed Lord, who thus narrow his prescribed Terms of Ministerial Communion, reject those whom he has commanded them to receive, having qualified them for his Service, and inclined their hearts to devote themselves to it? How will they reconcile such a Resolution with the grand Rules of mutual Forbearance and Charity which he has injoin’d? And what a servile Subjection is this to the Judgment of fallible (tho’ very worthy) Men, to resolve that none shall enter into the Ministry within their Bounds, who do not in all controverted Points exactly think as they thought, tho’ perhaps no Man’s Soundness in the Faith is much concern’d, in assenting to or dissenting from several particular Decisions they have descended to? We beg leave to mention an instance in Reference to this particular. The Confession manifestly makes *Redemption* and the *Application* of it of equal Extent †. And yet all learned Men know what Debates have been managed on both sides of that Question by such strenuous Defenders and bright Ornaments of the Reformed Faith, as *Messieurs Daille, Claude*, the Authors of the *Theses Salmarienses*, and *Sedantenses* on the one Side: *Spanhemius* the *Father* and *Son*, *Turretine*, &c. on the other. And in these Kingdoms, all learned Men are acquainted with the Sentiments of *Bishop D’Avenant*, *Archbishop Usher*, *Mr Baxter*, *Mr Corbet*, *Mr. Truman*, *Dr. Bates*, *Dr. Manton*, on the one Side; and many eminent Divines on the Other. And

† Confession Chap. viii. Sect. 8.

why should any Intran be obliged to subscribe to the one or other of these different Sentiments, who perhaps is not Master of that particular Controversy, nor has weighed the Arguments that either Side has used? How improper are such controverted Points to be thrust into publick Confessions, when they are made Standards of any Man’s Soundness in the Faith? And in this very point some of the foreign Divines, and particularly the *British Divines*, differed from the Majority of those of the *Synod of Dort*, and one of them, viz. *Bishop D’Avenant* publish’d his Sentiments in his excellent Discourse *De Morte Christi*; and the *Apologist* very well knows, or ought to know, he was far enough from being an *Arminian*. To deny some difference of Judgment in such difficult controverted Points, is, we humbly conceive, a most unreasonable Imposition.

Having said thus much to support the Reasons for our recommending the *Alternative* as an *Overture of Peace*, we think ourselves obliged to take some notice of the Harsh and we think Injurious Reflections which the *Apologist* has been pleas’d to cast upon us, for our so far interposing with our friendly Advice. We shall take no farther Notice of the little Banter that he seems pleas’d with, of the *Presbytery of Dublin* being no *Presbyterian Presbytery*, because there lies no Appeal from us. We are not so fond of distinguishing Names as he appears to be; and if we are, and act as becomes a Christian Presbytery, we are little concerned what Title is given us. Nor shall we be much concerned at any contemptuous and ludicrous Epithets that are bestowed upon us. And hope we shall find it no hard matter both to bear and to forgive the undeserved Scorn of our angry Brethren.

Nor can we forbear, when we consider how Matters were conducted at the last Synod, to congratulate ourselves, that we were so happily out of the Way of the Debates then on foot; and by that means exempted from having any share in the Scandal occasioned by them.

We have in Conjunction with such Reverend Correspondents of the Northern Presbyteries as have been fix’d among us, hitherto by the Blessing of GOD preserved both Truth and Peace, and have had no occasions of appealing to a *General Synod*. And some little Experience we have had of late, of the unhappy Contention and Heats that have appeared in their *General Synod*, and the far worse that have happened since we have been discouraged from corresponding with them, have made us think it no great Infelicity, that we are not subject to such Synods; we wish them no worse, than that they may recover their declining Reputation by the revival of a spirit of Light and Love, and by a tender regard in their Resolutions, to the Consciences of such worthy Members, as may not always have a Majority on their side in their publick Debates.

But to wave this unpleasant Subject, we shall put those two Passages together, in which the Reverend *Apologist* is pleas’d to censure our Conduct.

Thus pag. 6. he saith, “ We are willing to put the most favourable Construction upon the Advice from *Dublin* that it will bear; but we must needs wish that the *Dublin Ministers*, had either less concerned themselves in our Debates, or carried it with a more equal Regard towards the contending Parties, *Preface* p. 21.

And having in the same Page spoken before of the Methods used for the trying of *Intrants* in the Church of Scotland, and by these of their Principles in Ireland, he adds, “ which Methods how much soever we prefer them to these which, we are informed, are used by Presbyterians elsewhere, yet we have never concerned ourselves so far in their Affairs, as some of them have of late done in ours; i. e. we have not sent them our Directions in Print to innovate their former Usage in Compliance with any new Schemes sent from us to them.

Answer,

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Answer, We think we have some Reason to complain of this unkind Usage by the Reverend *Apologist*. He knows very well that our first sending Correspondents to the *General Synod* was at their own Desire. He knows that there was no Objection against the Conduct of our Correspondents who appeared at the Synod at *Belfast*, *Anno Dom.* 1720. He cannot sure forget, that at the Synod at *Belfast*, 1721. when we left it, we had the Thanks of the Synod, by the Moderator for our pacifick Endeavours, and their Satisfaction declared in our Conduct. He knows at the General Synod at *Derry*, tho' we left it before it broke up, yet a Letter of Thanks was ordered and approved of by a great Majority, for our good Services towards compromising their Differences; and we suppose he can if he please inform us, how it came not to be sent after it was voted and drawn up. And shall we after all be thought officious Intermeddlers in their Affairs? Shall our humble Advices which we only recommended to their serious Consideration, and with all Defe-
 rence to their Judgment be so invidiously represented, as *Directions sent them in Print, to innovate their former Usages, in Compliance with a new Scheme sent from us to them?* Did we pretend to the least Authority over their Determinations, or the least Right to direct them? Did we expect any Compliance with our Overture, any farther than they themselves found it in Reason, a safe and effectual Expedient to preserve their Peace, and prevent a Rupture, that all wise and good Men fear'd? And as we solemnly profess'd in the very Page to which the *Apologist* refers, that we desire to appear under the Character of *Peacemakers*, and not *Abettors of a Party*, should not common Charity restrain him from thus arraigning our Sincerity in such a Profession; and common Justice from charging us with counteracting it; when he cannot prove that Charge against us by so much as one single Instance. Have the *Charitable Declarations and Resolutions* which at the two successive *General Synods*, we earnestly persuaded them to come into, shewn any *unequal Regard* to the contending Parties? Have we done any

more than persuaded them to allow some Difference in Practice with respect to the Ordination of Intrants where there is a real Difference of Judgment, concerning the Expediency of the Method of Admission, and dissuaded them from too rigidly pressing an exact Uniformity in admitting Intrants and tying up all Presbyteries by Synodical Rules, to one way of Admission, whatever Satisfaction the Intranant may give in another, of his Soundness in the Faith? These our humble Advices were offered before their last *General Synod* at *Dungannon*, had come to a *Resolution* of rejecting the *Alternative* we proposed. And the unhappy Altercations at that Synod, have the more confirm'd us, in our Thoughts of the Reasonableness of that Expedient for Peace; especially when we consider that their late Resolutions seem to us, to alter the known Constitution of their Government, by making the *General Synod*, instead of *particular Presbyteries*, the Judges of what Satisfaction the Intranant must give of his Soundness in the Faith, and the obvious Tendency of this to make their future General Synods, a perpetual Stage of contentious Disputes, to foment the divisive Humour of the more injudicious part of their People, to intrench on the just Rights of Presbyteries as concern'd in Ordinations, and to discourage many deserving Intrants, and in short to heighten and perpetuate their Divisions, gives us many sad Thoughts of the unhappy Issue, which if our Pacifick Counsels can do nothing to prevent, yet we cannot be (out of Regard to our common Interest) unconcerned Spectators of; and may be well allowed to lament and deprecate. And that is all that seems now left for us to do. And however our well meant Endeavours may be censured as well as *sighted*, we shall not cease to offer up our Prayers to the *Father of Lights*, and the *God of Peace*, that he would pour out more of a Spirit of *Light and Truth*, of *Love and Peace*, upon all our Brethren, whom we (without any distinguishing Regard to their different Sentiments about Subscription) truly esteem and honour, and shall rejoice in the Success of their Labours to promote the common Salvation.



A
VINDICATION
 OF A
PRIVATE LETTER;
 CONCERNING THE
OVERTURES

Transmitted by the General-Synod assembled at Dungannon, in June, 1725. against the Reverend Mr. Mac-Bride's printed Exceptions. In a Letter to the Reverend Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion, in the North of Ireland.

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

IT was no small Surprize to me to find, that a private Letter which I wrote many Months ago to a Reverend and Aged Minister, who is himself a *Subscriber*, concerning the *Overtures* referred by your last General Synod, to the Consideration of our several Presbyteries, to ripen their Judgments about them against the next, is now expos'd in Print to publick View, by the Reverend Mr. *Mac-bride*. I sent it to none but that worthy Minister, with whom I us'd the Freedom of expressing my impartial Thoughts of those *Overtures*, leaving it to his Discretion to communicate them to whom and how he thought fit. And therefore the untrue and unkind Insinuations of Mr. *Mac-bride*, as if this Letter was *address'd to their several Congregations, in a clandestine and ungenerous Way, and design'd to pave the Way for Reasons against the Overtures which Mr. Higginbotham has since published*, have no manner of Foundation: The Letter was wrote several Months before there was the least Rumour of Mr. *Higginbotham's* printing his *Reasons*, and I have Ground to believe, before he had any Thought of doing it. I had so utter an Aver-sion, after the Treatment which the *Preface* of the *Seasonable Advice*, and the *Postscript* to the *Defence* of it met with, to publish any thing that related to your unhappy Differences, that had the Rev. Mr. *Mac-bride* drawn up an *Answer* in *Manuscript* to the *Remarks* contain'd in that *Letter*, and handed it about to as many as he pleas'd, I should not have taken the least Notice of it, but have left *his* Sentiments and *mine*, concerning the *Overtures*, to stand or fall by their own Weight. But since Mr. *Mc---* has been pleas'd, not only to undertake a publick Refutation of a private Letter, but to take Occasion from thence, to cast very injurious Aspersions on the *Presbytery* of Protestant Dissenters in *Dublin*, as well as the *Writer* of that *Letter*; you cannot be unsensible of the unhap-

py Necessity we are under, that some publick Apology for our Conduct should be made, to wipe off those foul Aspersions. And for the *Writer* of that Letter, though he need no Excuse for appearing in Defence of his own *private Remarks*, when thus *publickly attack'd*; yet he can assure his Reverend Brethren, that a Concern for his own Vindication had very little Influence on his now appearing in Print, in comparison of the earnest Desire he has to contribute the best of his poor Endeavours, to promote Union and Peace, (upon reasonable Terms) among his Reverend Brethren in the *North*, by dissuading them from coming to such *Resolutions* on those *Overtures*, as must unavoidably render them a *disunited*, and thereby a weak and contemptible Body. And I must crave Leave to differ from the Reverend Mr. *Mc---* if he thinks this (as he often insinuates) an officious and unreasonable Intrusion into your Affairs. The common Interest and Reputation of *Protestant Dissenters* in this Kingdom, suffers more deeply than he seems aware of, by your unhappy Dissensions, and the Height they are of late carried to. When a dangerous Flame is spreading in *one Street* of a *City*, none are wont to reproach those in the *next* that offer their Advice and best Endeavours to extinguish it, as officious Intermeddlers in their Affairs. As 'tis both their Duty and Interest to offer it, so the least that can be expected from those to whom the charitable Offer is made, is to put a favourable Construction on it, whether they think fit to accept it, or not. And I dare assure Mr. *Mc---* that if there were any such Dissensions among Protestant Dissenters in this Part of the Kingdom, we should take any healing Expedients offered us by our *Northern Brethren*, in good part, whether we should entirely approve them or not. We should be far from thinking that they did *falxem in alienam Messiem immittere*.

Our

Our Brethren in the *North* thought it not unbecoming them to offer healing Advices to their Brethren in *London*, among whom Debates about the Expediency of Subscription to a few Propositions, had kindled such a Flame. And happy had it been for them, if they had since followed it themselves, as their Brethren in *London* have actually done, and find the good Effects of it in their present Peace and Amity.

I humbly hope therefore, that it will be no Offence to our Reverend Brethren, that the unjust Reproaches thrown upon their Brethren in *Dublin*, be wip'd off; or that the Writer of the Letter defend his own Remarks, and clear himself from grievous Reflections cast upon him.

I begin (as Mr. Mc--- does) with the *Reproaches* he has thrown on the Ministers of *Dublin*.

After his Preface, he tells us, p. 13. concerning the *Non-subscribers*, "That in the Year 1721, they brought down their Friends from *Dublin* upon us, who made us believe they would mediate in our Differences, but soon discovered themselves to be Parties, by protesting against the Majority of the Synod's being allow'd to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences, which the Synod were so far from resenting in an uncharitable Manner, that they resolved to bear with these Gentlemen" (I suppose he means those that declined the Synod's Allowance by not subscribing) "who had not a Freedom then to give a publick Testimony to Truth.

And again, p. 17. "We in the *North* truly wish some of the Great Men in *Dublin*, had only been Spectators and Observers of our Differences. 'Tis well known, that by their joining in a Protest in the Year 1721, against the Majority of the Synod's following the Dictates of their own Consciences, in giving a publick Testimony to Truth, By their Imprimatur given to a Party-Book, called *The Seasonable Advice*, published soon after that Synod; by their coming to *Derry* the following Year, to assist the Non-subscribers, and by the whole Series of their Management since that Time, to the memorable Installment at *Dromore* last Winter, they have made themselves Parties in our Debates.

Answer, Mr. Mc--- either does or should know, that our first sending Correspondents to the General Synod, was at their own Desire. We never heard the least Objection against the Conduct of our Correspondents, who appeared at the Synod at *Belfast* 1720, and he himself offers no Complaint against it. But he begins his Charge, with what our Correspondents transacted at the Synod at *Belfast* 1721. Now, since Mr. Mc--- has been pleased thus publickly to arraign our Sincerity in pretending to act as Mediators in their Debates, when we soon discovered ourselves to be Parties, 'tis not a little surprizing, that he should begin the Proof of this Charge with a notorious Untruth, in a publick Matter of Fact. I am very willing in Charity, to impute this to a Failure in his Memory, or Defect in his Judgment. But that those who were commissioned from *Dublin* to attend that Synod, and allow'd by the Synod to vote in it, did enter their Protest against the Majority of the Synod's being allowed to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences, in giving a publick Testimony to Truth, is a Reproach thrown upon them, that has no Foundation of Truth.

And to convince Mr. Mc--- of this, I shall beg leave to refresh his Memory, as to what was then publickly transacted in the Face of the Synod.

A Motion was made, that the Synod should allow those Ministers that were Members of it, and thought it requisite for the Satisfaction of their People, and (as it was afterwards added) for the Exonerating their own Consciences, to subscribe the Confession again, during the Synod's session.

After some considerable Debate upon the Head of Subscription, one of the *Dublin* Commissioners, in Concert with his Brethren from *Dublin*, spake to the Moderator to this Purpose.

Moderator, We must humbly beg leave to declare our Thoughts as to this Motion, and the Tendency of it. If any Minister that is a Member of the Synod think it requisite for the Satisfaction of his People, or the exonerating his Conscience, to subscribe the Confession again, God forbid that any Man should go about to deny him that Liberty. But he may do this in his Session, or before his own Congregation, or in the Presbytery he belongs to. And this will make no great Noise, nor be attended with any very ill Consequences. But we apprehend your allowance to have this done during the Session of the Synod, tends to make an open distinction between those that accept and those that decline your Allowance, and to expose the Latter, (among whom 'tis probable you will find many very worthy Ministers) to the Jealousies and Censures of, I must say, the most weak and injudicious part of your People and may hazard a woful Rupture in their several Congregations.

Upon some farther Speeches on this Head, the Synod fell into an uncommon and indecent Heat; and it being late on Saturday Night, the forementioned *Dublin* Commissioner moved the Moderator, that the farther Debate about this Matter, considering the present unusual Ferment, might be adjourned till Monday, when the Minds of the Members might be more calm, and the matter more maturely considered. Upon this there was a great Uproar, some calling for a Vote upon the Question, and others crying out No Vote. To allay this Ferment, it was moved, that the previous Question should be put, Whether come to a Vote now, or Adjourn? And it carried by a Plurality of Voices, to come to a Vote now; 'Tis this only we joined with other Members of the Synod in protesting against, but entered no such Protest when the Vote itself passed, but went out before it passed without voting at all.

And 'tis the more inexcusable in Mr. Mc--- to renew this invidious Charge, because the Correspondents from *Dublin* at the following Synod of *Derry*, when the Minutes of the foregoing Synod at *Belfast* were read, and mention made therein of this Protest, took care to obviate this wrong Construction of their Protest. For 'tis immediately added in the very Minutes of this latter Synod, "That Mr. Boyse and Mr. Chopping explained themselves thus, That the Design of their Protest was only against coming to the Vote that Night, it being late, and not against the main Question, *Subscribe or not*".

This being matter of Fact which we perfectly remember, and can appeal for the Truth of to all the Members then present, and to a numerous Assembly that attended the Debates of the Synod, Mr. Mc--- must see, that this Charge against the *Dublin* Commissioners is contrary to a known and publick matter of Fact; and therefore if he had either consulted the Minutes of that Synod, or of the next at *Derry*, he would not have exposed his own Reputation as well as endeavoured to blast our's by obtruding so palpable a Falshood on the World.

The Truth is, we had heard so many Supplications to the Synod read from several Sessions of particular Congregations, penn'd in a Strain that shew'd that their Minds were inflamed to the last degree with groundless Jealousies of damnable Heresies breaking out among them, and all proposing it as the necessary Remedy that the Synod should require a renewed Subscription from all its Members, that we foresaw if the Subscription were to be made during the Synod, and declined by any Number of Ministers in it, there was a visible Danger of their Congregations being rent and torn: And tho' it was only proposed that the Synod should allow this renewed Subscription, yet the Motion being made late on the Saturday Evening, and such Heats raised by the Debates about it, that had scarce ever appeared in such an Assembly, we thought it necessary in pursuance of our Desires to prevent a feared Rupture, to protest against their coming to any Resolution

Resolution upon the main Question in so precipitant a manner, till it had been more deliberately considered, and calmly argued, and proposed the Adjournment of the Debate only till the next *Monday*; but when the previous Question was put and carried of coming to a Vote now; we, after our protestation, modestly withdrew, and left our Brethren to their own freedom in voting on the main Question, without any farther Interposal in that Affair. And the Event has shown that our apprehensions and fears were but too well grounded, and that the ill Consequences we foresaw have in some measure actually happened. And *hinc prima mali labes*.

However, to obviate the ill Effects of the Vote that pass'd in favour of the Question, we earnestly begged our Brethren of the Synod, in an Interloquitur on *Monday*, to come into mutual charitable Declarations; which, as they were founded on the great Law of Love and mutual Forbearance, so if they had been duly regarded and adhered to, would have preserved their Peace, and prevented the large Steps that since have been taken thro' the prevalency of an intemperate and misguided Zeal towards an open Breach of Communion.

But that the reverend Synod itself had no such Apprehension of our acting in that Synod, not as *Mediators* but as *Parties*, we have this uncontestable Evidence to produce, that the very Day before we left the Synod (and the next was the last of their Session) we had the publick Thanks of the Synod given us by the Moderator, for our pacifick Endeavours, and their satisfaction declared in our Conduct. And we think the publick Approbation of the Synod is sufficient to clear us from this rash Censure of a particular Member.

His next Instance of Partiality is, our giving our *Imprimatur* to a Party-book, called the *Seasonable Advice*, published soon after that Synod.

Answer, If he pleases to call the writing a *Preface* to that Book the giving it an *Imprimatur*, he may use his own Liberty. But we hope all impartial judicious Readers of that Book and the *Preface*, will be far from thinking the Author's Representation of their Different Sentiments, and the Arguments used on either side unfair, or the healing Advices proposed in it partial. And if Mr. Mac-- will peruse that *Preface* again, we would be glad to be informed by him in what Particulars contained therein we have acted unsuitably to the Character under which we appeared as Mediators of Peace. The Exceptions published against that *Preface* by a Reverend Brother in the North, were so particularly answered in a *Postscript* to the *Defence of the Seasonable Advice*, that we must beg Mr. M--'s pardon that we take not his bare Word for any proof of his severe Charge, but refer to that *unanswered Postscript* as a sufficient Vindication from it, when first advanced by the Reverend Mr. Mastertoun. And Mr. Mac-bride must have a wrong Notion of Mediators of Peace, if he thinks those forfeit that Character, who shew as tender a concern for the Rights of Conscience on the one side, as for those on the other, without regarding the Majority or Minority of Numbers. We know of no Expedients of Peace we proposed inconsistent with the different Sentiments of either of the disagreeing Parties. We only recommended the allowing some Difference in Practice where there was a real difference in Judgment. Had we done otherwise, we should, in the proper sense, have acted as *Parties* rather than *Mediators*.

His next Instance to justify his severe Charge is,

Our going to Derry the next Year to assist the Non-subscribers.

Answer, If Mr. Mac---by this invidious Turn he gives to our sending Correspondents to the Synod at Derry, viz. That it was to assist the Non-subscribers, intend no more than that we had it in our View and Aim to use our best endeavours to prevent a shameful Breach of Communion, and to preserve the usefulness of as judicious and worthy Ministers, as any that we knew in that part of the Kingdom, from being destroyed by their unreasonable and uncharitable Ejection, we are not ashamed to own that we had this in our View, and in our Instructions from our Constituents. It was for this End that in the Committee of Overtures we proposed the renewal of the *Charitable Declaration*, and the discouraging the publication of all irritating and inflaming Papers on either side, both which Overtures were rejected. We prevailed with the Non-subscribers, in a free Conference with a considerable Number of their Subscribing Brethren, to give them full satisfaction with reference to the Article of our Saviour's Deity, which they reported next day to the Synod, and none could object against the sufficiency of it. And when two of our Correspondents were put on the Committee of Overtures that were to draw up *Expedients for Peace*, (in which Committee there was only one Non-subscribing Minister appointed) we, for the sake of Peace, and to prevent a shameful Rupture, waved any opposition to the three first Resolutions the Majority voted for; only desiring the Non-subscribers in the Synod might be excused from voting in the Synod about them, as being in part inconsistent with their known sentiments, and prevailed with the Committee to come to the fourth and fifth Resolution, which tho' clogged with such Restrictions as came far short of the Charitable Declaration at Belfast, yet gave us some hopeful Prospect that their Peace and mutual Communion might be still preserved, and the mischievous Consequences of an open Rupture prevented. And so far was the Synod from disapproving our Conduct, and reproaching us with acting as *Parties* rather than *Mediators*, that tho' we left it before it broke up, we had not only a grateful Acknowledgement of our pacifick Endeavours, from a great Number of our Subscribing Brethren, but a Letter of Thanks was approved and ordered by a great Majority in the Synod to be sent, approving our good services towards compromising their Differences: † And 'tis probable, that either Mr. Mac-bride, or some of his Friends, can inform us, how it came not to be sent after it was drawn up and voted. How comes Mr. Mac-bride then, who professes so profound a veneration for the Authority of synodical Acts, to pass so rash a Censure on a Conduct which the Synod commended and approved? Does he think his private and peevish Will has more weight than their publick and more just and charitable Judgment? And I would only observe, that whereas Mr. Mastertoun, in his *Answer* to Mr. Abernethy's *Seasonable Advice*, had advanced this Charge of Partiality against our Conduct, Mr. Mac--- might see his Charge fully answered in the *Postscript* to Mr. Abernethy's *Defence*; and if he ever read it, 'tis unaccountable that he should renew the Charge without taking the least notice of this Answer, or offering one Syllable against the full Evidence there given of the Falseness of the Charge from notorious matters of Fact that himself could not be ignorant of.

As for the whole Series of our Management since the Synod at Derry, on which he founds his Charge of Partiality, since he instances in no Particulars, the General

† In the Minutes of the Synod at Derry Mr. Mac-bride may read the following one; Sess. xi. *Hora quinta a Mer.* after Prayer, Sed. &c. Our Reverend Brethren Mr. Weld, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Choppin, and Mr. Steward, Correspondents from the Presbytery of Dublin, attended the several Sessions of this Synod, and behaved themselves very discreetly, and were very useful to us.

It was moved, That a Letter should be written from this Synod to the Reverend Presbytery in Dublin, to this Effect; and after reasoning the Vote was put, Whether we shall write such a Letter or not. And it was carried, Write. Mr. Hutchefon, Mr. Lang, and Mr. Abernethy, are to write the said Letter and bring a Draught of it to this Synod.

Charge must stand for nothing, and needs no Answer. Tho' our Conduct was approved by both Synods (that at *Belfast*, and that at *Derry*); yet since several particular warm Brethren were dissatisfied with our attendance on them, we have forborn it these three years past. Whether the three successive Synods at *Dungan-non* have come to more wise and amicable Resolutions, we must leave all that are apprized of them to judge as they see Cause. We have no otherwise interposed in their synodical Affairs than by friendly Letters addressed to their Synods; or such as any particular Member of our Presbytery may have wrote to such particular Persons as he corresponded with. And for those wrote to their *General Synods*, we have never heard any Complaint against them, as unsuitable to the Character of *Mediators of Peace*, under which we have always appeared, and as far as we know our own Hearts have impartially followed our best Judgment. And we hope Mr. *Mac-bride* will not pretend to know us better than we do ourselves.

For what Mr. *Mac-bride* calls the memorable *Instalment of Dromore* the last Winter, with which he concludes his Charge against us. As that Affair has no manner of relation to the Differences among our Northern Brethren about Subscription, in which we had formerly interposed as *Mediators*; so tho' we neither thought the Congregation of *Dromore* to be under the judicial Cognizance of the Synod, or any of its subordinate Judicatories, after they had disengaged themselves; nor Mr. *Colvill* their Minister after the Presbytery of *Ardmagh* had refused to receive him; yet to prevent our doing what might only seem to interfere with any Claim of our Northern Brethren, we so far pursued the Character of *Mediators*, as to apply both to the Presbytery and Sub-Synod of *Ardmagh* to accomodate that matter upon reasonable Terms, and assured them in that Case of our using our best Endeavours to persuade that Congregation to return to their former Relation to the Synod and its Judicatories; and to persuade Mr. *Colvill* to do so, if any reasonable submission for his seeking Ordination elsewhere would be accepted. And our Commissioners to the Sub-Synod of *Ardmagh* did not proceed to the *Instalment* of Mr. *Colvill*, till all Proposals of Accomodations were rejected, and such hasty and (in our humble opinion) uncharitable Resolutions were passed, as rendered their Case far worse than the General Synod had left it. But for this we must refer to our Letter to the ensuing General Synod, in which we hope our Conduct will appear in a different Light, notwithstanding the loud popular Outcry raised against it.

Having said so much for the necessary Vindication of the Conduct of my Brethren here, from Mr. *Mac-bride's* injurious Reflections, which I hope may make him sensible that his warmth has carried him far beyond the Bounds of Truth, and will, with out a fair Retraction, lessen his own Character; I shall now proceed to consider a little what Treatment he has been pleased to give me in particular, and what he has offered against that private Letter.

He begins, p. 14. with a false Representation of it, as wrote against the General Synod.

How far the General Synod is concerned in what I have said, in reference to the two Resolutions pass'd in June last, I shall have Occasion to consider anon.

But as to the Overtures that are to come before the ensuing Synod, since they are only referred to Consideration, and not yet passed, where is the Candor and Justice of his telling the World, that my Letter represents the Presbyterians in the North, as tainted with the Abominations of Rome, aspiring at an Infallibility of Judgment, imposing on the Consciences of their Neighbours, invading the Rights of private Judgment, and even as not deserving a Toleration in a free State?

All that understand the common Method of reasoning against Overtures, that are only proposed, know that they who dislike them, consider what ill Consequences

will either certainly or very probably follow, from their being passed into synodical Resolutions. Not that they suppose such as drew the Overtures owned those Consequences. But, because since they are rather known to disown them, they may be led to examine whether they do not natively follow from those Overtures; and if they find they do, may retract their own Overtures, and join with others, in either altering or rejecting them. And I have that good Opinion of the Synod, as to think that if they are apprized that any of those Overtures do either favour a Claim of Infallibility, or impose on the Consciences of their Brethren, or invade the just Rights of private Judgment, they will never pass them. I must therefore look upon this vehement Outcry, as only tending to alarm the Passions of his Readers, and to fill them with Prejudices, that may obstruct their impartial Consideration of what may be objected against the Overtures themselves. He knows the noted Maxim, *Perit Judicium, cum res transit in affectum*.

Having premised this, I come now to consider what he objects against the Remarks I had made on the two Resolutions passed at the last General Synod, without taking any great Notice of the rambling Digressions he interlards his Reasonings with, wherein the Argument is not concerned.

The first Resolution considered in the Letter is this.

'Whereas there are several Ministers and others who scruple Communion with Ministers of Non-subscribing, or Non-declaring, Principles; it is therefore overtured, that it be agreed by this Synod, that such be allowed to follow the Light of their own Consciences in that Particular, that no Act or Acts formerly made by this Synod, shall be interpreted to the contrary hereof: And after reasoning, a Amendment was made in these words; and if any Person shall scruple Communion with subscribing Minister, the same Liberty shall be allowed them.

On this the Letter has this short Remark.

'If no more were meant by this Resolution, than that none should incur Ecclesiastical Censures for their Practice of Non-Communion, I should not apprehend much harm from it. Tho' I think it would have much more become the Synod at the same time, to have dissuaded them from it and not made such a virtual Repeal of their former mutual charitable Declarations, which were much more conformable to the Rules of the Gospel, and the genuine Spirit of Christianity (which obliges us to receive all those into our Communion, whom we ought in Charity to believe that our Lord Jesus receives into his, when they put no Bar in our Way). But I fear the Generality of your People will construe the Synod's Allowance of Non-Communion, to import an Approbation of it; and will be thereby encouraged in the Practice of it, which I take to be very sinful on either side, and very repugnant to the Apostle's Rule, *Rom. xv. 7*. In your present unhappy Differences, there was greater need of warning them against, instead of openly allowing them in such a divisive spirit and practice.

All that Mr. *Mac* has said in Defence of this Resolution, lies in a narrow Compass. 'He ventures to say, 'Tis founded on the Rights of private Judgment, and the Claim every Minister has, to follow the Dictates of a well-informed Conscience.' And he reasons thus, 'If our charitable Declarations be contrary to the Rights of private Judgment, it was the Act of fallible Men, and they were in the Right to repeal an Act which they made, seeing it bore hard on the Consciences of any.'

Answer, To set his Defence in a true Light, it will be requisite to compare the charitable Declaration of the Synod at *Belfast*, and the fourth and fifth Resolutions of the Synod at *Derry* with this present Resolution, of the last Synod at *Dungan-non*.

The charitable Declaration of the Synod at *Belfast* imports,

imports, ' That those Ministers who accepted the Synod's Allowance of subscribing the Confession, do not intend to insinuate the least Reflection upon such as have not a Freedom to fall into that Method, as if they were unsound in the Faith; and that different Sentiments on that Head, do not justify uncharitable Jealousies and Censures of one another, or breach of Communion among us. And therefore we do earnestly recommend it to our People, that they may entertain no Jealousies, or ill Opinions concerning any of their Ministers, merely on the Account of their not subscribing at this Time, but that they would look upon it as a Matter, wherein Christians and Ministers are to exercise mutual Forbearance towards one another.

In the fourth Resolution of the Synod at *Derry*, the Synod declares their Desire to exercise Forbearance towards those of their Brethren, now in the Ministry in this Church, with Respect to their different Sentiments on the Head of Subscription, &c.

The fifth Resolution is in these Words;

' Tho' this Synod will not impose on the Consciences of such of our People as scruple Submission to the Ministry of our Non-subscribing Brethren; yet we earnestly and seriously exhort all of them, to condescend as far as their Consciences will allow them, in adhering to their Pastors.

If Mr. *Macbride* pleases to distinguish between the Right of private Judgment, and the actual Exercise of that Right in either Ministers or private Christians, he must be sensible how little the Remark is concerned in his *Defence*. The Right of private Judgment in Matters of Religion, must be owned by all that assert God alone to be Lord of Conscience. But the Exercise of it may be very faulty, whenever Mens Judgments are biassed by Interest or Passion, or uncharitable Jealousies, or Neglect of impartial Enquiry, or any other vicious Inclination. And this Right may in the actual Exercise of it, be grossly abused, to lead Men to act in direct Contrariety to the Laws of the Gospel. We are not to impose on the Consciences of Men, by making our Judgment the Rule of theirs; but we may, and should endeavour to rectify their dangerous Mistakes, in Reference to what the Laws of the Gospel have made their Duty, and may exhort them to the Performance, and dissuade them from the Violation of it. This the Synod at *Belfast* did in their charitable Declaration when they saw the Tendency of the People's unreasonable Jealousies, to lead them to a Breach of Communion with those Ministers that declined the Subscription which the Synod allowed. They declared their own Judgment, ' That the different Sentiments of their Ministers about the voluntary Subscription, did not justify a Breach of Communion; they advised them to look on this Difference, as a Matter, wherein Ministers and Christians are to exercise mutual Forbearance towards one another.' The Synod of *Derry* itself, were for exercising Forbearance towards the Non-subscribing Ministers, and earnestly exhorted their People, as far as their Consciences would permit, to adhere to them. Which sure they would not have done, if they had thought there was any justifiable Ground of a Breach of Communion with them.

Let us now examine Mr. *Macbride's* Reasoning, in Defence of the Resolution.

If our Charitable Declaration (saith he) be contrary to the Rights of private Judgment, it was the Act of fallible Men; and they were in the Right to repeal an Act that bore hard on the Consciences of any.

Answer, The Charitable Declaration was not contrary to the Rights of private Judgment. it only cautioned People against the Abuse of that Right. It did not impose on their Consciences by commanding or requiring them under any Penalty, to exercise Communion with their Non-subscribing Pastors; it only recommended a Duty which the Rules of the Gospel

antecedently bound them to. It laid before them the Judgment of the Synod, that the Differences among their Ministers about the Subscription allowed, was not a justifiable Ground of a Breach of Communion, that so their Judgment might have so much Weight with them, as to put them upon a due and serious Examination of their Scruples against Communion with them, whether they were well-founded and agreeable to the plain Rules of the Gospel, relating to Christian Communion and mutual Forbearance, or not. Mr. *Macbride* may therefore see, that the Rights of private Judgment, were no more invaded by the Charitable Declaration at *Belfast*, than by the Charitable fifth Resolution of the Synod at *Derry*, that expressly declared against imposing on the Consciences of their People, and yet earnestly exhorted them to adhere to their Non-subscribing Pastors, towards whom they themselves resolved to exercise Forbearance.

But I cannot but wonder at the unusual Confidence of Mr. *Macbride*, in telling us, ' That the last Synod at *Dungannon*, were in the Right to repeal an Act that bore hard on the Consciences of any'.

Answer, I had in the Remark suggested indeed that I was apprehensive, the People would put this Construction on the Synod's Resolution, would take it for a virtual Repeal of the Charitable Declaration, would construe their Allowance of the Practice of Non-communication for an Approbation of it, and be encouraged thereby to persist in it. But I never took their Resolution to be a formal and direct Repeal of it. And therefore I think the sense of the Synod misrepresented by this Member of it; and must do them that Justice as to own, that they have never yet publicly declared their own Judgment to be for a Breach of Communion with their Non-subscribing Brethren, or recommended the Practice of it. For if their Allowance imported so much, they must be supposed to approve and recommend the Practice of Non-communication with the Subscribers themselves, to all on the Non-subscribing side, that should scruple Communion with them, which Mr. *Macbride* may be sure they never intended. And I have Reason to believe, that a considerable Number of those who voted for this Resolution, would never have done so, if they had understood it to be a direct Repeal of the Charitable Declaration.

And whereas he tells us, ' The Synod being fallible Men, had a Right to repeal their own former Act (viz. the Charitable Declaration) when it bore hard on the Consciences of any.

Answer, I have shewed, it bore hard on no Man's Conscience, unless he take Arguments to dissuade him from a Practice, the Synod thought unjustifiable, may be said to bear hard upon it.

If indeed the Synod at *Dungannon* had entirely altered their Judgment, and now thought that Breach of Communion with the Non-subscribers justifiable, which they thought unjustifiable three or four Years before, they had no doubt, as they always will have, a Right to declare what is their present Judgment in any Matters that come before 'em. But if the Charitable Declaration be founded on the great Laws of Christianity, concerning mutual Christian Communion, and mutual Forbearance, in case of lesser Differences in Judgment or Practices; this will no more excuse their Abuse of that Right, by repealing that Charitable Declaration, than it will excuse their encouraging the Violation of those Laws that have a Divine Sanction, by their mistaking the genuine sense and Extent of 'em. And that this Charitable Declaration is founded upon those Laws, has been so fully proved in the *Seasonable Advice*, and the *Defence* of it, and in the *Scriptural Plea against a fatal Rupture and Breach of Communion among the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland*, that I shall refer Mr. *Mc---* to the serious Perusal of their Arguments, which, as far as I can judge, neither he, nor any one else, will be able to give a solid Answer to.

I have but one thing farther to observe under this Head, that Mr. Mac---charges me in that Letter, "as only objecting against that Part of the Resolution, that I apprehended would affect the Non-subscribers, this (saith he) is a little unfair.

Answer, He might have spared this Charge, if he had not been either an heedless Reader, or careless Writer. For I have in that Remark expressly said, *That I look on the Practice of Non-communication on either Side, to be very sinful, and very repugnant to the Apostle's Rule, Rom. xv. 7.* And if I insisted more on what affected those Subscribers who scrupled Communion with their Brethren, there was this obvious Reason for it, that I never yet heard of any Non-subscribing Ministers, or any of their People, that ever scrupled Communion with Subscribing Ministers; so that to dissuade them from a Breach of Communion, was perfectly needless. I wish those on the other side had been of so Christian and charitable a Temper.

I now proceed to consider what he objects against the Remarks, the Letter makes on the second Resolution.

The Resolution is this, "That whereas the Pacifick Act has been by some interpreted to indulge Intrants into the Ministry, in scrupling some Doctrines, as well as Phrases in the Confession of Faith, that it be therefore resolved by this Synod, that no Presbytery shall be allow'd to interpret the said Act in such a Latitude, which we believe not agreeable to the sense of the Synod in 1720, nor to the Words in which said Act is expressed. And if any Intrant shall scruple any Doctrine or Doctrines of our Confession, that the Presbytery to which he belongs, shall not proceed to license, ordain, or instal him, until a General Synod shall have an Opportunity of judging the Affair, and that the Scruples of any Candidate, against any Proposition or Propositions in the Confession, be transmitted to the several Presbyteries, that they may have their deliberate Thoughts of 'em, against the time of the Synod's Meeting. And that any Candidate who is so licensed, or ordained, shall be called upon, by the Presbytery to which he is subject, to subscribe the Confession of Faith, when he delivers his first piece of Trials, whether first or second Trials, or before he be ordained. But if notwithstanding any Presbytery shall license, ordain, or instal any Intrant, contrary to the above Act as now explained and limited, the Moderator of the Presbytery Licensing, the Minister presiding in ordaining or installing, shall incur the Censure of Suspension; And the Person licensed shall be silenced, and the Intrant ordained or install'd shall be deposed by any Particular or General Synod which shall happen first".

On this Resolution, the Letter has these Remarks. "For the Second Overture that relates to the Pacifick Act, and this Inlargment or rather Contraction of it, I can see no other use of it than to supply your several Presbyteries and Synods with continual Debates whenever any Intrant scruples any Doctrinal Proposition of how little moment soever, and about which Divines whose Soundness in the Faith was never called in Question, have entertained different Sentiments. I scarce think any one Presbytery will be unanimous in their Judgment, either about the sense or truth of some Propositions I could point you to. 'Tis not fit a Candidate should subscribe them before he has read and considered the Arguments on both sides; for he cannot do it with Judgment. And if the scrupled Proposition come before the General Synod, 'tis great odds, that tho' a Majority of Ministers should think the Intrant's scruple to be no reasonable Bar against his Ordination; yet they would be overpowered by the dead Weight of your Ruling Elders, few of whom are any capable Judges of

"either the Truth or Importance of the scrupled Proposition.

"But for the Penalties or Censures with which this Resolution is enforced, with respect to the Intrant and the Moderator of the Presbytery, (I now add, or the Minister presiding in the Ordination or Instalment) they are so exorbitantly rigorous, and disproportioned to the pretended Fault of counteracting this Canon, that they could not be more severe, in case the Intrant appeared notoriously unqualified by the Charter of Christ, and the Presbytery grossly negligent of their Duty in enquiring into the Intrant's fitness for that sacred Office. I doubt not Cases will frequently fall out where the Intrant may give the Presbytery such solid Reasons for scrupling some Doctrinal Proposition, as appear entirely satisfactory to them concerning the Soundness of his Faith notwithstanding such Scruple. And yet the delaying his Ordination till the meeting of the General Synod may be very prejudicial to the Interest of a Congregation that have given him an unanimous Call, and greatly need and desire his present Labours for their Edification. Shall the preferring a far greater Good before the strict Observance of this Resolution, be accounted so great a Crime as to deserve the Intrant's being silenced or deposed, and the Moderator (or presiding Minister) being suspended for a Year? what heavier Censure could be passed if the Intrant were notoriously ignorant or immoral? And shall the Breach of an arbitrary and inconvenient Rule be made as penal as the Violation of the Charter of Christ concerning the Qualifications of such as are to be admitted into the Ministerial-Office? such over-rigorous Censures must weaken the Authority of those that pass them, and occasion its being slighted and contemned.

The Arguments against this Resolution in these Remarks are little concerned in those Digressions Mr. Mac---has intermixt.

I like not Mr. Mac---'s Language, when he talks of *the Laws of Society*. We hear often from others of *the Laws of the Church*. But I always thought that Protestant Dissenters owned no proper Legislative Authority in it but that of our Blessed Saviour. His own Apostles had no higher Commission than *to teach what he had commanded*. And voluntary Agreements of Synods about regulating their own Practice in Religious Matters are no proper *Laws*, and bind no farther than the reasonableness and usefulness of them shall recommend them, and a regard to Order and Peace enforce them.

What he mentions concerning the *Formula* of Subscription being interlined with these Words, [*reserving to myself the benefit of the Pacifick Act*] I leave those concerned in it to answer for themselves, who are best apprized of the matter of Fact; but I have reason to believe, that without that *Reservation*, the Number of Subscribers had been much less than it was. And I apprehend they will not take it well that Mr. Mac---should so arrogantly represent this as a *Jesuitical Interpolation, that opens a Door to Error*. For I am informed that a considerable Number of Ministers refused to subscribe without that Clause being inserted in the *Formula*.

For his long Digression about what was said of the *Ruling Elders* in the Remarks, I shall only tell him, That I freely allow all the good things he has said concerning many of them; but must differ from him if he think the generality of them sufficiently skilled in those Points of Doctrines that are controverted among the greatest Protestant Divines, either in foreign Reformed Churches or in these Kingdoms, to enable them in Judgment to give a decisive Vote in them. Are they capable Judges, whether *Redemption* and the *Application* of it are of equal Extent? Are they capable Judges of the nice rather than useful Controversies about the Doctrine

Doctrine of Justification? In what sense the Phrase of *Christ's Righteousness being imputed to us* is to be understood? Whether the Distinction between the Faith *that does justify*, and Faith *as it does justify*, has any solid Foundation as applied to that Doctrine? Whether Faith justify as an *Instrument*, or only as a *Conditio sine qua non*? Or, are they capable Judges of the Power of Civil Magistrates in matters of Religion, &c. I question whether many Ministers and Intrants themselves have read much of such controverted Points, and impartially weighed the Argument on both sides; Or, whether they themselves agree in Judgment about them; and much more, Whether many of the Ruling Elders have had sufficient Advantages to clear their own Judgment about them. Nor do I think the Ruling Elders being little skilled in such controversies any great prejudice to them, while they have sufficient Knowledge of what is necessary to influence and direct their own Practice in matters that concern their own Salvation: so that this needs not (as Mr. Mac-- speaks) *to disquiet the Godly*. Humility is one part of true Godliness, and that should teach good Men to be cautious in judging of matters they do not well understand.

Mr. Mac--has indeed found a Salvo for this. "I will venture (*sic*) to say, That the Argument against Men's believing what they cannot fully understand forbids us to give a Divine Faith to the Bible itself; because there are many Places in it which we do not perfectly understand; and there are also in that invariable Standard of the Christian Faith, Truths of lesser importance and consequently of little moment. Therefore Christian Churches ought not to insist on a Declaration of the Bible's being the Word of God. If they do, it will furnish them with continual Debates. And no Man is to be admitted a Judge in those Debates, but he that perfectly understands every Proposition in the Holy Scriptures. If so, I despair of hearing of a proper Judicature on this side Heaven."

Answer, There is so much Confusion in this Paragraph, that 'tis hard to guess what the Author drives at. Whoever asserted that a Man cannot believe what he cannot fully understand? If he intends this concerning every thing that belongs to the Thing believed, We believe there is a God, tho' we are far from understanding all that belongs to his Nature, and from searching the Almighty to Perfection. We believe his Prescience of all future Events, without knowing how he foresees them. We may believe the Existence of such Beings as Angels tho' we have no adequate Ideas of them. So that Mr. Mac--is confusing what no Man in his right Senses will affirm.

The Matter in difference between him and me is, Whether in case the Scruples of an Intransigent against some Proposition in the Confession be brought before the General Synod, and the Question arises, Whether his Scruple shall be a Bar to his Ordination; whether I say in this Case every Ruling Elder, or even the Majority of them, be capable Judges of the Truth and Importance of the Proposition scrupled, when they have never studied, never weighed the Arguments that judicious Divines have offered *pro* and *con* about it, and do not understand where the Hinge of the Controversy turns. I should think common Modesty should restrain them from judging in an Affair beyond the reach of their own Understanding. And that is all I would desire, but this no way hinders their voting in plainer Cases.

And what has this to do with the Author's loose harangue about giving a Divine Faith to the Bible itself, *tho' there are many places in it we do not understand*, and *Truths in it of lesser Importance*? No doubt Churches may and ought to insist, that all who are admitted to the Ministry should own the Bible to be the Word of God. And he that owns that must, by necessary consequence, own that whatever God declares in it must be true, unless he call his Veracity into question. But

as to the Sense of some particular Propositions in it, it has always and will ever furnish Men with continual Debates, while some perversely wrest the Scriptures, and the best know but in part. And Men are more or less capable of judging in those Debates according to the degree of their Knowledge and the Integrity of their Hearts. But what has this to do with the *Westminster Confession*, the Compilers whereof never pretended to immediate Inspiration and Infallibility. Or with any scrupled Proposition in it, that this is either ambiguous as to the real Sense of it, or doubtful as to the Truth of it, or of no great importance to the Interest of practical Religion, whether it be believed or not! Must any Man pretend to judge of it beyond the measure of his own Understanding, as to the Sense, the Truth, or the Importance of the scrupled Proposition? Can he in this Case judge by any other than a blind and implicit Faith? And will it follow from hence, That we must despair of hearing of a proper Judicature under Heaven? If he mean a Judicature in whose Judgment all Men must acquiesce, He knows that none but the Church of Rome pretend to it. If he mean a Judicature that have a right to declare their own particular Judgment concerning any Doctrinal Propositions laid before them, every Presbytery or Synod may exercise that Right, and their Judgment will have weight according to the degree of their Knowledge and Integrity, and especially the clearness of the Evidence they found it upon.

Mr. Mac--alleges, that the greatest trust committed to Gospel-Ministers, is, that they commit the *Doctrines of the Gospel to faithful Men*, and there is a solemn Charge that they lay Hands suddenly on no Man, but upon the strictest Enquiry into the Soundness of his Faith. From whence he infers, that the Caution of their Constitution, as regulated by their General Synod, is founded on the Gospel-Charter.

Answer, If he speak of the Regulation of the General Synod by the last mentioned Resolution, it is no just Inference from the passages of Scripture he has alleged, *That their Constitution as thus regulated, is founded on the Gospel-Charter*.

Those Rules of the holy Scripture, relating to Ordination, were duly observed for some Ages before any large human Confession of Faith was extant or enjoined. How little the human Confessions for several Ages past, have contributed to the soundness of the Christian Faith, I leave Mr. Mac--himself to judge. The Rules of the Scriptures were duly observed among the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland, before the *Westminster Confession* was drawn up, and long after before ever subscribing it was required by any synodical Act, as a Condition of Entrance into the Ministry, and might be observed by faithful Ministers, tho' that Confession had never been extant; and tho' no human Confession, as the sole exclusive Test of Orthodoxy were enjoined. If any such Confession had been necessary to the due Execution of these Rules concerning Ordination, contained in the Gospel-Charter, we have just reason to suppose the Apostles themselves would have been directed to draw it up, for the standing Use of the Christian Church, and not left it to the Discretion of fallible Men. Such a human Confession set up in any particular Part of the Christian Church, cannot be said to be founded on the Gospel-Charter, when 'tis no way needful to the Observance of it. The Synod at *Dungannon* in effect own, that Candidates for the Ministry, may, by Words of their own, declare their Faith to the satisfaction of their Ordainers, tho' they thought fit at the same time to declare, 'That yet for a particular part of this Church to have it in their power, to judge what in this case would be satisfactory to the whole Body, is too great a Trust, and extremely dangerous.' How reasonable the latter Clause of this Resolution is, I must leave Mr. Mac--to consider, when he has carefully read and weighed Mr. *Abernethy's Defence of his Seasonable Advice*,

vice, from p. 100. to p. 127. I would be glad to see any solid Answer to it.

The Writer of the Remarks had observed, that this Resolution of the Synod would perpetuate Disputes in their Synods, about Matters of little Moment.

To this Mr. Mac--replies, ' We heartily allow, that there are some Points of greater, and some of lesser Moment in our Confession; and no Point in it, but what has been disputed by some (for *Atheists* deny and dispute the Being of a God). But we apprehend the Propositions in our Confession true; and no Truth, tho' comparatively little, seeing it is the Truth of God, but it ought to be confessed: And if any Proposition in it appear to a Candidate not true, it is equal he point it out and shew the Fallacy of it (which is all the *Pacifick Act* requires) to those who are to be satisfied, as to his *Soundness in the Faith*, before his Admission.

' I have already hinted, that if all Truths comparatively little, and which are disputable among holy Men, are to be excluded that Test of Orthodoxy and Ministerial Communion, which Church-Judicatories ought to insist on; we ought not to assent to the whole Bible, that it is the Word of God, because that holy Book contains Articles of Faith of little Importance, and Points which may perpetuate Debates in our Synod.

Answer, I am glad to find that Mr. Mac--allows, there are some points in the Confession of little Moment. He apprehends all of them to be true, tho' I could tell him of one of them that is *in Terminis* contradictory to the Apostle Paul, iv Rom. But he tells us, that *no Truth, tho' comparatively little-seeing it is the Truth of God, but ought to be confessed*. If so I must assure him, that the Confession, as large as it is, must be considerably enlarged. For there are a Multitude of such lesser Truths in the Bible, that are not found in it. But can he really think, that all these lesser Truths are to have such a Stress laid on them, that Confession of them must be made the Test of Orthodoxy, and the Condition of Entrance into the Ministry? I am afraid, this would exclude himself and all his Brethren at once. For I doubt not, there are many Truths there, which they never *discerned*, and therefore could not *confess*. And his Argument to prove, that all Truths comparatively little, and which are disputed among holy Men are not to be excluded that Test of Orthodoxy and of Ministerial Communion, which Church Judicatories ought to insist on, (*viz.* That otherwise we ought not to insist on an Assent to the Bible, *that it is the Word of God*, because that holy Book contains Articles of Faith of little Importance, and Points which may perpetuate Debates in our Synods,) is miserably weak and inconclusive. Our Assent to the Bible, that it is the Word of God, is founded upon a rational Conviction of it's Divine Original, but no way implies, that we who *know but in part*, discern and give an explicit Assent to every Truth it contains. There are in those sacred Writings (*Γὰρ συνοψηστα*) things hard to be understood, the Knowledge whereof is not to be attained without very studious Enquiry, and deep penetration. And if an Assent to all the lesser Truths contained therein, should not be excluded that Test of Orthodoxy and Church-Communion which Church-Judicatories ought to insist on, I fear both *Subscribers* and *Non-subscribers*, and much more all Intrants, must be for ever excluded. Such lesser Points may be calmly canvassed by good Men in Synods or private Conferences, in order to their mutual Improvement in Divine Knowledge; but should never be made Tests of Ministerial Communion, when Men's different Sentiments about them, no way disqualify them for teaching others all the important Doctrines and Duties of Christianity. An Intransigent may be ignorant of some Truths of little Moment, and even entertain mistaken Notions about them, who is yet *sound in the Faith*, as to all those Articles of it

that have any considerable Influence on real Holiness of Heart and Life. And such a one ought not to be debarred by his Ordainers from the Service of Christ, in that sacred Office, to which he is desirous to devote himself, by any Church-Judicatories whatsoever, when divine Providence gives him a fair Opportunity to engage in it.

I shall pass by his abusive Reflections on the *Non-subscribers*, p. 24. and his perverting two innocent Texts, to countenance his uncharitable Censures, that are nothing to the Purpose. Some Notice of them may occur under one of the *Overtures*.

Since I have shown him, that the Resolution is no way founded on any important Charge in the Gospel, nor on it's Charter, all his pretended Vindication of the severe Penalties annexed it, falls to the Ground; and only discovers his own Ignorance as well as gross Uncharitableness.

I have the longer insisted on justifying the Remarks made in the Letter on these two Resolutions of the last Synod, because I think they greatly need to be revised, and that the Continuance of them, will but keep up those unhappy Animosities, which all good Men wish to see extinguished.

As to the first *Overture*, concerning the reproaching the Judicatories of the Church, and the Censure to which it subjects those that are the guilty of it, Mr. Mac--has brought what relates to it, to a far and short Issue between him and me. For if nothing shall be construed a reproaching and reflecting on Church-Judicatories, but what is a Practice sinful in itself, and tends to destroy the Peace of the Church, and to weaken the Hands of Church-Judicatories, and destroy the Usefulness of Ministers, and what is done in an unchristian and unministerial Way: If the Resolution *no way* extend to those who in Preaching, Writing, or Conversation, *freely express* their Dislike of such Presbyterian or Synodical Acts, as they think unreasonable or unjust, prejudicial to the Peace of the Church, and tending to destroy the Usefulness of worthy Ministers in it, and who support their Opinion by calm Reasoning, without any opprobrious and reviling Language, I shall freely consent that what is offered in the Remarks on this Overture stand for nothing. For I can assure Mr. Mac--that I shall never plead for reproachful Language, in that sense he explains it. All I fear is, that when this Resolution comes to be put in execution, Presbyteries and Synods will not readily agree what shall be construed such a Reproach and Reflection as this Resolution forbids, and that many of them may extend the Sense of it much farther than Mr. Mac--seems to do. If he could secure all the Subscribers and Non-subscribers, that the Sense of Reproach and Reflection shall not be stretched beyond what is above expressed, I believe all will freely concur in it. But if it be extended to abridge the Freedom of Men's declaring their Dissent from such Presbyterian or Synodical Acts, as they disapprove, and apprehend to be of ill Tendency, and their Reasoning in a sober and respectful Manner against them, in that case, all the Arguments against the Overture in the Remarks stand in full Force against it, for any thing Mr. Mac--has offered to invalidate them. And seeing the *Overture* is expressed in such ambiguous Terms, as to be capable of being made an Handle for vexatious Prosecutions of worthy Ministers and Christians, merely for expressing their Sentiments against the Decisions of fallible Men, I think the passing it *in terminis*, would be an establishing of a farther Engine of Division amongst you.

If the Presbytery Mr. Mac--belongs to, have (as he tells us) made such an Amendment of this Resolution, relating to the Penalty annexed, as takes off the Force of what is objected against it, I shall freely own their Moderation and good Temper in it; but at the same time it confirms the Justice of the Remarks I have made upon it.

The

The Second Overture runs thus.

That whosoever shall maintain, that Christ hath not lodged any Authority in the Judicatories of this Church, but that they are mere Consultative Meetings, whose Decisions even in Matters of Prudence and Expediency may be counteracted and defeated by every Man's private Judgment; or, shall express himself in Words to that effect, ought not, nor shall not be allow'd to vote in any Matters, the Decision whereof may affect any Member, who believes the proper Authority of our Judicatories as the Ordinance of Jesus Christ; it being contrary to common Equity, that where there is a Parity of Power, the Obligation to mutual Submission should not be equal in all the Members.

On this Overture, the Letter having mention'd the Remark of a Divine in Scotland, viz. That is unreasonable, for whatever be their Opinion, as long as they agree to observe such Acts of Synods, as they think good and right, they will act accordingly if they be honest Men; and whatever Authority less than infallible they may think the Synod has, they will not, if they be honest Men, observe the Acts they think unjust, thus proceeds.

As to my own Thoughts of this Overture, the known Question will here occur, Who shall be Judge what are Matters of Prudence and Expediency, Or what are Lawful (as 'tis express'd in the close of the Overture)? Let us suppose the Majority of a Synod to make Decisions in what they account Matters of Prudence and Expediency, but which the Minority think either unlawful, or at least highly inexpedient and imprudent. Or, let us suppose the Synod unanimous in their Decisions, and yet many Congregations within their Bounds of a contrary Judgment concerning the Matters they have decided, Do the latter owe an absolute Submission to such Decisions? Is this no Invasion on the Right of private Judgment? Have not most Popish, and too many Protestant Synods made Decisions in Matters which they reckon'd Matters of Prudence and Expediency, which great Numbers both of Ministers and private Christians have been oblig'd in Conscience to refuse Submission to, because they had a contrary Opinion of them, as either Unlawful or highly Inexpedient? I own, indeed, where those, whose Submission to such Decisions is expected, are themselves persuaded of the Prudence and Expediency, as well as Lawfulness of the Matters decided, a Regard to Order and Peace and Concord may oblige them to comply with such Decisions. But they must be either allow'd to judge for themselves, or we shall have the Popish Doctrine of implicit Faith and blind Obedience trump'd up upon us. And whether such Synods shall be call'd Authoritative, or Consultative Bodies, is, in my Judgment, a Matter of no great moment, provided the inalienable Right of private Judgment be secur'd. If you call them Authoritative, you must own their Authority to be greatly limited and restricted by the Right of private Judgment, and the Laws of Christ. If you call them Consultative a due Regard to Order and Peace and Concord will oblige to a Compliance with their Decisions, where-ever private Judgment is convinc'd of the Lawfulness, the Prudence, and Expediency of 'em. The real Usefulness of such Synods for maintaining Order and Concord is either way sufficiently secur'd. And I see no Reason to exclude those from voting in them, who own them to be a prudential Constitution agreeable to the general Rules of the Gospel, tho' they cannot discern an express positive Institution of them, which perhaps it is not very easy to find in the New Testament. The Arguments for a Jus divinum from the fifteen Acts, are not so clear as to satisfy all sound and judicious Divines.

To the Remark of the Divine in Scotland, Mr. Mac-bride thus answers.

The Argument is a mere begging the Question in Dispute, which is, whether a Man's private Judgment should have a Negative on Society? and at once put a stop to all the Springs of Order and Government? The Synod are on the Negative, This Gentleman and our Opponents are on the Affirmative. Whence it follows, That Men may live as they list, provided they follow their private

Judgment. They make no Allowance for the Judgment's determining according to Truth or not.

Answer, If Mr. Mac-bride were not an heedless and undistinguish'd Writer, he would see how little the Question he has propos'd is to the Purpose. If he means, by a Man's private Judgment having a Negative on Society, and putting a stop to the Springs of Order and Government, That such Society, as a Synod, may not agree upon Rules that are truly conducive to Order and common Edification, because this or that Man's Judgment dissents from them: No Man of Sense asserts any such Thing: Nor will a Man's private dissenting Judgment hinder all others that are convinc'd of the Reasonableness and beneficial Tendency of such Rules from the due Observance of them: But if he means, That the Man's private Judgment must not have a Negative, as to his own particular Practice, and that he is oblig'd to observe those Rules, tho' he acts therein against the Judgment of his Conscience concerning his own Duty; this is no less than to ascribe to the Synod the peculiar Prerogative of God as the sole Lord of Conscience. 'Tis a setting up the Obligations of what some have call'd a Publick, in Opposition to the Dictates of a private Conscience. The Rule of the Synod may be very good and useful, and the Man's private Judgment may be mistaken concerning it. If that Mistake arise thro' any faulty Cause, (such as a neglect of impartial Consideration, or some vitious Inclination, as Perverseness and Pride) he is answerable to God for it; if it arise from mere Weakness of Judgment, or invincible Ignorance, a merciful God, if he be otherwise a sincere Servant of his, will graciously overlook it: But while his Conscience remains under that Mistake, no human Authority can oblige him to counteract his private Judgment. Mr. Mac-bride knows the common Maxim in Divinity, *Conscientia erronea ligat, non obligat*: And Mr. Mac-bride may hence see, how absurd his Inference is from a Man's private Judgment having a Negative on Society as to his own Practice, that it will thence follow, That Men may live as they list, provided they follow their private Judgment. Can he not distinguish between those Laws of God that are so plain that no Man can mistake them, but for want of due Examination and Enquiry, or by suffering his Judgment to be bias'd by his corrupt and vicious Inclinations; and those difficult Cases of Conscience, in which an upright Servant of God may perhaps mistake, in thinking that his Duty which is not, or thinking that sinful which really is not, and this not thro' Neglect of impartial Enquiry, nor thro' the Influence of any vicious Inclination, but thro' mere Weakness of Judgment? If God himself will in this latter Case mercifully overlook his Mistake, and accept his Sincerity, in following the best Light he has, shall fallible Men be severe in condemning him for not observing their Rules, and not leave him to the Judgment of God, who knows the Sincerity or Insincerity of his Heart, in his professed Dissent from them? And does this hinder them, in making such profitable Rules, for such as approve and consent to them?

And here Mr. Mac-bride may see that he is only fighting against his own Shadow, and ascribes a Principle to his Opponents, which I believe none of them ever held, tho' he is pleas'd to call it their *πρωτον θευδεν*, viz. that the Law of God is not the Rule of moral Good and Evil, but fallen Man's Judgment about it. All must own God's Law (whether written in the Heart, as the Apostle calls it, or more fully discovered by divine Revelation) to be the Rule of moral Good and Evil, and Conscience, or our own Understanding, the only Faculty God has given us to discern what is contain'd in that Rule; and our Sincerity in the impartial Use of that Faculty for discerning the Will of God, is what he will graciously accept, the sinful Abuse of it (whether thro' wretched Inattention and

and Sloth, or thro' the Byas of corrupt Inclinations and Affections) what he will condemn and punish. And therefore Mr. Mac--- may see his laborious Confutation of this imaginary Error of his Opponents to be impertinent, and what they are no more concerned in than himself. And since he has not thought fit to say any thing to the main Question proposed in the Remarks of the Letter, viz. Who shall be Judge what are *lawful Matters*, or *Matters of Prudence and Expediency*? Nor to the Cases that may happen on Synodical Decisions about them, where a Minority entertain a different Opinion concerning them from the Majority, I may justly regard myself, as little concerned in what he farther adds on this Overture, in Opposition to Mr. Hig---'s Reasons.

But since the two Propositions into which he has divided this Overture, may seem any way to weaken the Force of these Remarks, I shall briefly consider them.

His first Proposition is, *Presbyterians do maintain and believe, that Jesus Christ has clothed his Servants with a proper Authority to rule in his House, and judge in Matters of Prudence and Expediency or Advantage to these under their Oversight, and that Submission is due to this Ordinance of Christ in things lawful for Conscience sake.*

Answer, The Proposition is ambiguously express'd. He has neither told us, who these *Servants of Christ* are, whom he asserts to be clothed with his *proper Authority*, nor what that *proper Authority* is, and what particular Branches it contains; without which, no Man can form any Judgment of this part of his Proposition.

But since he mentions this as one Branch of it, that *they have Authority to judge in Matters of Prudence, and Expediency, and Advantage, to all these under their Oversight, and that Submission is due to this Ordinance of Christ for Conscience sake*, I earnestly beg him seriously to review this incautious and dangerous Assertion. That such Assemblies, as Synods, may judge in such Matters for themselves, and as far as concerns their own Practice will be readily owned; but if he means, that they are authorized to judge for all those that they account under their Oversight, without any Reservation for their own right to judge for themselves, in what concerns their own Practice, this is notoriously false, and a real Branch of Popery in the absolute Submission claimed by those they falsely call their General Councils. And I desire Mr. Mac--- to produce so much as one Text in the New Testament, that ascribes such an Authority as this, to any Synod whatever. Nor are the Majority in a Synod to judge for the Minority, as to their own Practice: What if the Minority think what the Majority calls *Matters of Prudence and Expediency* to be really *sinful*, must they against the Dictates of their own Consciences, submit to the Decisions of the Majority, and that for *Conscience sake* too? Nay, tho' perhaps they suppose the Matters decided, to be in general *lawful*, yet they judge them very *imprudent and inexpedient*, or *unprofitable*, and likely do more Hurt to the Church than Good, and not within the Verge of human Authority, to make positive extensive Decisions about, must they yet submit to them for *Conscience sake*? Why does he not so much as attempt to answer Mr. Hig---'s Reasons against this Overture, but barely tell us, that *they are not against the honest and peaceable Design of the Synod*, but his false Judgment about it, and are only *uncharitable Insinuations*. In my Judgment they carry much more Strength with them, than his loose Answers to his Queries. And why does he talk of all these Overtures, as if they were already passed by the Synod, when he knows they are only proposed to be considered?

His second Proposition is, *It is contrary to common Equity, that any who maintain that Church-Judicatories have no Authority, should claim a Right of ruling and determining these who believe their proper Authority.*

As to this I observe, That Mr. Hig--- does not say that Church-Judicatories have no Authority. On the contrary he asserts *they have a Right of declaring, di-*

vulging and executing the Laws of God, by applying them to particular Persons and Circumstances. And that here is *Work enough for all Church-Assemblies, and those that compose them.* And adds afterwards, *If the Synod should make great Numbers of Rules for Expediency and Edification, there is never a member who thinks them expedient and lawful, but will observe them.* And as far as I know, the *Non-subscribers* will say as much. And what greater Authority can Church-Judicatories claim? Or what greater submission can they expect, unless they claim absolute Authority, and expect a blind Obedience due to their Decisions in such Matters? And why may not those that are thus far agreed, peaceably join in pursuing all the valuable Ends of such Church-Assemblies, without nicely disputing, whether they are only a *prudential Constitution*, agreeable to the general Rules of the Gospel, or a *positive Ordinance of Christ*? For the former claim no power with respect to the latter, but what they are willing to allow to the latter, with respect to them. And both must allow the Right of private Judgment, as to their own particular Duty and Practice, or else assume a Power of imposing on the Consciences of those that dissent from the Judgment of the Majority. But this, as far as I can see, is, in Words at least, disowned on both sides.

The third Overture runs thus.

Resolved, That any Member of our Judicatories, who shall refuse to give a Declaration of his Sentiments of the Truths of God contained in our common Confession, when required thereto judicially, by any of the Judicatories of this Church, to which he or they are subject, when the Judicatory shall apprehend such Declaration will contribute to the Glory of God, and the Edification of Souls, such Recusants shall be censured according to the Importance of the Article, the Confession whereof is judicially demanded, and not confessed or declared.

On this the Letter first mentions this Remark of a Divine in Scotland, *This Overture is a Branch of the Popish Inquisition, which no honest Man should submit to; and were it enacted by 'em, they ought to be deprived of Toleration in a free State.* And then the Writer subjoins his own Thoughts.

This perhaps may be thought a sharp Censure of the Overture. But should it pass into a Resolution, I would intreat you to consider the Consequences of it. You know already, that all the Non-subscribers, and I believe many judicious Subscribers themselves, think such a Resolution not only unreasonable in itself, but subversive of that Apostolical Canon: Against an Elder receive not an Accusation, but before two or three Witnesses, 1 Tim. v. 19. And no Pretence of the Glory of God and the Edification of Souls must be set up to encourage the Violation of his own Command. You see in Mr. Nevin's Case, that a Minister may firmly believe, and on all Occasions that occur in the Course of his Ministry, teach an Essential Article of the Christian Faith, and yet may think himself obliged in Conscience to oppose the Claim of purging himself by a judicial Declaration, as contrary to the Gospel-method of issuing Scandal. And should they be censured for opposing what they account such an unjust Claim of Power, such Censures would be slighted, and an open Rupture ensue.

Moreover, as the Overture mentions their declaring their Sentiments of any Truth in the Westminster Confession, can you think that all that can subscribe the Words of every Proposition, agree in the Sense they put upon 'em? Would not a real Difference of Sentiments soon appear, with respect to several doctrinal Propositions, upon the Practice of this inquisitory Method? Have not the Propositions in that Confession, in that important Article of our Justification, been openly pleaded in Favour of the Antinomian Scheme, by twelve Ministers in Scotland? And should this inquisitory Method be set up among you, in order to discover latent Errors, perhaps it would bear the hardest on some that appear most zealous for it, by obliging 'em to discover their own Ignorance, or worse Mistakes. What is this Method, but an hunting for Scandal, and an Oath ex Officio, established by a Synod

Synod of Protestant Dissenters, who have so justly complained of it when practised upon themselves! There is a plain Rule in the Gospel for avoiding Hereticks, when they vent their pernicious Errors, but none for expiscating their hidden Thoughts. 'Tis in the general Course of his Ministry, that a faithful Pastor is obliged to confess with his Mouth, what he believes with his Heart, and apologize for and defend the Truth whenever it is attacked. But no Man is obliged to submit to the unjust Claim of an arbitrary inquisitive Power, which as it had its Rise in the Church of Rome, so it has been used to the vilest Purposes, for the Suppression of divine Truth. And can we expect that the glorious Cause of Truth can be served by the Methods that have been most successfully used to extinguish it?

Mr. Mac-bride in Defence of this Overture proposes to take it in Pieces, by resolving it into Propositions, which he essays the Proof of.

These several Propositions I shall briefly consider.

His first Proposition is, That a Christian Church may abridge the Will of God, revealed to us in a common Confession, which they may publish to the World as the common Confession of their associated Body.

Answer, If he mean by a Christian Church a General Synod; No doubt they may publish a Confession in which they are all agreed as to the Sense, as well as Words, of every Proposition contained in it, as their common Confession, and as an Help to divine Knowledge in the Congregations under their Oversight; but they can never be sure there is the like Agreement in the Members of their several Congregations, concerning every Proposition in it. But their Right to publish such a Confession, as contains several Propositions in it, the Sense whereof is either ambiguous and doubtful, or the Truth thereof contested by Men sound in the Faith, and consequently of no great Importance whether believed or no, and to make Subscription to this Confession the invariable Test and Condition of all Men's Entrance into the Ministry among them, will never be granted him. I would desire Mr. Mac---to consider the Arguments against it alledged by Mr. Abernethy, in his Defence of the Seasonable Advice, and try his Hand, whether he can give any solid Answer to them. I apprehend he will find it a Task beyond his Abilities, or even those of Mr. Mastertoun or Mr. Kennedy, the two Authors he refers us to.

His second Proposition, That the Truths of God, revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, ought to be the Subject and Foundation of this common Confession.

Answer, Either he means, all the Truths contained in the Scriptures, or all that have a necessary and manifest Influence upon true Holiness of Heart and Life. If he means the former, both the Westminster Confession, and all other Confessions I have yet seen, want many Truths that ought to be in them. If he intends the latter, no doubt a Synod may put such Truths into such a Summary as a Confession. And happy had it been for the Christian Church, if all Synods had put no other, and had not thrust in so many particular unscriptural Opinions of their own, that are contested by Men as well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and as sound in the Faith as themselves. 'Tis this has rendered their Confessions so often Engines of Strife and Division. Such singular Opinions may be found in the Augsburg Confession, and the Formula Consensus in Switzerland. And I need not say what ill Effects they have produced.

His third Proposition is, That Gospel-Ministers and the Rulers in God's House may associate and bind each other, never to conceal the Truths of God from God's People; but that they will candidly and frankly declare them, by giving

to one another, and to any that ask them a Reason of the Hope that is in them, in a full and true Discovery of what they apprehend to be the Mind of God.

Answer, The Law of God has already bound Ministers never to conceal any Truths from God's People that are needful to make them wise to Salvation; but candidly and frankly to declare the whole Counsel of God to them as far as themselves understand it, and see it profitable in order to their Proficiency in divine Knowledge and real Holiness of Life. But this does not oblige them to trouble and confound their Minds with all the nice Controversies among Divines truly sound in all the important Articles of the Christian Faith, when their real Edification is little concerned in them, and their Understandings too weak to judge in such doubtful Disputations. And no doubt all faithful Ministers, in free Conference with one another, will frankly declare what they apprehend to be the Mind of God, to all honest and candid Enquirers after divine Truth, however reserved they may be to such as discover themselves to be of a cavilling and captious Spirit, and come (as some did to our Saviour) rather to pick up matter of Accusation, than with any desire of being informed concerning the Truth.

But the Question which the Overture relates to, is plainly this, Whether a Minister's Case may not be so circumstanced, that such a Declaration of his Judgment concerning the Mind of God, as is his Duty in general, and at other Times, be his Duty, and not rather contrary to it, in those particular Circumstances? As particularly, Whether when a Minister is wrongfully suspected or accused of denying some Divine Truth, and no reasonable Ground of such Suspicion or Accusation can be alledged, (and perhaps clearer Evidence of the contrary produced by the Testimony of other unsuspected Witnesses on his behalf) it be then his Duty to purge himself by a Declaration which the Judicatory requires him to make, when he is persuaded in his own Judgment, that the making it in these Circumstances will tend to support an unjust Claim of Power, abett the violation of a plain Rule of the Gospel, 1 Tim. v. 19. overturn the known Methods of Discipline for issuing Scandal, cross the common Rules of Justice and Equity, and encourage that Spirit of groundless Suspicion and Jealousy, which all wise Judicatories should rather discountenance and reprove, and (to add no more) countenance the vile Method which the Church of Rome has employed as the most successful Engine for suppressing divine Truth, or (as one of the Popes called it) as the Rampart of the Catholick Faith. And we may observe, That the Overture makes no allowance for this Judgment of the Minister, whose Declaration the Judicatory requires, but makes them the sole Judges, Whether the Declaration they require will contribute to the Glory of God, and the Edification of Souls. So that the Minister is debarred by this Overture of the Liberty of judging for himself concerning his own Duty in these particular Circumstances. And no pretence of a regard to the Glory of God and the Edification of Souls will warrant him to do what his Judgment tells him will be attended with these mischievous and evil Consequences. It would contribute far more to God's Glory and the edification of Souls, for the Judicatory to discountenance groundless suspicions that tend to weaken the Reputation and Usefulness of faithful Ministers, and to observe the plain Scriptural Rule of Discipline, 1 Tim. v. 19.

'Tis the giving way to, and even cherishing, groundless Jealousies, that has been the chief Spring of your unhappy Animosities and Dissensions. And till this Evil be cured by a diffusion of that divine Charity

* The common Rule of all Casuists, is, That Affirmative Precepts do not bind *ad semper*, i. e. we are not at all Times, and in all Circumstances, bound to the actual Practice of what they enjoin.

that thinketh no Evil, where none appears, there is but little hope of your preserving the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Now if Mr. Mac---would take the Question in all these complex Circumstances, he would see how little the Texts he alledges are to his purpose, and how weak and lame his Reasonings from them are. He would see his Fourth and Fifth Propositions concern not the Debate at all: That his Sixth Proposition is not true as applied to such a Declaration as in the circumstances mentioned will be attended with such Consequences in the Judgment of the Minister that is required to make it. That for his seventh Proposition, he may, I believe, depend upon it, that neither Non-subscribers, nor many Subscribers, will, if this Overture passes into a Resolution, be fond of associating with those who would make the owning and submitting to the Claim of such an Inquisitory Power the Condition and Rule of their Association. And if he be so fond of Hedging himself and those of his Mind within such narrow Fences, he need not much fear others breaking into so confined an Inclosure, where so little of true Christian Liberty is to be found. To set up such divisive Hedges and Inclosures in the common Vineyard of our common Lord has been for many Ages the Shame and Bane of the Christian Church, and destructive both of its Purity and Peace; and I am persuaded 'tis a Practice that he will never approve in any of his Followers. For his Eight Proposition, it only begs the Question by supposing that to be Duty in the Circumstances forementioned, which those of whom it is required think to be downright sinful, and of manifest evil Tendency.

It would be tedious, and I presume needless for the Information of any judicious Reader, to shew him, that none of the Texts of Scripture, from whence he argues under the Third and Sixth Propositions, do concern the Case that is in Question, and come home to the Point in Debate relating to this Overture.

If Mr. Mac---would argue to any purpose, he should fairly set down the Conclusion he is to prove, and it should be this, *That Christian Church-Judicatories are impowered to demand of any Minister associated with them, a Declaration of his Sentiments concerning any or every Proposition, in a large Confession drawn up by fallible Men; and that the said Minister is obliged to comply with their Demand, and that his Compliance in his present Circumstances can be attended with none of all these Evil Consequences above mentioned.*

And by what Logic he can draw this conclusion out of these Texts he alledges, I must confess myself too ignorant to discover. If indeed the Judicatory can convince the Minister on whom they would practice this inquisitory Method, that his Submission to it is attended with none of these mischievous Consequences, and that the Scripture has fully invested them with such an inquisitory Power, they remove his Objection against compliance with it. Now let Mr. Mac---look over his Texts, and try by what screws he can draw the above conclusion from them. Thus for his Text Jer. xxvi. 2. which he twice argues from, both under his third and sixth Propositions, the Prophet Jeremiah has an immediate Commission from God to deliver a prophetick Message from him to all the People of Judah, that came up to worship at his own House, threatening his terrible Judgments against Jerusalem in case of their continued Impenitency; and he is charged by God himself to speak all he had spoken to him, without diminishing a Word. And when the Priests and Prophets complained against him to the Princes, he stands to his Message. Ergo, Christian Church-Judicatories are vested with an inquisitory Power to demand of every Minister associated with them, a Declaration of his sentiments concerning any Proposition in an Human Confession; and a Compliance with it is attended with no evil Consequences. This is the Inference he should draw, if he would defend the Overture. But could he not distinguish be-

tween a Message immediately dictated by God, and Doctrinal Propositions drawn up by fallible Men? A faithful Servant of God will deliver what he believes to be the Message of God, whether he is called to preach to his own Congregation, or before a Presbytery, or a Synod; and yet may judge it very sinful to submit to an inquisitory Power that demands his Sentiments concerning every Proposition in the best of human Composes; because he is persuaded, that his Submission will be attended with such ill Consequences as have been mentioned before.

His next Text, Acts xx. 20. only instructs a Minister what to do in his Ministration to those under his Oversight, and has nothing to do with the Question in Debate.

His Argument from Matth. x. 19. is much less to the purpose. Our Blessed Saviour having warned his Apostles of the Persecution they were to suffer for the Christian Faith, from Councils, Synagogues, Governours, and Kings, promises, in that Text, the extraordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost, to enable them to make an inspired Defence, without Premeditation (as appears evidently not only from the very Words of this Text, but from the parallel places, Mark xiii. 11. Luke xii. 11, 12. and xxi. 14, 15.) Now it was the known Practice of the Persecutors of the Christians, to form an Accusation against them, upon the Doctrines they had vented, to proceed against them by the Testimony of Witnesses, and to pronounce and execute Judgment against them, according to the Laws enacted against Christianity. There was no Law then in being for condemning any Man without Evidence, or for extorting an Evidence out of his own Mouth against himself. But the Apostles, who were the inspired Teachers of the Christian Doctrine, and commanded to be Christ's Witnesses, in the Execution of their Commission, preached Christ to Jews and Gentiles, to Friends and Enemies, in the most publick manner; and therefore as the facts, for which they were Persecuted were Notorious, their proper Defence did not lead them to insist upon the demand of having them proved, but it rested upon the truth of their Doctrine, and the Credentials they had from Heaven to justify their Commission. In this Case, for the honour of Religion, the Confirmation, and Propagation of Christianity, and for their own Consolation, our Saviour promised his Spirit, to inspire them in defending the Christian Cause before their persecuting Judges. But I would fain know, what has this to do with a Claim of inquisitory Power? The natural Defence which they had to make, according to the common Rules of Justice, could be no other, than to insist upon the Truth and Excellency of the Christian Religion. The matter of Fact was evident; and they could make no Plea upon that Head. The only thing they could plead, was, that tho' the Fact was true, they were guilty of no Crime, in obeying God rather than Man. This was a Case, wherein they were bound to make a special Confession of Christ before their Judges. But will any Man pretend, that these Judges did require the Apostles to make this Confession of Christ, and to punish them if they did not make it? Nay, on the contrary, they urged and required them to deny Christ, and punish them for confessing his sacred Name. How then the conduct of Judges who, tho' Infidels, paid such regard to Natural Equity as to hold no Inquisition, but proceeded upon fair Evidence against the Apostles, can justify a Christian Synod in erecting an Inquisition, without Evidence; or, how the Apostles confessing Christ before their persecuting Judges, when it was their most proper and natural Plea, and the only one they could make, and for the making whereof, to the honour of Religion, they had the promise of Inspiration and the special and immediate Direction of their Great Lord and Master, can bind Ministers and Christians to submit to the Claim of an inquisitory Power, to abandon all the Pleas which natural Equity and the Rules

Rules of Christian Discipline entitle them to, is so gross an absurdity, as quite destroys the force of Mr. Mac--'s Argument from this Text.

His Arguments from *John the Baptist's Confessing that he was not the Christ*, and the Apostle *Paul's* owning himself to be a Christian before the Roman Governour are as inconsequential. *John the Baptist* was a Prophet whose very Office obliged him to bear his Testimony to Christ as the true Messiah; and he might and ought to confess that *he was not the Christ*, without any regard to any Authority of those who asked him the Question, but to do justice to the peculiar Honour of our Blessed Saviour. The Apostle *Paul* declined the Authority of the *Jewish Sanhedrin* to judge in his Cause, but was not ashamed of owning himself a Christian before *Felix* and *Festus*. What signifies all this to justify the Overture in Question? And our Saviour's own Example in owning before the Sanhedrin that he was the Son of God, and before *Pilate* that he was a King tho' not of a Kingdom that was of this World, is as impertinently alledged. He was neither subject to the *Sanhedrin*, nor *Pilate*, but came for this Cause into the World to bear Witness to Truth. In short, his Reasonings from these Texts are miserably lame and inconclusive, and come not up to the Point he was concerned to prove in defence of the Overture.

And I would only desire the Reader to peruse the Reasons of the Protestors in Mr. *Nevin's* Trial, and fairly compare their solidity and strength, with the rambling and weak Arguments Mr. Mac--has offered, and I am persuaded he will need no more to the determining his Judgment in this Matter.

I shall not concern myself in what particularly relates to Mr. *Nevin* himself, or to the *Presbytery of Antrim's Expedients for Peace*, which I have never yet seen, they are of Age to speak for themselves. They are often reproached by Mr. Mac-*bride* as Mutes in their Synods, tho' I do not find but that they reason there as closely and as much to the purpose as he that calls 'em so, and with as much modesty and decency. I believe he would be better pleased with them if they were really such.

I shall only observe, That he pretends to the Practice of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, as a Precedent for this Inquisitory Power: But how unreasonably he does it, will appear if he consider, That the Twelve Ministers had actually recommended a Book that contains the Dregs of *Antinomianism*, which was a matter of Fact. The General Assembly condemned several particular Propositions contained in the Book as grossly Erroneous. The Twelve Ministers gave in a Representation and Petition complaining of this Censure. What the *Queries* the Assembly put to 'em, and their Answers were, I know not; nor has this Author told us. But what Relation has this proceeding of the General Assembly, founded upon a notorious matter of Fact, and a publick Justification of it, to do with that Inquisitory Power that this Overture claims for all their Judicatories, where no just ground of Suspicion concerning the Person that is required to submit to it, appears?

I perceive Mr. Mac-*bride* has taken no notice of Mr. *Higginbotham's* Argument against the Penalty mentioned in this Overture, which as far as I can judge is weighty and unanswerable, to which I refer.

Mr. Mac-*bride* takes some Pains to shew the difference between such an Inquisitory Power as practised in the Church of Rome, and as proposed by this Overture to be now practised among our Brethren in the North, but allowing both his Disparities; why should Protestant Dissenters, of all Men, claim such a Power of which the Roman Antichrist was the chief Founder; and which his Officers have so long successfully employed for the Extinction of divine Truth? And which

Protestant Dissenters themselves have so justly complained of, when exercised formerly by some other Courts for the crushing Non-conformity? The Power is indeed not fit to be lodged in the Hands of fallible Men, subject to the like Passions with others; and it was never yet exercised by any that made any good use of it, but has been by the first Contrivers of it exercised to the vilest Purposes of Tyranny and Persecution. And what Minister that has any Sense of Christian Liberty, or due regard to his own established Reputation and Character, will ever tamely subject himself to so slavish a Yoke, by submitting to such an unreasonable Claim of Power? Every faithful Minister that has given his Ordainers full Satisfaction of the Soundness of his Faith, has a Right in common Justice and Charity to be reputed sound, when there is no Evidence to the contrary; and no Judicatory has a right to slur his Character, by judicially demanding a new Declaration of it, without any just grounds of Suspicion assign'd. This is treating him as they would think it hard and uncharitable to be treated themselves.

I had like to have forgot one notable Argument that Mr. Mac-*bride* produces to prove that all the Ruling Elders, as well as Ministers in a Synod, may judicially demand from any Minister they think fit, a Declaration of his Sentiments concerning every Proposition in the Westminster Confession: This he thinks is fully proved from Christ's putting the Question thrice to *Peter*, *Simon, lovest thou me?* By this admirable Way of Reasoning, he may as solidly prove, That they may judicially demand of every Minister they please a renewed Declaration of his Love to his blessed Saviour, and since they know not his Heart, may farther demand, What satisfying Evidence he can give 'em of the Sincerity of it? and accordingly cognosce upon the Evidences he offers concerning it, and particularly that which Christ himself insists on, His Obedience to his Commands, and more particularly to that Command of loving one another as he has loved them, which he has made the distinguishing Character of his Disciples. And if such an Inquisitory Power was set up, I wish all of both sides were able fully to vindicate their own Innocence. If they could, there would soon be an End put to these bitter Animosities among 'em, and to a scandalous Breach of mutual Communion. If Synods and Presbyteries will prove their Claim to the Inquisitory Power alledged in this Overture, by as clear and unquestionable Evidence as Our Saviour had to produce for his Authority to put the Question to *Peter*, and to oblige him to answer it, (*Simon, lovest thou me?*) I will acknowledge the Argument to be good. When any Minister can be convicted of denying Christ, as *Peter* did; I shall think it very reasonable, that he should retract his Error, and express his sincere Love to our Blessed Lord; and that in every such Case, Satisfaction should be demanded by the Church, and given by the Penitent; which is all that can be made of this Text, and nothing to Mr. Mac--'s purpose.

Mr. Mac--'s Arguments from the Case of Martyrs, for the Christian Cause, and from the practice of the first Reformers in forming Confessions for the Instruction of those under their Pastoral Inspection, do not touch the Point in Debate about this Overture. And he need not fear any End being put to the profitable Ordinance of Catechizing by the prevalency of what he calls the Non-confessing Humour. I do not find that those who are in their Judgment against this Overture are less diligent in Catechizing than their Neighbours; and their People would argue in as weak and trifling a Manner as Mr. Mac-*bride* has done, if they should think they have no right to expect catechetical Instructions from their Pastors; because their Pastors are

* The Marrow of Modern Divinity, a very proper One for the Book itself.
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not willing to be publickly treated in Presbyteries and Synods as Men that need to be catechized themselves, and perhaps by such as no way excel them in divine Knowledge. If men were really under the awful Impressions of the Fear of God, they would be more sensible of the Imperfection of their own Knowledge; less fond of such an inquisitory Power, as this Overture would establish; and would shew a more tender regard to the Consciences of their Brethren, who are persuaded of the evil Tendency of it.

As to the fourth Overture, that obliges every Minister or Ruling Elder, before their Admission to vote in the General Synod, to declare the *Westminster Confession* to be the Confession of their Faith, The Letter thus remarks, I would observe,

That it mentions no allowance of the Pacifick Act itself.

That it will inevitably bring on a Rupture if it ever pass into a Resolution.

That it may be justly believed, that many Ministers themselves can make no such Declaration in Judgment, because they have never impartially Examined every Proposition in that Confession, and weighed the Arguments pro and con, as to several of 'em that are doubtful. And as the Sense of some Propositions is uncertain and ambiguous, no Man knows whether they declare or subscribe them in a sound or unsound Sense.

And this Objection is much stronger, with respect to the Generality of Ruling Elders; 'tis questionable, whether some of 'em have deliberately read the Confession; 'tis much more questionable, whether they understand the Sense of many Propositions contained in it. 'Tis yet far more questionable, whether they have taken any Pains to examine the Truth of 'em by comparing 'em with the Holy Scriptures, the only unerring Standard of divine Truth. And shall their Declaration or Subscription which can, as to the several Propositions they subscribe, be no other than the Result of a blind implicit Faith, be made a necessary Qualification of their being admitted Members of your General Synods? Can such a Declaration qualify 'em to decide Matters of which they are often no capable Judges? And is their having an equal Vote in such Cases no unhappy Defect in the Constitution of your General Synods themselves, in which they sometimes carry Resolutions contrary to the Judgment of a Majority of Ministers, thro' what appears to impartial By-standers a misguided and intemperate Zeal? This matter, in my Opinion, very well deserves your serious and mature Consideration, unless you resolve to set them up to be your Guides instead of your being theirs.

As to the fifth Overture, that relates to an inferior Judicatory's reversing or altering the Decision of a superior one, threatening the Moderator and Clerk with Suspension as long as the superior Judicatory thinks fit. The Letter thus goes on:

I would only put the Case, What if an inferior Judicatory (suppose a Presbytery) should judge the Decision of a superior Judicatory unjust, and contrary to their undoubted Rights, or to those of their several Congregations under their Inspection and Care; and think it their own necessary Duty; with respect to their own Practice, to deviate from their Decisions, must they be deprived of the undoubted Right of judging for themselves? Do they owe an absolute and blind Submission to such Decisions whatever they be, whether in their Judgment equal or iniquitous? I hope no judicious Protestant Divine will espouse so barefaced a Doctrine of Popery. And yet either this must be asserted, or they must be allowed to judge for themselves, in what concerns their own Duty and Conduct. And I wish the case put here, were more unlikely to happen than I fear it is.

Besides this Overture seems to me to put a very extravagant Power into the Hands of the superior Judicatory, to suspend the Moderator and Clerk, as long as they think fit; they may think it fit as long as the Moderator and Clerk live. And shall their Congregations be deprived of their Labours, and put under an INTERDICT as long as the superior Judicatory pleases.

I join the Remarks on these two Overtures together, because Mr. Mac---has made no distinct Reply to them, but referred me for an Answer to the anonymous Author of the Appendix, who he thinks has sufficiently superseded him.

Mr. Mac---thinks indeed the *Latter Overture* against an inferior Judicatory's reversing or altering the Decisions of a superior Judicatory, self-evident, and unexceptionable; and so I can freely allow it, if he mean no more than that an inferior Judicatory cannot claim such an Authority over a superior one, as obliges them to rescind and repeal their own Decisions, or alter them, unless they think fit themselves. But that he knows no one asserts. And if this were all that is meant, the Overture would be needless and superfluous. But if the Overture supposes an inferior Judicatory always obliged to comply as to their own Practice with the Decisions of a superior, tho' they think those Decisions unjust, and contrary to their own Rights, or those of their several Congregations, the Objection against the Overtures stands in its full Force, and Mr. Mac---has said nothing to invalidate it.

But since he refers me to the Anonymous Author of the Appendix for the Defence of these two last Overtures, I shall carefully attend to what I find to this purpose in the Appendix.

The Author of the Appendix tells us, 'That as to the Fourth Overture, the Reasons of it are their Agreement in the principal Doctrines of Christianity, as the Foundation of their Religious Communion. Strangers know their steady adherence to the Truths of the Gospel. The Purity of the Ministry, and of their Churches, is hereby preserv'd.

Answer, For the principal Doctrines of Christianity that are the scriptural Foundation of religious Communion, both Subscribers and Non-subscribers are, I doubt not, already agreed in them. Their Predecessors were so before ever the *Westminster Confession* was extant, and long after, before Subscription to it was enjoined. And so are their Brethren in this part of the Kingdom, and those in England, among whom no Subscription to that Confession is requir'd. But the Author cannot be ignorant, that there are in that Confession many doctrinal Propositions, that are so far from being the principal Doctrines of Christianity, that they are Tenets contested among the best Ministers that the Reformed Churches ever enjoy'd. Others of them, are of so uncertain and ambiguous a Sense, that no man knows by the Subscription of others, whether they take them in a sound Sense, or no. Others of them rather obscure than explain the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and one of them is in terminis contradictory to it. Let him try among the Subscribers themselves, and I am confident he will find there are several of them, that are not themselves agreed about the sense of them. And if they will make a Subscription to all the doctrinal Propositions in it, the standing Terms of Synodical Communion, they will soon find it brought into a narrower Compass, and several as judicious and faithful Ministers as are to be found among them excluded.

And whereas the Author, in answer to the Objection against this Overture, viz. *That it will inevitably bring on a fatal Rupture*, replies, 'That the Non-subscribing Principle has no Foundation in the Bible; that 'tis against the Precepts and Example of our Blessed Saviour, and against the Practice of his Apostles, which tends to conceal and keep secret their Opinions in Religion, and keep up Jealousies and Animosities among the People, to the Prejudice of practical Piety, and the good Order of this Church.' I would gladly ask him, Where our Saviour has either by Precept or Example recommended Subscription to any human Composure of fallible men, as the Condition of ministerial Communion, in any part of the Christian Church? And what Practice of his Apostles gives the least Countenance to it? If he can find any such thing, I am sure he

has far better Eyes than mine, and I will thank him to shew me any such Passage in all the New-Testament that looks this Way.

I freely grant indeed, that our Saviour has by his Apostles required all concerned in Ordinations to the Ministry, to commit the Doctrines revealed in the Gospel to faithful Men, that should be able to teach them to others; and they are concerned to see that those they ordain be found in all the principal Doctrines of the Gospel; and therefore may and should enquire how Intrants understand those Scriptural Expressions wherein such Doctrines are contained, to see that they do not *wrest or pervert* them. And this is so far from having any Tendency to conceal, and keep secret their opinions in Religion, that the Intrant must declare his Judgment as to the principal Doctrines of it, that are a just Foundation for Ministerial and Christian Communion; or else he gives his Ordainers no satisfying Account of the Soundness of his Faith. And for groundless Jealousies, and unreasonable Animosities of either Ministers or People, they are faulty Passions opposite to Christian Charity, and the true Bane both of Piety and Peace among you, and will be so till they are laid aside.

And therefore I am sorry to find, that the Author of the Appendix can think of no other Expedient for preventing a Rupture, but the Non-subscribers reconsidering and renouncing their ill-grounded Opinion (as he calls it); and that he should charge all the mischievous Consequences of a Rupture on their not renouncing it. I believe all impartial Judges will think that the Guilt of such a shameful Rupture will lie on the Side of the Imposers, who fix Synodical Communion on such Terms as our common Lord never required, and which they know many of his faithful Servants conscientiously dissent from, tho' no way inferior in true Knowledge and Piety to themselves. I know no Authority he has for saying, *The Synod believes it to be their Duty to declare their Faith in the Words of the Westminster Confession*. If he speak of all the Ministers that are Members of it, or of the Majority, I believe he will find that all who subscribed the Confession, with an express Reservation to themselves of the Benefit of the *Pacifick Act*, will not own what he saith to be true. And if all that believe this to be their Duty will reject all the rest from Synodical Communion that do not, he may perhaps find it more thinned than he is aware of. If they believe this to be their Duty, how come they to allow a Change of Phrases, and a Substitution of a Man's own Words, by the *Pacifick Act* itself?

The third Objection against the Overture he proposes to answer, is this, *That such a Subscription is against the Precepts of Unity, Peace, and that Forbearance we ought to exercise towards one another, in lesser things.*

His Answer consists of two Particulars.

I. *That the Peace and Unity of the Church of Scotland (where there are above a Thousand Ministers that subscribe the Westminster Confession) is better preserved, than in any Church where no Subscription to a Body of Christian Doctrines is required.*

Answer, The Author may see, by what has passed in Scotland, that Subscription has no way secured an Unity in the real Doctrines of Christianity, where there has been an Unity in the Words or Sounds, by which it is expressed in the *Westminster Confession*. And I take the Freedom to tell him, that I truly fear the Subscription to that Confession, which is there so strictly required, without so much as the Allowance of the *Pacifick Act*, will sooner or later become the fatal Engine of breaking their Amity and Peace, especially if they should ever set up for an unlimited inquisitory Power. And I heartily wish my fears may prove groundless.

II. He answers, *Forbearance is no doubt recommended in the Gospel in smaller Matters, and where the Debates in Point are known; (as in the Case of the Jewish and Gentile Converts) and he adds, Let our Non-subscribing Brethren point out to us, the Propositions in the West-*

minster Confession, the Truth whereof they scruple; if they be not such as affect the Vitals of Christianity, but of less Moment, I can promise them in the Name of the Synod, Forbearance, and the Exercise of a Spirit of Meekness. But while the Synod subscribes, would they expect Forbearance in refusing it? Must the Synod lay aside their own Scriptural Principle, to indulge an unreasonable one in some of their Members, and after they have passed a Resolution, that the Non-subscribing Principle opens a Door to Error?

Answer, I am very glad to find that the Author of the Appendix so freely pleads for Forbearance in lesser things. I am well pleased also with the truly Christian Spirit he discovers, in declaring for Forbearance as to any such Scruples as do not affect the Vitals of Christianity; but I very much doubt whether he has any good Warrant, for making such a generous Promise in Behalf of the Synod, that they will exercise the like Forbearance, and the like Spirit of Meekness he speaks of. I believe there are many warm Subscribers, and more warm and less knowing Ruling Elders, that have given him no commission to make such a promise in their Name. And I do not find Mr. Macbr. himself to be, in this point, of his mind. That the principle of making a Subscription to any composition of fallible Men, and particularly this of the *Westminster Confession*, a Test of synodical or ministerial Communion, is a scriptural Principle the Author has no way yet proved, and I believe never will. To draw it from such Passages of Scripture as oblige us to confess with the Mouth, what we believe with the Heart, to declare the whole Counsel of God, &c. carries no Force of Argument with it; because these Precepts were actually observ'd, before any Abridgment of the Christian Doctrines was ever drawn up by uninspir'd and fallible Men, and may still be observed by all faithful Pastors, among whom Subscription to no human Confession is required of Intrants into the Ministry. Intrants may in another way give their Ordainers as full (if not fuller) Satisfaction concerning their Soundness in the Christian Faith. And the Ordainers are not to be tied down by Synodical Rules to one Method, that may in many Cases bar those from the sacred Office, who by the Charter of Christ ought to be admitted to it, because they have all the Qualifications he requires in his Gospel Charter. For which I refer him to what he will find in Mr. Aber. *Def. of the Seasonable Advice* from p. 111, to p. 133. The Non-subscribers have justly observed the Practice of requiring such Subscriptions, as the fixed tests of ministerial Communion, to have been in almost all Ages since it first began destructive both to the Peace and Purity of the Christian Church. They can see no divine Warrant for it, and think it casts some Reflection on the Wisdom of our great Lawgiver, that he should leave such Tests for fallible Men to compose for this End, instead of directing his inspir'd Apostles to draw one up. And why should not his Ministers exercise Forbearance towards their Brethren with respect to this which he calls their *Non-subscribing Principle*, when they give them no Disturbance in acting pursuant to what they call their *Subscribing Principle*. The principal Doctrines of the Gospel, and such as affect the Vitals of Christianity, are unconcerned in the Debate on either Side. Those among whom no Subscription to the *Westminster Confession* is required, are as careful to require a Declaration of those important Truths as those that insist upon it. And they have thereby more effectually secured their Unity and Peace, than those that have pursued the other method. Nor have they thereby any more opened a Door to Error than their Brethren. To prevent all Errors from creeping in is either way alike impossible. And whenever any dangerous ones appear, both have the same Remedy provided, in those Rules of Discipline which the Gospel has prescribed.

For the last Overture, I would only observe,

I. That the Author of the Appendix has fairly given up all that the writer of the Letter pleaded for, viz. That

That an inferior Judicatory should not regard the Decisions of a superior one, when they look upon them as sinful.

II. As to the Penalty annexed to this Overture; I would only say, Let us suppose both the Moderator and Clerk of the inferior Judicatory to have the same Apprehension of the Injustice of the Decisions of a superior one, with respect to their own Practice with the rest of the Members; are the Moderator and Clerk in this case obliged to refuse to act, and so to stop all proceedings, or else to be suspended during the Pleasure of the superior Judicatory? Is there no Violence hereby offered to their Consciences? Has this no Appearance of a POISH INTERDICT? Let the Author maturely weigh what Mr. Abernethy has wrote on this Head in his *Defence of the Seasonable Advice*, from p. 111, to p. 133. and try what solid Answer he can give to it. If he cannot, what is objected against this Penalty will stand in its full Force. For my own part, the more I consider the sad Effects of these eager and bitter Contentions on the head of Subscription, which all wise and good Men bitterly lament, the more fully I am convinced, that the Alternative proposed by the Dublin Ministers, was the most effectual Expedient that could have been offered, to heal at once their unhappy Divisions, and restore their Amity and Peace.

Having said so much in Vindication of my Brethrens Character, and of my own Remarks on the Overtures; I beg leave with all Humility to address myself to you, my reverend and dear Brethren. I doubt not some may censure me as too officious in concerning myself in your unhappy Debates; and if I would consult my own Ease or Inclination, I should be most willing to avoid incurring their Censure. But when it appears to me a criminal Indolence to stand by, as a meer unconcerned Spectator of your miserable Dissensions, that threaten such mischievous Effects to our common Interest; not to offer one Bucket of Water to extinguish the Flames of bitter Animosity kindled among you; I hope my charitable Intentions and Endeavours will meet with a more favourable Construction among all true Lovers of Peace. I am conscious to myself, that it is not from any Vanity of appearing in Print, nor from the least Desire to increase your Differences, instead of allaying them, nor from the least partial Respect to the contending Parties among you, any farther than I thought they had Justice on their Side, that I have offered my poor but impartial Thoughts in Reference to the Overtures. And I neither desire nor expect any Regard should be paid to them, farther than they carry their own Evidence along with them. I truly honour and love my Reverend Brethren, without any Regard to their different Sentiments about Subscription. I could heartily wish all invidious Names of Distinction among them buried in perpetual Silence and Oblivion. I never yet saw or heard any just Ground to doubt of the Argeement of both Parties in all the important Articles of the Christian Faith. No Errors contrary to them have yet appeared; and should they appear, you have a plain Rule in the Gospel to bear your Testimony against them, by a just Censure of them. Other Differences about the Methods of promoting Truth and discountenancing dangerous Errors, may be reasonably expected, where the Reasons alledged on the one Side and the other, appear to truly good Men in a different Light. And when all most heartily agree in the End proposed, shall there be no Allowance of some Difference in Practice, where Mens Sentiments about the most proper Means of attaining it really differ? Or, shall that Difference in Judgment and Practice be thought a justifiable Ground of that open Breach of Ministerial and Christian Communion, which is so contrary to that great Law, mutual Love and Forbearance, which the Gospel has so strictly enjoined, where no sinful Bar is put in our way. Shall this mutual Ministerial and Christian Communion, which is a Matter of so great Importance, and

of so highly beneficial Tendency to promote the Interest of practical Religion, be sacrificed to a needless and hopeless Project of an EXACT UNIFORMITY in Judgment and Practice about the Method of guarding against the imaginary, rather than real Danger of pernicious Errors creeping in, against which the Gospel itself has provided a sufficient Remedy whenever they appear? Shall the faithful Ministers of Christ, on the account of such differences, refuse to countenance and assist each other in their ministerial Labours, to promote the common Salvation? Shall no Testimony be born against the divisive Spirit of the People in their unreasonable Desertion of their worthy Pastors, and disclaiming Communion with their Congregations, and even with those Ministers that have more charitable Thoughts of their Brethren? Can they think that such a divisive Spirit will be pleasing to our Blessed Saviour, that tends to alienate the affections of his Living Members from one another; and to weaken or distinguish the vital principle of Love to their common Lord, and to one another; which is the scriptural Bond of their mutual Union? Shall those that are travelling towards the same heavenly Jerusalem, and in the same way of Faith and Holiness, decline Communion with each other in those sacred Institutions that are designed to help them forward in it, when no sinful or suspected Terms of Communion are imposed on them?

Were your Debates about the matters in difference, by common Consent, wholly laid aside, and the ordinary and proper business of your Presbyteries and Synods amicably pursued, I am fully persuaded it would tend more to the honour of God, the reputation and interest of Religion, and the real Edification of those under your Inspection, than warm Disputes about matters wherein no real Argument can be expected among Good Men, in this state of Imperfection were the best know but in part. Jealousies would abate when Men see no real Ground of them. Animosities would cool and wear off, when they see your mutual Consultations and Resolves managed in a calm and peaceable Manner. The concordant Resolutions of your Synods would have greater Weight with your People, and their real Usefulness for maintaining such desirable Concord, and for promoting the common Interest of Religion more sensibly appear. 'Tis their being of late Stages of contentious Disputes, and bitter Altercations that has chiefly contributed to weaken their Reputation and Authority. And oh! with what Joy and Satisfaction would all your sincere Well-wishers behold an End put to your Animosities and Contentions, and your long interrupted Peace revived. That for this End the Father of Lights, the God of Peace, may pour down upon you more of a Spirit of Light and Grace, Concord and Love, shall be the hearty Prayer of,

My Reverend and dear Brethren,

Dublin, June 11. Your very affectionate Brother
1726.

and Servant in our common Lord,

J. BOYSE.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the writing this, I had a cursory perusal of the Reverend Mr. Mastertoun's Reply to the Postscript to Mr. Abernethy's Defence of his Seasonable Advice; by the Three Reverend Dublin Ministers.

'Tis not possible for us, who are not now together, to enter upon any joint Consideration of it. And therefore till there be an opportunity of our examining it together, I can only offer a few particular Observations

tions upon it, to take off the ill Impression it may make upon his Readers to our prejudice.

He seems entirely to mistake the Design of the Authors of the *Postscript*, in the *Alternative* they proposed as an Expedient for Peace. They never intended to abridge such Presbyteries whose Principle it was, that they ought to require of all Intrants a Subscription to the *Westminster Confession*, as the fixed Terms of Ministerial Communion, of the Liberty of acting pursuant to their own Judgment. They only desired them to consider the *Tendency* of it, to bar the access of some deserving Intrants to the Ministry, that were truly qualify'd according to the Rules of the Gospel, and gave the Ordainers sufficient Satisfaction in another way concerning their Soundness in the Faith. They only pleaded on the behalf of such Presbyteries as might espouse the Principle of the *Non-subscribers*; or such Presbyteries of Subscribers as were, in the Point of Subscription, of greater Latitude than some of their Brethren, that they might enjoy the same Liberty of acting according to their own Judgment, in granting the Intrans the Choice which the *Alternative* proposed. This Expedient, they thought, neither bore hard upon the Principles of Subscribers or *Non-subscribers*, but left both at freedom to act pursuant to their own Sentiments. The *Alternative* did, indeed, suppose the unreasonableness of making any Synodical Rules that would confine all Presbyteries within the bounds of the Synod to one particular Way of Admission, and debar them of the Liberty of giving the Intrans his Choice. And if Mr. *Master-toun* would have justify'd the making such Synodical Rules, he was in all reason concerned to answer what Mr. *Abernethy* had, in his *Defence* of his *Seasonable Advice*, so largely objected against them, as intrenching upon the *undoubted Rights* of particular Presbyteries, to judge for themselves in matters that concerned their own proper Duty. But this he has prudently thought fit to wave.

But Mr. *Master-toun* seems chiefly Offended at the Scruples we suppose an Intrans to make against Subscription to the *Westminster-Confession*, and particularly with reference to the Doctrine of *Justification*, as it is declared in that *Confession*; and he has enlarged much upon it thro' a great part of his Paper, not without some *groundless Insinuations*, as if those were unsound in that Doctrine, who put such a Speech into the Mouth of the Intrans, and plain intimations that he would not admit such an Intrans into the Ministry!

As I, for my own part, think the Intrans's Scruples well founded, I shall when I have leisure endeavour to shew, That he himself has quite mistaken the Sense of the Apostle *Paul*, when he asserts *our Faith to be imputed to us for Righteousness*, That he has by his pretended subtle Explications obscured the true Doctrine of the New Testament concerning that important Article; that the unguarded incautious Expressions of the *Confession* and *larger Catechism* have led him into these Mistakes; that he falls in with the great Principle of the *Antinomian Scheme*, tho' I doubt not he detests the native Consequences of it; and tho' I have the charity to believe him, in the main, orthodox in that Article, yet his Orthodoxy must be more owing to the plain Language of the Bible, than to the ambiguous unwary Expressions of the *Confession* and *Catechisms*. And till this be set in a clear Light, I hope no judicious Ministers or Christians will much regard his *invidious* and *unjust* insinuations against the Authors of the *Postscript*, as if they were some way Heterodox in that important Doctrine. Had there been any Time left for answering his Reply, before the meeting of the General Synod, it should not have passed without a more particular Animadversion on it.

His false Charge against those Ministers from *Dublin*, who were sent to Correspond with the General Synod at *Belfast* 1721, as if they had protested against the voluntary Subscription which that Synod allowed; and his mistaken Account of the Leave they desired

to explain that Protestation at the Synod of *Derry*, is fully refuted in my Answer to Mr. *Mac-bride*. One would wonder that Men who have any regard for Truth, or for their own Reputation, should offer to advance what their publick Records would have shewn them the untruth of, if they had thought fit to consult them.

And I must desire him to retract another Untruth he has confidently asserted, That the *Dublin* Ministers assured the General Synod, by their Commissioner, that they were willing to subscribe the *Westminster Confession* without any proposed Exception, in order to their obtaining a Legal Toleration. I am very sure no Commissioner had any Instructions from us to give the Synod any such Assurance. There was indeed an *Alternative* proposed, that a Toleration should be sought upon the foot of either subscribing the *Westminster Confession*, or those Articles of the Established Church, which our Brethren in *England* were obliged to subscribe: But we should have subscribed neither, without proposed Exceptions. And it was happy for us, that we at last obtained a Toleration without the Clog of either.

The Ministers of *Dublin* are obliged to Mr. *Master-toun* for his friendly Advice, that they would draw up some Formula of a Confession for themselves, and give into it as a Test of Orthodoxy, that the World may know it; or, that they would adopt and establish, as a publick Declaration of their Principles, the three ancient Creeds, or some Formula of their own making, equally expressive of the Doctrine of those Creeds. But we must with all due deference to his Judgment beg to be excused at present from following it; both because we have from long experience of former ages, seen the mischievous Effects of those human Tests of Orthodoxy to corrupt the plain Doctrine of the Christian Church, and to break the Peace of it; and because we have found by our own Experience, our Peace and Concord to be best secured, by our having no exclusive authorized human Standard, but by our leaving every Candidate to the Liberty granted him by the Gospel-Charter, of expressing his Faith in any Words that are satisfactory, from a sole Regard to the Holy Scriptures, the only Rule of Faith, according to which the soundness or unsoundness of all Doctrines in Religion must be tried and determined. And if the Summaries of the Christian Doctrine, drawn up by our Intrants, be agreeable to the Holy Scriptures (as we generally find they are) they ought to be received into Ministerial Communion, whatever be the words in which they are expressed. And if they should afterwards vent pernicious Errors, we have a Remedy at hand in the Exercise of that Christian Discipline the Gospel has enjoined. And we have too much modesty to make Subscription to any Formula of our own, a necessary Condition of Ministerial Communion, and too great a sense of Liberty to think ourselves obliged to think in every particular controverted Point as others have done before us, who were Men of like Passions, and as liable to inadvertent mistakes as ourselves.

I am sorry to find Mr. *Master-toun* so severely censuring those of his own Subscribing Brethren, who (as he tells us) agree with the *Non-subscribers*, in what he calls their Scheme of Ministerial Communion, i. e. who are willing to continue in stated Communion with the *Non-subscribers*, notwithstanding their Opinion in reference to Subscription. I take what he calls their favourite Scheme of Ministerial Communion with them, to be founded on the plainest and most express Precepts of the Gospel; and that breach of Ministerial Communion, which Mr. *Master-toun* now openly pleads for, to be a manifest Violation of them. And if any of them (as the suggests) have by maintaining Ministerial Communion with them hazarded their usefulness among their Hearers; I heartily wish Mr. *Master-toun* would seriously consider, how far he has been accessory to it, by infusing groundless Jealousies into the Minds of their Hearers, and countenancing

tenancing them in that divisive Spirit which too many of them have discover'd. I am fully persuaded that our common Lord will highly approve that charitable and truly Christian Conduct, which their *angry Brother* so rashly condemns, and that their Conduct in this Matter will at the great Day turn to a better account than his. If they have endeavoured to *soften the Peoples Resentments against the Non-subscribers*, and to gain them to *what they call* (and very justly) *Moderation*, 'tis so far from being any just ground of their Hearers quarrelling with them, or deserting them, that they have only faithfully discharged their Duty in endeavouring to cure their intemperate and divisive Zeal, and to revive that extensive Charity among them, which is the *most noble* and vital Principle of the Christian Religion, and the most genuine Character of all whom our common Lord will own as his Disciples. And I must use the honest freedom to tell Mr. Masterton, I would not for all the World have wrote a Book that has so plain a tendency to weaken the hands of so many of his Subscribing Brethren themselves, and to destroy (as far as he can) the Usefulness of his Non-subscribing ones, and to render their unhappy Dissensions more wide and incurable. *Blessed are the Peace-makers for they shall be called the Children of God. Matt. v. 9.*

Dublin, June 14.
1726.

I am, &c.

J. BOYSE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reverend Mr. Mac-bride, having in the twenty Second and twenty Third Pages of his Pamphlet, Entituled the *Overtures, &c. set in a fair Light*; made a very unjust Representation of what was lately transacted at Dromore, by some Ministers in and about Dublin (as he is pleased to express it) and Palm'd several things upon the Publick as Facts, which are either pure Surmises of his own, or at the best ill grounded Reports hastily taken up, and as rashly published. I think it a necessary piece of Justice to myself, (who am one of those Ministers he speaks of) and to my Reverend Brethren, in concurrence with whom and by whose direction I acted in that Affair, to take this publick Method of contracting his Account, and to call upon him either to *prove* or to *retract* the following particulars which he has asserted for Truths.

First, That the Youth he speaks of was Ordained upon Certificates surreptitiously obtained. Secondly, That the Proceedings of those Reverend Divines in England by whom he was Ordain'd, were Irregular. Thirdly, That this Youth was Irregularly palm'd upon the Brethren of the Northern Association, whom I suppose he means by that significant word U. S. Fourthly, That the *TRIMMIRATE*, (as he scornfully calls those Ministers who concurred in Mr. Colvill's Instalment) had the vanity to assume the Character of the Reverend Presbyteries proper Judges. I, on the contrary, aver every one

of these Facts to be false, and am willing to controvert the Truth of them with Mr. Mac-bride, either privately, or publicly, whenever he shall think fit to produce his *Vouchers*. I know, as to the last of them, he only says *he was told it*, but unless he can make out the Truth of his Allegation by the Authority of credible Witnesses, that will not acquit him from the Guilt of taking up an evil Report against his Neighbours, which I hope he knows is unsuitable to the Character of a Citizen of Zion. As nothing was farther from our Intention, than the Claiming or Exercising of any thing like Jurisdiction over our Brethren, so had the Reverend Presbytery of Ardmagh done us the Justice that might have been expected from them in the Representation they made of this Matter to the Committee and the several Presbyteries, they would have let them know, that we disclaimed all Pretensions of this kind in the strongest Terms, and assur'd them in our Conferences with them, that we did not take upon us to judge either the Synod or Presbytery, nor concern ourselves with any thing they had done, farther than was absolutely necessary to the forming of a Judgment concerning our own Duty. And as to what Mr. Mac-bride says, that the Presbytery had a Charge to lay against Mr. Colvill sufficient to bar any Man from the Ministry, if proved, 'tis sufficient to say, that if they were really able to prove such a Charge, they were much in the wrong to themselves and to the Congregation of Dromore, that when they were so often called upon both by them and Mr. Colvill to produce their Objections, they would not be prevail'd upon to comply with this most reasonable Demand. It is likewise very unaccountable, that when they had thought it fit to transmit to us a Number of Accusations against Mr. Colvill, as Reasons why he should not be installed, they should call our Enquiry into the Truth of these, for clearing our own Judgments (which was all we ever intended to do) an Encroachment upon their Rights, when Mr. Colvill had never been a Member of their Association, and after his Ordination had no relation to them at all.

I shall only add, that if either the Presbytery of Ardmagh, or Mr. Mac-bride, or any other Person, be able to prove any thing Scandalous or Immoral against Mr. Colvill before a Competent Judicatory; they are hereby given to know, that he is now a Member of the Presbytery of Dublin, before whom they may have free Access to offer their Proofs, and be assured that all due regard shall be had to such Accusations as appear to be well founded, and impartial Justice done, after a fair Enquiry, both to him and his Accusers. And till this be attempted, 'tis hoped Mr. Mac-bride and his Friends will have the modesty to spare these unreasonable and indecent Boastings, and the honesty to forbear themselves, and discountenance in others, uncharitable and unchristian Whispers to the prejudice of his Character, the marring of his Usefulness, and the Reproach of our Common Christianity.

Belfast, June 17.
1726.

R. CHOPPIN.



THE

(361)

THE
CASE
OF THE
Dissenting Protestants
OF
IRELAND,

In Reference to a Bill of *Indulgence*,
Vindicated from the Exceptions alledg'd against
it, in a late Answer.

THE *Author* of the *Case* had mention'd two things desir'd by *Protestant Dissenters*, in reference to a *Bill of Indulgence*, viz. First, *That it give them a full security for the free Exercise of their Religion.*

Secondly, *That there be no such Clauses annex'd to it as may disable them from serving their King and their Country.*

The *Answerer* undertakes to shew, that tho' the *Author* of the *Case* has truly represented their desires, he has but weakly argued for granting of them. Now, tho' the *Author* is so conscious to himself of his own mean Abilities, as to be ready to suspect that so just a Cause may have suffered by being in so weak hands; yet he does not see any such strength in the *Answerer's* Replies, as should discourage him from the defence even of those weak Arguments, from any thing the *Answerer* has alledged to take off the force of them. Whether this opinion be founded on reason, or on that partiality to his own Cause (which all men are prone to) must be left to the Reader's Judgment.

First, *The Protestant Dissenters desire such a Bill of Indulgence as should give them a full security for the free Exercise of their Religion.*

As to this, the *Answerer* indeed tells us, ' That he believes, there are few or none but will agree to it; Tho' he thinks it plain the *Author's* Arguments do not evince the necessity of it.

I might therefore justly satisfy myself, that there are some considerations or other, for which the generality even of those of the *Established Church* are willing to grant to *Protestant Dissenters* the free exercise of their Religion. But since the *Answerer* thinks the former Reasons alledged for it to be insufficient, and speaks of such a Toleration as rather in itself a very inconvenient thing, ' which they are inclined to grant ' more out of compliance with the importunity of ' those that desire it, than any sense of it's reasonableness, as Parents humour their Children, in giving ' them things that are pleasing to their palates, tho' ' prejudicial to their health, only because they eagerly desire them.' I shall a little examine what he has offered against those Arguments alledged for the Necessity and Reasonableness of it; and I do this the rather, because those *Answers* of his suggest several common prejudices against *Protestant Dissenters*, which are of late industriously spread, and I fear very deeply rooted in the minds of many, tho' founded on very unhappy mistakes and misinformation about them; so that the Removal of them will probably tend to promote a more charitable temper in *Protestants* toward's one another. And this is a design fit to be pursued at all times, and never more seasonable than now, when there are so earnest endeavours used to heighten our differences in order to obstruct the happy effects of our mutual confidence and affection.

362 The Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland, &c.

The *First Argument* alledged in the *Case* is, ' That since the security of the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom consists in the Number and Union of Protestants, this Bill will promote both; by drawing Protestant Dissenters from abroad, by uniting all Protestants at home, and by giving the Government a more rooted Interest in the affections of Protestant Dissenters.

To this Argument, and to all others that follow, I shall present the Reader with the *Answerer's* Reply in his own words, which is a Civility, I could have wish'd he had shewn me; and then he might have spared some of his most plausible Objections, and particularly this I am going to recite.

Answerer. First, This Indulgence will tend rather to the multiplicity of Sects, than to the encrease of the Number of Protestants, and will successfully promote those very Designs, which our Author vainly imagines it the best Expedient to obstruct. For a general Indulgence has always proved instrumental to the advancing the Popish Interest among us, and has therefore been vigorously promoted by Popish Emissaries in England, and that by express Orders from their Superiors abroad, who have experimentally found it to be the best method of introducing Popery into a Country, and have expended very considerable Sums of Money for the purchase of Tolerations to Dissenters.

Reply. This Reasoning of the *Answerer's* seems to run upon a supposition, that the Author of the *Case* pleads for a general Indulgence to all sorts of People whatsoever. Whereas if the *Answerer* had but taken half the pains to understand that Paper, that he has done to find fault with it, he would have quickly found, that those Protestants Dissenters, for whose Indulgence the Author pleads, are such as will appear to be of the same Religion with the Establish'd Church, by subscribing the Doctrinal Articles of it, as the condition of their Liberty.

And of these the *Answerer*, if he please, may easily know there are but three Sects, (if he please to call all those sorts of Protestants Sects that are distinguished from others by some particular modes of Worship, or Discipline) viz. Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists. (I include the last, because they refuse to subscribe no other of the Doctrinal Articles of the Establish'd Church, but that about *Infant Baptism*) And of these latter, viz. Independents and Anabaptists there are but about six Congregations that I know of in the Kingdom. So that the Bill there pleaded for, can multiply no other Sects than these. And I hope the *Answerer* will not deny all these to be Protestants. So that if the Bill be useful to invite over any of these, it will encrease the Number of Protestants in this Kingdom, and of such only.

But faith the *Answerer*, ' This Bill will successfully promote those very Designs which our Author vainly imagines it the best expedient to obstruct.

Reply. This seems at first view very hard to be understood, but much harder to be believed.

The designs which the Author imagines this Bill of Indulgence will obstruct, are the decrease of the number of Protestants, their mutual jealousies and animosities, and the weakening the affections of Protestant Dissenters to the Government. And will such a Bill indeed successfully promote all these designs? i. e. will it fright any Protestants of England, Scotland, or Wales, from coming to plant here because they will be effectually secured from Persecutions? will it drive the Dissenting Protestants that are here out of the Kingdom, because they will be more assured of safety in it? Or will the Protestant Dissenters here love the Government the less, because it gives them such a legal security for their Religion? Or will it make Conforming or Non-Conforming Protestants less kind and friendly to one another, because neither of them have it in their power to persecute, or do any mischief to the other? Sure if the Author argue weakly, he that shall reason thus (as the *Answerer* must, if he speak here to the purpose)

will not much mend the matter. But let us hear the *Answerer* himself.

For a general Indulgence has always proved instrumental to the advancing of the Popish Interest among us, and has been therefore vigorously promoted, &c.

Reply. And what signifies this, were it true, to the Author of the *Case*, who pleads for no such general Indulgence; but I would gladly know of the *Answerer*, wherein a Toleration to Dissenting Protestants can advance the Popish Interest here. Will the Popish Interest be ever the stronger, because there are more Protestants to oppose it, and because their mutual forbearance as to their lesser differences will more unite their affections and endeavours against the common enemy; and will the Popish Interest be the weaker when the number of Protestants is lessened, and when severity has alienated their affections from one another? 'Tis possible that Popish Emissaries have, in England, endeavoured to procure general Tolerations, that they might share in the same favour with Protestant Dissenters: But whose fault is that? Is it theirs, that only pleaded for a Toleration to Protestants? Or is it not more theirs, that by making the terms of their Communion so narrow have occasioned so many of their fellow-Protestants to dissent from them, as rendered a Toleration of them necessary to the publick peace? Nay, is it not theirs, that could, if they pleased, easily distinguish betwixt tolerating those that agree in the same Faith with them, and tolerating those that would obtrude all the Articles of the *Trent-Creed* upon them? But if the *Answerer* think, that a Toleration to Protestant Dissenters only, will strengthen the Popish Interest, it must be either because he thinks, that if no Toleration were granted them, they would all come over to the Communion of the Establish'd Church, or if a Toleration be granted them, they will many of them turn Papists. For the former, one would think so many years Experience might sufficiently convince any man, how weak such an Expectation is; for the latter, 'tis, if possible, a more groundless imagination than the former. I question whether the *Answerer* can produce one instance of that kind, of any Protestant Dissenter, even in the late Reign, turning Papist, much less, when they enjoyed liberty of Conscience.

But the *Answerer* proceeds.

' Before I reply to what is said concerning drawing over Dissenting Protestants from abroad, by this Bill of Indulgence; I shall propose this Question, ' Whether the granting Liberty of Conscience with a Sacramental Test, will not be as effectual to the peopling this Kingdom with English Conformists, as a general Toleration without restrictive Clauses to the planting of it with Scotch Dissenters?

Reply. The Question admits of a very easy and obvious Answer. That no English Conformists can pretend it to be any reasonable discouragement to them, to come and plant in this Kingdom, when their fellow Protestants are both inclined and in a capacity to join with them for their mutual defence against the Common Enemy. But, on the other hand, not only Scotch but English Dissenters, (nay English Conformists themselves, if they be wise) will have the less mind to come, if they see meer Bigotry so far prevailing against our plain Common Interest, as to obstruct the best measures that can be taken for our mutual defence, by setting the Protestant Interest upon too narrow and weak a Foundation.

Answerer. But to return, I presume, by what the Author says, concerning drawing over Protestant Dissenters from abroad, he cannot mean Foreigners, &c. He must therefore wholly, or more especially, design the Dissenting Protestants of Scotland.

Reply. The *Answerer* is much out in his conjecture. For Foreigners indeed, the Author did not there, as the *Answerer* well observes, intend them. But tho' he did not exclude the Dissenting Protestants of Scotland

land, (as there is no reason unless the *Answerer* think their company as dangerous as that of the *Irish* Papists) yet if he may freely speak his own mind, he chiefly intended those of *England*. For this *Toleration* itself can tempt none to leave *Scotland*, where their Religion is established: But this *Toleration*, without any restrictive *Clauses*, would probably encourage many to come over from *England*, when they should understand that they may more safely venture among the *Irish*, because the whole Protestant Interest is happily combined for their mutual preservation.

But let us hear what the *Answerer* has to say concerning the Protestant Dissenters of *Scotland*.

Answerer. In reference to these, I leave it to the serious consideration of every judicious and impartial Reader.

First, *Whether that Set among them, whose violent principles have unqualified them for Indulgence there, should be tolerated here? Can we reasonably expect, that those who are so turbulent in their own Country should be quiet in ours. Or that by their being transplanted into another soil, and by a kind and indulgent Cultivation of them, we may gather Figs off this sharpest sort of Thistles?*

Reply. I shall not insist on this witty Expression of the *Thistles*, tho' perhaps the *Answerer* had better have forbore it; if not out of reverence to the Scriptures, yet out of deference to the *Scotch* Nation, who not only bear the *Thistle* in their Arms, but have surrounded it with a dangerous Inscription, *Nemo me impune lacessit*. But I shall rather observe, that 'tis something doubtful whom the *Answerer* intends. I know none at present unqualified for Indulgence in *Scotland*, but those of the Episcopal Clergy, that refuse to swear to King *William*, and openly avow their adherence to *K. James*. But I suppose the *Answerer* does not intend them, by the *Thistles* he here speaks of, some would rather have them cultivated as good *Fig-trees*. If he mean the *Cameronians*, or *Mountaineers*, he need not be so much frightened with those monstrous creatures, for I can hear of few or none of them left in this Kingdom; and I suppose they will not be included in the *Bill* the Author pleads for: For if they retain their wonted Humour, they would start at the very name of a *Legal Indulgence*. But if the *Answerer* will understand the truth of the matter; those whom he seems to intend, were a people whom nothing but extreme Oppressions had rendered mad; and experience shews, that, quite contrary to the *Answerer's* reasoning, by lenity and kindness they are coming to their right senses again: So that 'tis hoped those very sharp *Thistles* will in a little time produce sweet *Figs*. I am sure that Regiment of them that is now in the King's Army has done very good Service against the *French*. And the whole party that encreased under their former severities, is now in *Scotland* almost dwindled away under the mildness of the present Government.

Answerer. Secondly, Whether the free and publick Exercise of Religion should be indulged to others of them, who have publickly declared our Church-Government to be Antichristian, and have solemnly sworn to extirpate Prelacy.

Reply. I suppose, for such as have solemnly sworn to Extirpate Prelacy, the *Answerer* will find, that there is scarce one in several hundreds of those for whom this Indulgence is desired, that will fall within that number. And I think I might say the same concerning those that have publickly declared their Church-Government Antichristian. To what good end then does the *Answerer* rake into those wounds that time has done so much to close? What if I should repeat to him all the severe Censures thrown on the Body of Protestant Dissenters, and the avowed designs of extirpating them declared in the many sanguinary Laws passed against them both in *England* and *Scotland*? what if I should remind him of those later ones in *Scotland*, that made it Capital to be present at their Meetings? what if I should tell him of all the publick writings of those of his party, that have not only openly arraigned us as

Schismatics, but Excluded us from the *Catholic Church*?

These are sure rigours, altogether as inexcusable on the other hand. But would these mutual Criminations have any tendency to unite our affections? Can either Party clear themselves from the guilt of many intemperate hearts? or should not any unchristian severities that are chargeable on either in former times, serve as Sea-marks to warn both of the danger of relapsing into those excesses of misguided Zeal, which all unprejudiced and moderate persons condemn them for? And should not all that wish for a better understanding between Protestants, rather study to bury such ungrateful passages on both hands, if possible, in perpetual silence?

Answerer. Thirdly, *Whether those that are the most moderate among them can, with any reason, expect, but that with the same measure they have meted to their Brethren, the Episcopal Clergy, in their own Country, it should be measured to them again, when they come to settle in this Kingdom.*

Reply. I perceive the *Answerer* did not well understand matters of Fact when he proposed this dangerous Question. For if, according to his own Rule, the Dissenting Ministers from *Scotland* may expect the same measure here, that is allowed to the Episcopal Clergy there, then they might preach in Parish-Churches, and enjoy the Revenues that belong to them, on no other terms than the Oath of Fidelity to the King, and their behaving themselves worthily in Doctrine, Life, and Conversation, without ever declaring their Judgment in the matters of Church-Government.

For on these very terms, do all the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, that were possess'd of publick Churches when the King accepted that Crown, continue, and are by Act of Parliament secured in the exercise of their publick Ministry; except those that were turned out for crimes wherein their Judgment, as Episcopal, is not concerned. But of these matters I shall have farther occasion to inform the *Answerer* more fully, who I perceive is under strange misapprehensions about them. Whereby it will evidently appear, how little occasion there was for the *Answerer's* concluding this Paragraph with those sharp words: 'So that if any Indulgence be granted, 'tis purly the result of our own charitable Inclinations, and a plain evidence to the World, that our just Resentment of their severity to others, has not alienated our affections from them.' For he will find 'tis not their severities in *Scotland*, but his mistakes about them, that have kindled these warm Resentments in the *Answerer*; and in too many others that have been imposed upon by groundless reports.

Answerer. Neither will this Indulgence probably, tend to the uniting of Protestants at home, as is too fully proved by Experience in *England*; where the present Toleration has not had that good effect; neither can we in reason expect it should be more successful here. For if it equally extend to all parties and dominions of Protestant Dissenters, their mutual jealousies of one another, and their respective endeavours to propagate their opinions, and to promote their temporal Interests, will naturally create great heats and animosities. But if the benefit of the Indulgence be unequally distributed, it will be so far from being a means of supporting, that it will considerably weaken the Government by disobliging all but those that are particularly encouraged and caressed.

Reply. The Author of the Case, in his Argument, evidently speaks of an union between Conforming and Dissenting Protestants, which he supposes this Bill would promote. And herein he supposes no more than what the Parliament of *England* did, who brought in this Bill there, as the most effectual means to unite all Protestants in affection: And sure this Bill must be a proper means to attain that end; if mens affections be best united, when they have no reasonable ground to apprehend any danger from one another.

But the *Answerer* seems to mistake him, as if he spake of the union of Dissenting Protestants among themselves. But let him understand it either way. "The contrary of this (he saith) is fully proved by experience in *England*." If he mean that the Bill of Indulgence in *England* has not united the affections of *Conformists* and *Non-Conformists*; 'tis easily replied, that tho' it have not wholly removed all the animosities between them, yet it has apparently lessened them. They can converse sociably, they live together more peaceably, and there is no doubt, much more of mutual love among them, than when the Protestant Dissenters were every moment in danger of having their persons imprisoned and their goods distrained and sold.

If he mean that the Bill of Indulgence in *England* has not united *Dissenting Protestants* among themselves. I suppose the *Answerer* is much mistaken. For those called *Presbyterians* and *Independents* never came nearer to an Union and Accommodation of their differences than since the Indulgence. 'Tis true, some other heats have arisen at *London* about the Explication of the Doctrine of Justification, as there have been no less warm disputes among those of the Established Church, about the Explication of a more Important Article, viz. That of the Trinity; but the Indulgence has no way contributed to the one more than the other. And as for this Kingdom, the *Answerer* must be a great stranger to it; if he think the Bill of Indulgence, here pleaded for, would probably occasion any jealousy among those for whom 'tis desired, or create any heat among them; they have many years lived in intire mutual Friendship, and as yet see no great hazard in their smaller differences becoming the fuel of any new flames, if others will not turn Incendiaries, and blow the Coals; so that this danger seems only a Bug-bear created by the *Answerer's* own Imagination.

Answerer. But, secondly, neither is this Indulgence so highly Reasonable as the Author pretends; as may appear by a particular consideration of the Arguments he makes use of to prove it.

For, first, as the early Zeal of the Dissenters in behalf of this Government, may entitle them to its protection; so it cannot be denied, but that they have enjoyed it ever since the Revolution, and have received more than ordinary marks of Royal Favour, partly by the free Liberty that is granted them throughout the Kingdom, &c. as also by his Majesty's bounty in allowing yearly, hitherto, a considerable Sum for the maintenance of their Ministers.

Reply. And does the *Answerer* think that he has refuted the Argument, by what rather confirms it? If the King has hitherto protected them, and augmented to their Ministers in *Ulster*, the Pension K. Charles the Second allowed them, as a mark of the Respect he had for their Fidelity and Affection; is it not reasonable that the continuance of the same Favour should be secured to them by Law, when they have done nothing to render themselves unworthy of it? It must doubtless appear so, unless the *Answerer* have a different Opinion of them, from what his Majesty has so often expressed, by whose approbation a Bill of Indulgence, in their Favour, (such as they now desire) was transmitted to the last Parliament here. But if there be any thing in this *Answer* to take off the force of this Argument, it must be this, That the Toleration the Dissenters have so long enjoyed, is as much as their Zeal and Fidelity can claim; so that they would have no ground to complain of the Government, tho' it should refuse to give them any security for the Continuance of it. And this seems to be the *Answerer's* sense, because in Reply to the second Reason drawn from the Indulgence granted to foreign Protestants, he observes, 'Tis only granted for seven Years, in hopes, after the Expiration of that Term, they would declare themselves Members of the Establish'd Church; but what if after those seven Years the French Churches in this Kingdom, choose rather to adhere to the Model of their own

Discipline and Worship; will the *Answerer* then think them unworthy of a renewed Legal Toleration? If not, what signifies his *Answer* to the Argument, That it is most reasonable to extend the same Favour to his Majesty, born Subjects, that we do to Foreigners. If he think them in that case unworthy of it, I would gladly know on what grounds he thinks so. What grand Crime would it be, if, after so many Years, those faithful Confessors of Christ should still prefer the model of their own Worship and Discipline, to any other; Would they therefore deserve to be treated here as they were in *France*; And whatever the *Answerer* may think of the forward Inclination of the French Protestants to their Church Government and Worship, all the World knows to whose Discipline and Worship their own is most conformable. And how far soever Temporal Interest engages the compliance of some of them, yet there are few of them, but if left to their free Liberty, would choose their own. And the most of their Ministers swallow the Re-ordination required of them, (how smoothly soever paliated) with great reluctancy, and not without some disgust against the Imposers of it.

Answerer. Thirdly, The Papists are not in equal Circumstances of publick Favour with our Dissenting Brethren; For as the Liberty they have in the Exercise of their Religion, was extorted from the Government by the pressing necessity of publick Affairs, so it is not confirmed to them by an act of Parliament, as this Indulgence is expected, and I suppose designed to be to Protestant Dissenters.

Reply. 'Tis not easy to perceive where the force of this *Answer* lies. For a publick Treaty is a considerable security to the Papists; and is it not then reasonable to grant, if possible, a fuller to Protestant Dissenters; when, as the *Answerer* himself insinuates, the one extorted it from the Government, in order to the suppressing their Rebellion: The other deserved it by their Assistance in the Reduction of this Kingdom. Is it not reasonable at least to make this small difference between those who have deserved so ill, and those that have deserved so well of the Government.

Answerer. Fourthly, The Experience that our Dissenting Brethren, have had of our Tenderness towards them heretofore, is a sufficient Argument and Security to them of our future Kindness.

Reply. We must beg the *Answerer's* pardon, if after so frequent Experience of the renewed Storms that fell on our Brethren in *England*, during the late Reigns, and of what we sometimes felt here in *Ireland*, whenever any Court-turn was to be served by the revival of penal Severities, we do not think a general Declaration of tenderness a sufficient Security to us from future persecution. Especially when we know not what a change, many Turns in publick Affairs may make in the Passions and Interests of Men. So that we cannot but apprehend a Legal Liberty more desirable and satisfying than an Arbitrary one, that is as easily recalled as granted. Tho' we must in Gratitude add, That none can repose a more entire confidence in his Majesty, and the present Government, than we do, on whose Justice and Goodness we can cheerfully rely, tho' some Mens Ill-will should obstruct this Effect of it.

Answerer. For we consider our mutual Agreement in the same Articles of Faith, and are glad to find this Author is pleased to declare, That the suppressing of Protestant Dissenters, by the strict Execution of Penal Laws, is a practice that has a just Odium left upon it. But are sorry that the just Odium left upon it among us, should be wholly confined to us, and that this practice should have no Censure nor Reflection cast upon it among our Neighbours. And 'tis strange the Author should say, that there is so apparent Contrariety in it to the mild and merciful Genius of our Holy Religion, seeing he cannot but know the time when it was an avowed doctrine, and a general practice among the Presbyterians and Independents, to bar the members of the Church of *England* from the free exercise of

divine Worship according to their Consciences. And it is strange that this practice should be so apparently contrary to our holy Religion, and have so mischievous Effects upon the publick peace here in this Kingdom, and yet be thought so great an Evidence of a Truly Christian Zeal, and so effectual an Instrument of publick Good in Scotland; and how possibly can our Author hope, That all Protestants are in this point come to a better Temper, than to gratifie their Enemies by ruining their Brethren, when there is too plain a Demonstration of the contrary; unless he be of Opinion, that what is a warm and sanguine Temper of Religion there, is to be esteemed the raging heat of a malignant Fever here.

Reply. I am glad the Answerer considers our Agreement in Faith; but am sorry we are no better agreed about matters of Fact, which were they indeed such as the Answerer represents them. I must own this a very good Argument *ad hominem* in respect of the Scots Presbyterians in this Kingdom. Tho' I must tell him, The Argument would not concern the Author of the Case at all, who would joyn with the Answerer in passing as severe a censure on those of Scotland, as he would do on any of the Episcopal persuasion that are guilty of the like severities, if this supposition of our Answerer were true. But if it be a very groundless charge against them founded on palpable mistakes about notorious matters of Fact, then I hope the Answerer will retract these unjust and harsh Censures, and will no more upbraid us with the severities of Scotland, or make them an objection against the Toleration which Dissenting Protestants desire in this Kingdom. And therefore to silence this clamor, and stop those misreports that have had so pernicious influence to raise these new jealousies among us, from the pretended practice of Scotland, I must refer the Reader to the following Letter, sent me by one that has good ground to understand the affairs of that Kingdom better than the Answerer.

Sir, I presume you will think your self obliged, on several accounts, to vindicate the Dissenters Case against the Answer, which I find publish'd this morning. And because the main strength of the exceptions against your Paper, seems to turn upon the hinge of a supposed severity practised in Scotland, against those of the Episcopal Perswasion there; I therefore send you a Memorial of the affairs of the Church of Scotland since the Revolution, penned upon an occasion wherein Interest as well as Honesty obliged the Authors to be just to Truth; together with an Abstract taken from the Original Archives of the Committee of Estates and Council of Scotland, containing a list of all the Episcopal Clergy turned out by the State in Scotland. And both these Papers, as to the matters of fact contained in them, being taken from the publick Records of that Nation, (and consequently being of as incontestable evidence and moral certainty as such things can well be) will, I hope, undeceive the minds of those whom mis-information has filled with such strange prejudice against the Dissenters here, because of the ill usage which those of the Episcopal Perswasion are supposed to receive in Scotland. I am content, if you think it needful, that both these Papers be printed: But since the present conjuncture renders it unfit your Answer should be delayed till that be done; in the mean while, for the satisfaction of such as are willing to be rightly informed, you may confidently, because truly, assert the following particulars, which shall be undeniably demonstrated.

1. That tho' all the Bishops of Scotland did in their Address to King James, upon his present Majesty's Descent into England, express their utmost abhorrence of that Descent; Yet they were all called by his Majesty's Letter to the Convention in Scotland, as well as the Peers and Commons of that Kingdom.

2. That they all unanimously deserted the said Convention upon the Settlement of the Crown on their Majesty's King William and Queen Mary. And tho' this was not the only, yet this was one main Reason why the Estates of Scotland threw them quite out.

3. All the Abettors of Viscount Dundee's Rebellion were, or pretended to be, of the Episcopal perswasion; as have also all those that have made any publick Commotions in that Kingdom, since this happy Revolution.

4. Yet, notwithstanding all this, there is not so much as one single man (much less any body of men) of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, who were in the possession of the Churches and publick Livings when King James abdicated, and forfeited, who has been, since King William's accession to the Throne, thrust out for any other Crime than either: 1. Not reading the Proclamation whereby King William and Queen Mary were declared King and Queen. Or, 2. For their not praying for their Majesties. Or, 3. For not swearing the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance. Or, 4. For such Immoralities as the Church of England as truly disallow as Presbyterians. 'Tis true indeed, before the Settlement of the Crown, and when there was no King in that Israel, a great many Ministers in the West were by the Rabble thrust from their Churches. And tho' none can excuse that illegal violence, yet none that considers the unparalleled Barbarities practised in Scotland under the former Reigns, and how greatly many of those Clergymen had prejudiced the people against them by the deep hand they had in those cruelties, can either much wonder at the rash violence of an enraged Rabble, or censure the Government, that they did not in these circumstances hazard the overturning the whole Revolution, by immediately resettling them in their Parishes against the grain of the people.

5. So far are they in Scotland, from exercising Severities against Men for their being Episcopal in their Judgment, That a great part of the Ministers of that Kingdom who enjoyed, not only the Protection of the Government, but the free and publick Exercise of their Ministry, together with the legally established Maintenance before the first of September last, were, or professed to be of the Episcopal Perswasion, and (which is very unusual) had not all that time so much as taken the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty. And yet of these, no more is required for their continuance in their Parishes, than that they take the said Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, and that they behave themselves worthily in Doctrine, Life, and Conversation; as appears by the Act of Parliament pass'd 16 July 1695. And accordingly, the London Gazette mentions a Thousand of them that have lately taken the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance. So that, The Non-Swearing Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, have been more tenderly dealt with, and much longer forborn, in hopes of bringing them to a Compliance with the King's Authority, than the Non-Swearing Episcopal Clergy of England and Ireland; whose deprivation I suppose the Answerer will not call a Persecution on the Account of Religion.

6. All such may be in Scotland admitted for the Future to Ecclesiastical Employments and Benefices, who have the general Qualifications requisite in all Ministers of the Gospel, who give their assent to the Confession of Faith, and who take the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance; provided, they apply to Church-Judicatories for Admission, and promise their Submission to Presbyterian Government, which those of the Episcopal Perswasion did in their own Formula offer to do. And thus, even those that were turned out by the Rabble, may be received and admitted to vacant Churches.

7. As to Civil Employments, no Man is incapacitated for them who takes the Oaths of Allegiance and Assurance, whatever his Judgment be, for or against Episcopal Government. (The Assurance is no more than a Declaration which those that take the Oath of Fidelity, are to make, that they account King William a Rightful King, and not an Usurper, and swear Fidelity to him as King in that Sense.) If any Persons

in Scotland ever were *Episcopal* in their Judgment, the late and present *Dukes of Queensborough*, the *Earl of Lithgow*, *Viscount Tarbet*, *Earl of Broadalbin*, *Master of Stairs*, and many others were so, who have enjoyed, or now actually possess, the greatest Places of Honour, Trust, and Profit in that Kingdom: So that, upon the whole, the *Episcopal Dissenters* in Scotland, have much more favour there, than the *Protestant Dissenters* of Ireland ever pretended to desire. You may rely on the Truth of this Account, sent you by

S I R,
Yours, &c.

For the two *Papers* referred to in this Letter, since they fully justify the Truth of all that's here asserted; they shall, if it be needful, in a little time be published; for the satisfaction of all that are willing to see these matters set in their true Light; and I hope the *Answerer* will grant, that how faulty soever both have been in former severities (tho' I think 'tis apparent those of the Established Church have been far greater) yet in this Revolution, Scotland has set them a very commendable Example of Moderation; which if they will once come up to an equal, we shall give them leave to censure any thing that may yet seem too hard in their *Constitution*, of which I know few Parties that ever were altogether free, when they got the upper hand.

Answerer. Fourthly, As concerning the Establishing Toleration by a Law: The Reason why some may be against it, is not (as our Author invidiously insinuates) that they wait for a more favourable opportunity to revive the former Severities against them; but that they may still have it in their power to shew their Tenderneſs to their Dissenting Brethren, and may prevent, or repress, the Misdemeanors that some Non-conformists may possibly be guilty of, if they had a Legal Toleration. As also, that they may secure the Established Religion they profess, against the dangerous Consequences they fear from a general Indulgence.

Reply. There is no such satisfying Mark of Tenderneſs to the Protestant Dissenters, as the giving them this Legal Security. 'Tis hard to forbear some Jealousy of those that will still hold a severe Lash in their hand.

But what does the *Answerer* mean by those Misdemeanors, which he would have it in their power to repress. If he mean Matters of meer Non-conformity, which he would have still a Power left to repress; then we have but too just occasion to suspect the Designs of those that would obstruct the Indulgence. If he mean any other Misdemeanors, a Legal Indulgence will not disable the Civil Magistrate from repressing them, much less from securing the Established Religion from any Danger that a Toleration of Protestants can expose it to.

Answerer. Lastly, As to what he saith concerning his Majesty's Declaration, I desire this Author to consider more seriously; whether there be not some others in the three Kingdoms, besides the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, to whom one great end of his Majesty's Declaration is yet unaccomplished; and whether there be a Law made to cover the Protestant Episcopal Clergy in Scotland from Persecution, on the account of Religion.

Reply. I doubt not the *Answerer* is by this time satisfied, to how little purpose this *Question* is asked, and what *Reply* may be given to it. For no Protestants are persecuted in Scotland on the Account of Religion, either by the Civil or Ecclesiastical Government. Nay, the Meetings of the Episcopal Clergy have long been undisturbed, tho' they refused to own the King's Authority. But sure our *Answerer* cannot expect there should be a Law to tolerate those, that will not own the Civil Authority, by which they are tolerated,

and were the Dissenters here so disaffected to the Government, they could have no pretence to desire a legal Toleration.

The Second thing desired by Protestant Dissenters is, That there be no such Clauses annex'd to this Bill, as would disable them from serving their King and their Country.

As to this, the *Answerer* saith, 'That in plain Terms, 'tis no more than this; that whereas Ease to tender Consciences is the only thing they formerly desired, they now claim it as their due to be admitted also into all honourable and profitable Employments; and without these, whatever Ease be given to their Consciences, 'tis to be feared they will have no quiet in their Minds.

Reply. The Protestant Dissenters of Ireland do not (as the *Answerer* seems to insinuate here) seek any new Privilege or Favour, but only are unwilling to have a new Yoke put upon them. They claim nothing as their due, in Reference to the Civil Government, but to be treated as dutiful Subjects, without having any Mark of publick Infamy, and Distrust put upon them by a new Law. And if any should attempt to do so, they may well forgive the Protestant Dissenters, that tho' they have ease to their Consciences, yet they should have no great quiet in their Minds. For they have their Lives and Fortunes to secure, of which 'tis no wonder, if they should be fearful, when they see some Men so unwilling to consult our common Safety, in a Kingdom liable to so frequent Returns of fatal Irish Rebellions.

The Author of the Case proposed several Arguments, to shew the Inexpediency of any such Test, as shall disable Protestant Dissenters from serving their King and their Country. As,

First, The Sacramental Test in England was chiefly designed against the Papists. To which the *Answerer* replies, 'That the Dissenters are included in the Body of the Act.

Reply. None doubts but that Act enjoins the Sacramental Test. But the Preface, as well as Title of the Act, shews, that the End proposed, was the preventing Dangers from Popish Recusants; which End would be sufficiently attained by the Declaratory Test against Popery in that Act, tho' the Sacramental Test were left out.

But the *Answerer* adds, 'If the Zeal of the English Dissenters against Popery, in the late times, has not exempted them from a Sacramental Test, our Dissenting Brethren in this Kingdom, cannot with modesty expect, that their late Services should entitle them to any such Immunities.

Reply. Even the Zeal of English Dissenters did, in his Majesty's Judgment, deserve such a Favour, as the Removal of that Test there, which he moved his first Parliament to, in his Speech to them: But the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland who were not hampered with this Clog, as those of England were, had the opportunity of shewing their Zeal more remarkably; and it were hard to put that very Clog on them now, to our freedom from which, we must in part ascribe it, that this whole Kingdom was not then entirely lost.

Secondly, The Author of the Case argues. That such a Test for disabling Protestant Dissenters for any publick Services, is against the common Protestant Interest of Ireland.

This Argument the *Author* more largely insisted on, than the *Answerer* seems willing, either to repeat or consider. However, let us hear what he objects:

Answerer. Our Circumstances indeed vastly differ (as he saith) from those of England. For here the Established Church is more in danger than there, by Protestant Dissenters as well as by the common Enemy. In England one unmixed People does compose the Body of the Nation, &c. Here we are made up of several Nations, and there is a daily Accession of great Numbers from a Neighbouring Kingdom

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dom of whom the meanest sort are generally of a different Communion, tho' the Gentry, and Nobility, &c. are generally Conformists.

Reply. The *Author* of the *Case* argues from the common Protestant Interest of Ireland; that since the Papists in this kingdom are Ten, or perhaps Twenty, to one Protestant, 'tis therefore necessary to give the Protestant Interest the widest Basis here, by excluding no Protestants from publick Service. That is, if a Thousand Men have Ten or Twenty Thousand Enemies to secure themselves against, 'tis against their Interest to divide their Strength, by disabling Three Hundred of them from being employed in any publick Post for their common Defence: But the *Answerer*, instead of making any Reply to this, only tells us what he thinks to be most conducive to the separate Interests of one party of Protestants; as if the separate Interest of that party, were the Interest of the whole Body of Protestants; or at least, were of far greater Value and Consideration, than their common Interest.

But why may not those of the Established Church secure their common Interest, as Protestants, without any Danger to their separate Interests, as a distinct party?

While all Protestants that deserve well of the Government meet with Encouragement and Favour, their united strength will be their impregnable security; and yet since all Employments are in the disposal of the Government; and since the Established Church, has so absolutely the Ascendant in *England*, there is no ground to fear the Government here will be so lavish and imprudent in bestowing their favours, as to encourage the Protestant Dissenters to any degree, that can render them dangerous to the Established Church, or put it into their Power to act any thing to her prejudice. And yet 'tis most reasonable the Government should encourage them so far, as is truly conducive to our common Security; so that there can be no difficulty in according the common Protestant Interest, with the particular Interests of the Established Church; nay, those can be no other way so effectually secured, unless they think their own Strength alone a sufficient ballance to that of the *Irish* Papists. But I am sorry to find, that the *Answerer* should reckon the Established Church to be in so great danger of those, that have so lately helped to restore her to her present safety and grandeur: Why should he so soon mistake those as pernicious enemies, who in the late Troubles were found to be so hearty Friends? I hope these are only his own narrow Sentiments concerning the Protestant Dissenters, and that all moderate Conformists entertain a more just and charitable Opinion of them, having never in this Kingdom had the least ground for such peevish Surmises, as these of the *Answerer*.

Answerer. 'Tis possible indeed, as he observes, that the *Irish* may be more numerous, if there should be a general peace; and I may add, the Papists will probably grow much more numerous, if there should be a general Indulgence; and therefore notwithstanding our *Author's* opinion, we cannot think fit to give the Protestant Interest a wider Basis here than it has in *Holland*, &c. Where all Protestants are not equally capable of Employments without Religious Tests.

Reply. The *Answerer* has been oft told, 'tis no General Indulgence the *Author* of the *Case* pleads for; and therefore, he reasons here to no purpose, unless he imagine, that the Papists will grow more numerous by a Toleration to those Protestants, whose Faith is the same with that of the Established Church; and does he think, that we can easily digest such a Paradox as this, upon his bare Assertion? And for the Case of *Holland*, which the *Answerer* would here parallel with our own, and where he tells us, there are Religious Tests. 'Tis easily replied, there is a plain disparity. For besides, that their Tests run upon doctrinal differences; 'tis evident that those who adhere

to the Protestant Religion as there established, are a large Body, to which those that are excluded from publick service bear no proportions. And consequently, there is no great danger to the State from such a Test; whereas, here the Papists are a Hundred to Ten, in respect of the whole body of Protestants; so that to disable all dissenting ones, were to cut off from the common Protestant Interest, about a third part of its strength, when the whole is rather too little. And the *Answerer* has as yet given us no other reason for doing so, but his own groundless Fears of a danger, which, as I have shewn him, if it were real (as it is not) may be easily obviated by the Government.

The *Author* having put the Case of another *Irish* Rebellion; the *Answerer* tells us, 'There is reason to believe the Consideration of the Common Safety, and the gratitude of Dissenters for their Indulgence, would engage them to shew an equal Zeal as they did before; tho' they should not be wholly on equal Terms with those of the Established Church, since they could not reasonably hope for so kind a Treatment from the Papists, as from them.'

Reply. The Protestant Dissenters are not so vain, as ever to expect in this Kingdom, to be wholly on equal Terms with those of the Established Church. But can he expect, that any Gentlemen among them, in such a Case as is here proposed, would raise Forces for others to command them, or their Tenants cheerfully rise with those on whom they have no dependance, and in whom they can as little trust; or can he think, that such Gentlemen will cheerfully rise and command Forces in such an Exigency, when instead of any prospect of having their Services considered or rewarded, they must rather expect to pay 500 l. for their Presumption. What encouragement is this to induce Men to venture their Lives and Fortunes to save their Country, when they are in hazard of being punished for endeavouring it: Nay, who does he think would be tempted to stay in a Country where a danger from a common Enemy is so great, and where he is put under such a disability of doing any thing considerable to prevent it?

Thirdly, For the Argument drawn from the *Parliament of England*, the *Author* urges it no farther than as a probable presumption, that they thought no other Tests needful to qualify men for Employments in this Kingdom than they there enjoin. And if they had thought the *Sacrament Test* needful here, they could easily have added it, as they have the *Test* against Popery mentioned in the same Act. For they were not ignorant, that it was not in force here. And against this there is nothing to the purpose in the *Answerer's* Reply.

Fourthly, For the *Author's* Argument to prove the Test unreasonable. *Viz.* That it will put the Protestant Dissenters into worse Circumstances than they are at present, the *Answerer* seems to grant it; but suggests on the other hand, 'That a Toleration without such a Test, will put the Members of the Established Church into worse Circumstances than they are in at present; therefore since the Conformists appeared as early, and with equal Zeal, for this Government as the Dissenters, the former (he thinks) will have reason to think themselves severely dealt with, if no other way can be found of rewarding the service of Dissenters, without hazarding the most valuable Rights of the Conformists, by admitting the Dissenters into such Offices as may give them power and opportunity to alter the whole frame of the present Church-Government.'

Answer. I cannot imagine how the granting Dissenting Protestants what they now desire, should put the Established Church into worse Circumstances than they are now in; when the Dissenters desire no more than that things may continue in the same peaceable and amicable posture they are in, or (what is the same) that

that a Legal Toleration may secure to them what they now enjoy thro' the favour of the Government. And I would fain know what Rights of the Church have been hazarded since this Revolution; unless the *Answerer* supposes it the peculiar Right of *Conforming Protestants*, that none should serve the Government but themselves. But why may not the Government employ a few Protestant Dissenters in a few inferior Offices (as they now do) without admitting them into so many and so important ones, as should give them any power or opportunity to alter the present Church-Government? These things are easily consistent; and the *Answerer* knows well enough, there is no ground to fear, lest the Government here should so far deviate from the measures of England, as to be guilty of so great a mistake, as to put the Dissenters into any Capacity of overturning the Established Church. Much less need the *Answerer* fear that the *Conformist* Officers at Derry, Iniskillen, Crum, &c. should apprehend themselves wronged, that those who were embarked with them in the same Cause, should have some small share with them in the Rewards of their Courage. None that are generous enough to value true merit would envy the just recompence of it. And I perceive the *Answerer* himself has so much of that good quality, as not to think it altogether inconvenient that such persons should be excepted from the proposed Test. But I am sorry that he should think it convenient to disable all Dissenting Protestants for the future, from imitating the commendable Zeal and Courage of their Brethren; as if he either envied the Reputation they have acquired, or imagined there would never be any more occasion for their assistance to preserve their Country.

For the Argument drawn from the *Unfitness of the Sacrament Test*; I need only suggest the following particulars to invalidate the *Answerer's* Replies.

1. The Government may have occasion to employ many in publick Offices (especially military ones), and apparently does employ many, that should be rather, according to the Rubrick, *debarred* from the Sacrament, than thus *driven* to it.

2. If those be the fittest to be employed by the State, that give the greatest Evidence of their Piety to Almighty God; then I suppose the *Answerer* will allow us to estimate the Piety of the Established Church, by that of those who enjoy Civil and Military Preferments in it. And then I hope also, that such should not be excluded from this *Privilege*, who give equal Evidences of their Piety with any of their Fellow-Subjects.

3. To make the different *Mode* of receiving the Sacrament, such a *Test* is to make it the Engine of a State-party; and consequently a means to divide the affections of those whom the Sacrament itself should unite in mutual Love.

4. It will no way justify the reasonableness of making the different *Mode* of receiving the *Test* of all Offices in the State; because the Interest of Religion is little concerned in it, and 'tis but comparatively a *trivial* thing.

For the more *trivial* it is, the less weight should any wise Government lay upon it, and the more willing should they be to leave Men to their Liberty about it.

But, says the *Answerer*, 'Why should any separate for so trivial a matter, and why should the State employ those that refuse to give so trivial and inconsiderable a mark of their compliance with it's Orders?'

Reply. The *Answerer* sure cannot be ignorant, that when these different Modes of worship, are called *trivial*, 'tis in respect of their *Intrinsic Importance*, not in respect of the *Consciences* of those that scruple them. Now that may be in itself an *inconsiderable thing*, which yet the Conscience of a wise Man may for fear of sinning not dare to comply with. For instance, the

Eating or not Eating of Blood, is comparatively a small and trivial matter. And yet many Men, no way inferior to the *Answerer* in either Learning or Wisdom, have thought the *Eating of Blood* unlawful among Christians themselves; now let us suppose the Number of such were as considerable in the Kingdom, as that of Protestant Dissenters is, would it be any way becoming the prudence of the Government to make this trivial difference the Test of a State-party? would it be a fit Law for the wisdom of a Nation to enact, *That none should be admitted to serve their King and their Country, that scruple the Eating of a black Pudding.* And yet the Interest of the State would be as much concerned in the decision of this Question, as that of the Church, and of real Religion in the other. There are indeed some, whose Judgment has that latitude, that they could receive the Sacrament, either Kneeling, Sitting, or Standing. But there are many, no way inferior for Wisdom or Integrity, (whatever the *Answerer* insinuates to the contrary) who think themselves obliged to receive in the posture more suitable to a religious Feast, and really scruple *Kneeling* in the Act of Receiving, tho' they either kneel or stand, at the solemn worship offered before and after. I shall not here either espouse their Opinion, or examine the grounds of it, but only infer how unreasonable a stress those lay on a dubious Rite, that is comparatively of so small moment, who would render all those unserviceable to their Country, and thereby debar them from the common rights of all dutiful and well-affected Subjects, who cannot comply with it. Whereas often the best of Men are prone to scruple what the worst can without any difficulty swallow.

Lastly, the *Author* argues, *That the Established Church will be no way endangered by the Indulgence.*

To which the *Answerer* replies, 'That tho' the Honours and Revenues of the Clergy are secured to them; yet none can foresee the difficulties, the *Conforming Clergy* may possibly contest with, in asserting the Rights of the Church, if Non-*Conformists* were qualified for Civil-Offices.'

Reply. The Non-*Conformists* have been both before and ever since the Revolution qualified for them, and yet the Clergy have met with no opposition in asserting the Rights of the Church; and I agree with the *Answerer*, that no wise Man can foresee any difficulties they are in danger of meeting with for the future.

But the *Answerer* adds; 'besides, we are far less concerned for the security of our Temporal Interest than for the Establishment of our ancient holy and peaceable Religion.'

Reply. If the Establishment of their ancient, holy, and peaceable Religion be the great matter the *Answerer* is concerned for, those who desire the Toleration will openly declare their embracing the same Religion and Faith with them. And for the other matters in difference, we must beg the *Answerer's* pardon, if we think that 'tis chiefly temporal Interest has hitherto rendered some men so deaf to all Proposals for an accommodation of them.

I am glad to find, that the *Answerer* not only owns the good services of the Dissenters in this Kingdom, but declares *he would not exclude them from a capacity of concurring to preserve their Country again.* But 'tis strange how he should think they would be in the same circumstances (if a like juncture should happen) to serve their King and Country tho' not legally qualified for Offices. For they did not then run any risque of severe penalties by commanding the Forces they raised, as now they would do. Their hands were then loose, whereas now they will be tied up, and a *Legal Padlock* clapt on the swords of all that have interest enough to bring men into the Field.

For what was said of the peaceable behaviour of Protestant Dissenters, in this Kingdom, since the *Answerer* does not deny it; why should he go about to detract from it, by imputing it to their want of opportunity to shew

shew their turbulency and disaffection to the Government? For *Scotland*, I have already shewn him his mistakes about their present practice there. For *England*, if he refer to the *Civil Wars*, he has been often told, they were begun by *Conformists*, with whom it was no wonder if the persecuted Non-Conformists did concur, to be sheltered from their Persecutors. And for their Principles, in reference to Civil Government, I would desire the *Answerer* to shew me any difference between those contained in the XXXIX *Articles*, and in the *Assembly's Confession of Faith*.

The *Answerer* concludes, *That no Motives ought to prevail on them to make such large Concessions to the Dissenters, as will in all probability shake the foundations of the Established Church.*

Reply. Nor are any such large Concessions desired. But I hope the *Answerer* does not take it for one of the foundations of the Established Church, that none should serve the Government but themselves. For if he do, nothing can in this Kingdom so probably shake the Established Church, as the making its foundation too narrow, and nothing can so effectually strengthen it, as the making it a little wider, to comprehend those whom, in this Case, interest, as well as gratitude, will oblige to support it.

All I shall add, in reference to the *Answerer* and all others that are of his opinion in this matter, is this; if what is here suggested, do not convince him of the necessity and reasonableness of granting to the Protestant Dissenters a Toleration without this Test; yet the Protestant Dissenters do at least desire, that a Toleration with it may not be obtruded upon them as a favour. For to allude to the *Answerer's* Expressions concerning it; such a Toleration they think would be as prejudicial to their health, as 'tis distasteful to their palates; and to force it on them, would be to act like those churlish Parents, *that when their Children ask for Bread, give them a Stone; and when they ask for Fish, give them a Serpent.*

Since the writing this Paper, I have seen another, (which is only a Transcript of the second part of the *Answer*, with Enlargements, indeed, but little or no Amendments) entitled, *The Case of the Dissenters of Ireland considered, in reference to the Sacramental Test.* But since there is little occurs in it that is material, more than what has been already examined in the *Answer*, I shall only add the following Reflections on it;

1. The Established Church in *Ireland* can never be in any real danger from Protestant Dissenters, while *Ireland* is in such entire dependance on *England*; and nothing can be done *here* but under the conduct and controul of the Government *there*. Nay, the Established Church will be much more hazarded than secured by narrowing the common Protestant Interest here. So that both the *Answerer* and the *Considerer*, from their eager concern to obviate an imaginary and improbable, almost wholly overlook a real and certain danger.

2. The *Considerer* seems ill employed in reviving these common, but groundless, jealousies concerning Protestant Dissenters here. He does not indeed, as the *Answerer*, call those he is jealous of, by their own name of *Scots*, but out of certain tenderness styles them *British*. But whereas he takes a peculiar pleasure in repeating the out-worn story of the Solemn League and Covenant (as if the *Answerer* had not said enough of it). I would gladly, for once, ask him, whether the most intemperate heats of the *Scots* Covenanters, ever came to that extravagant height as the zeal of the Episcopal Party in that Kingdom, when they made it death to preach, or even to Pray, in a House with five more present than those of the Family? And why should these Gentlemen then delight to rake such matters as these out of the Grave of Oblivion, in which they have lain so long, when they know that Recriminations are so obvious, and may be made to so great advantage? since Time and Experience have done so

much to mature the Judgments, and mellow the Tempers of men on both sides, to more of Wisdom and Peace; why should so much pains be taken to blow up those sparks that are almost wholly extinct? And whereas the *Considerer* starts a new suspicion from the *Assembly's Catechism*, which he tells us, declares, *That a false Worship is not to be tolerated, and that they account that of the Established Church to be such.*

To remove this bug-bear also out of the way; I need do no more than acquaint him, that 'tis only a toleration of a false Religion that the *Assembly* accounts a breach of the second Command. But they never accounted that of the Established Church to be such (as the *Considerer* here very groundlessly asserts); Nay, the Protestant Dissenters are ready to give the highest assurance of the contrary, possible, by subscribing its doctrinal Articles of Religion. Nor do the Dissenters desire any other toleration for their own worship than what they would think themselves obliged in Conscience to give to all their fellow-Protestants. So that this Stumbling-block is easily removed out of the *Considerer's* way.

3. The *Considerer* has discovered the mystery of Church-Politicks in the Framing of that Act in *England*, which enjoins the Sacrament-Test, the specious Title whereof is, only to prevent dangers from *Papish Recusants*; but it seems the real Intent was, to choke the Dissenters as well as them.

4. The *Considerer* need not have followed the *Answerer*; in boasting of the inclination of *French* Protestants to their worship, when in this Kingdom there are four or five Churches that adhere to their own, tho' under all possible discouragements, and but one that embrace *their's*, tho' drawn to it by the lure of publick maintenance.

5. 'Tis a new way of mercy to Dissenters to cure the Errors of their minds, by laying the dangerous Temptation before them of counteracting their Judgment or their Interest. But sure the established Church would have small Ground to boast of those Proselytes, who flee to her only to repair their broken Fortunes. If the *Considerer* be for rousing us to the Consideration of our Seruples by new Penalties, there is no Argument so awakening as the old one of Fire and Faggot, or the modern one of *French* dragooning.

6. If the Sacrament Test be intended as such a happy Expedient, to discriminate the good from the bad, it seems to have been hitherto but ill apply'd.

7. The Author of the Case is as much against making sitting, as kneeling or standing, the only posture of those that are admitted to the Lord's-Table, and thinks it should not come under any of those narrow Inclosures.

8. For the Mode of receiving, the *Considerer's* Arguments run all upon a wrong Supposition, that whatsoever is accounted a thing of inconsiderable importance in Religion, should be therefore accounted indifferent; so that all this mighty noise of the Churches power, in determining indifferent things, (which it seems we must grant for fear of bidding farewell to all Government in Church and State) will signify little; for there are many things that are comparatively of small moment, which yet a good man dare not counteract his Judgment in. And in such things all prudent Church-Governours should, in imitation of the Apostle's advice, exercise Forbearance and Tendernefs, see *Rom. xiv.* And such dubious matters, are of all others most unfit to make such publick Tests of. For those Tests are only snares to keep out those whose Consciences are truly fearful of sin, and to let in those whose Stomachs (as the *Considerer* speaks) are not so tender and squeamish. Tho' on the other hand, I am sorry to find the *Considerer* so severe on the doctrine of Occasional Communion; for I take those Protestants who can occasionally communicate both with the Established Church and with the Dissenters, to be the most judicious, as well as the most moderate persons, and most likely to be the happy Instruments of healing those Breaches,

which persons of narrower judgment on either hand do unhappily widen.

9. If the Considerer think the Dissenters separation so *mischievous* to the souls of men, and be more concerned to prevent their seduction, than to secure the temporal Interest of the Clergy, he should be much more earnest against the Indulgence itself than for the Sacrament-Test. Whereas he seems freely willing to grant the former, that he may hook in the latter. But I hope he will find that this toleration will no way increase Errors or Irreligion among the People; nor need any that diligently feed their Flocks fear others stealing their hearts from them. And if our Author be so zealous to put a period to separation, he need not reduce himself from Episcopal Grandure to Apostolical Poverty, 'tis but making things *necessary* the only *Terms of Communion*, and leaving things *necessary* indifferent, and both *Peace* and *Charity* would easily be restored. And all this may be done without retrenching either the Dignity or Revenues of any of the Clergy.

10. If the Considerer is not offended that a few Dissenters now enjoy the Effects of his Majesty's favour, he need not fear that the Toleration (as 'tis desir'd)

would open a Door to let the whole Party in; he may very well trust the prudence of the Government to dispence those favours to them, with as moderate and sparing a hand for the future as they have done hitherto.

11. The Considerer should have been more ingenuous than to suggest, that the Author of the Case ascribed to Dissenters alone the *preserving this Nation from ruin*, when he never speaks more of them, than that they concurred with the Conformists in doing it.

Lastly, Since the Considerer very kindly professes, that if a Medium can be found to secure the Church and yet content the Dissenters, he will not be against it; we thankfully own his moderation therein; for if we were not perswaded, that all the favour the Dissenters desire, is fully consistent with the security of the Established Church, we should never presume to request or expect it from a Parliament, whose Honourable Members are almost all of that Communion. But if what we propose, will truly unite and strengthen the Protestant Interest, we may hope it will be favourably received by those who in all other Cases express so hearty a Zeal for it.



REVEREND SIR,

LETTER
CONCERNING THE
Pretended Infallibility
OF THE
Romish CHURCH.

REVEREND SIR,

I Have perused with much pleasure your plain and solid Discourses concerning *Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, and Worshipping of Images*. I am satisfied, that they carry sufficient Light and Evidence for the Conviction of all those of the *Romish* Persuasion, that read them with an unprejudiced Mind. But 'tis easy to foresee, that this cannot be expected from them, while they are prepossessed with a strong but groundless conceit, *That God has set up in his Church a living and infallible Judge of Controversies here on Earth; and that the Romish is that Catholick Church in which this supreme unerring Tribunal is erected*. It seems therefore highly necessary, in order to the disposing them for an impartial consideration of the Arguments that are offer'd against these particular Doctrines of their Church, which you have undertaken to refute, to overturn this vain Pretension to *Infallibility*, that so visibly tends to harden them in their grossest Errors against all Attempts for their Conviction. For in vain do we endeavour to expose the particular Errors of the *Romish* Church to the view of her Profelytes, while they blindly submit their Judgments to her's from a confident persuasion, *that 'tis impossible for her to Err at all*. I shall therefore endeavour to remove this grand Obstacle of their Conversion out of the way, by shewing (as briefly as I can) the *Unreasonableness and Absurdity*, and the *mischievous and pernicious Consequences* of the Claim which that Church has so long set up, of being *Infallible in all her Decisions in Matters of divine Faith*. And to that end, I shall endeavour to shew,

I. *That there is no Ground from the holy Scriptures to suppose, that God has erected such a Living infallible Judge of Controversies in matters of divine Faith here on Earth, to whose Decisions all Christians owe an absolute Submission.*

II. *That the asserting such an Infallible Tribunal, and Judge on Earth in Controversies of Religion, is a false and pernicious Principle, that subverts the very Foundation of the Christian Religion.*

III. *That the Asserters of this Infallible Tribunal entertain such Contradictory Opinions concerning it, as render this Principle as insignificant and useless, as 'tis false and pernicious.*

IV. *That on Supposition, there were such an Infallible Tribunal, the Church of Rome has, of all others, the least pretension to engross this privilege of Infallibility to themselves.*

V. *That the Church of Rome's having made use of this Pretension to justify all the Cruelties she exercises against those that dissent from her Decisions, has thereby furnished us with a new and demonstrative Argument against the Infallibility she so confidently pretends unto.*

And if these Assertions be made good, it may be reasonably hop'd, that those of the *Romish* Persuasion may be more easily brought to think, That that Church has run into many other particular Errors, when she has run into so notorious a one as this, of laying a false

and groundless Claim to so vast a Privilege, as that of an *Exemption from all Possibility of erring at all*.

I shall therefore briefly treat of the several Heads I have laid down in their Order; And,

I. I shall shew, *That we have no ground from the Holy Scriptures to suppose, that God has constituted such a Living infallible Judge of Controversies in matters of divine Faith here on Earth, to whose Decision all Christians owe an absolute Submission.*

Had any such Living Judge been constituted by God in his Church on Earth (whether a single Person or any Assembly of Men) for deciding all matters of divine Faith; were the Decisions of such a Judge infallible, and to be receiv'd with an implicit Faith, and were there to be a perpetual Succession of such as should be vested with this high Authority, and endued with this glorious Privilege of *Infallibility*, we have all possible reason to expect, that those Holy Scriptures (which were written on purpose to make us wise to Salvation) should clearly inform us, *who this infallible Judge is*; that all true Christians might know whose Judgment they are to consult, and whose Decisions they are to receive and stand to in all controverted Articles of Religion. This is a matter of so vast Consequence, and absolute Necessity for the direction of all Christians, and for the prevention and cure of all pernicious Errors, that if there be such a perpetual Living Oracle in the Church, we may justly look for the plainest Declarations concerning it in those Inspired Writings. And therefore if we find, that the Holy Scriptures make no mention of such an Unerring Judge, give no Direction at all for continuing a Succession of such from Age to Age, lay down no Characters by which we may know and distinguish such an Unerring Judge from false Pretenders, nor give us any Charge to bear or receive his Decision, their bare Silence in a matter of so unspeakable Moment as this, is instead of a thousand Arguments, that there is no such divine Constitution at all.

I know indeed their Controversial Writers are wont to amuse their ignorant Profelytes, by alledging some Arguments for this *Infallible Tribunal* from the Holy Scriptures. But the truth is, their Arguments from thence are so frivolous and weak, that we can hardly think they are sincere in proposing them. And a brief Consideration of them will be sufficient to shew, that they can never bear the weight of so vast Pretensions as these.

Among the Passages of Holy Scripture which they allege, we may justly place in the first Rank the remarkable words of our Blessed Saviour to the Apostle Peter, *Matth. xvi. 18, 19. I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.*

Now to shew, how little Countenance this famous Passage gives to the pretensions of the *Romish* Church to *Infallibility*, I would only enquire, *Whose Infallibility they would pretend to prove from this Place?* Is it the Pope's, or a General Council's, or both; or the *Infallibility* of the *diffusive Body* of those whom they call (tho'

(tho' by a notorious contradiction in the very terms) Roman Catholics?

I know indeed, the great Zealots for the Papal Infallibility draw their Capital Proofs for it from this Place.

But they have these several things to prove,

1. That our blessed Saviour, by these words, constituted St. Peter alone the infallible Judge of Controversies to the Christian Church.

2. That St. Peter is to have a Successor in this Privilege in every Age.

3. That this Successor is the Bishop of Rome.

But how untowardly they go about the proving these Particulars, will appear in what follows:

1. They must prove, That our Blessed Saviour, by these words, constituted St. Peter alone the Infallible Judge of Controversies in all matters of divine Faith.

But that no such thing can be prov'd from these words, will fully appear, if we consider the two following Particulars:

1. Those of the Romish Church declare themselves oblig'd to expound the Holy Scriptures according to the unanimous Consent of the Fathers. But now the Fathers generally expound these words not of St. Peter's person; but of the Confession that he then made, That Jesus was Christ the Son of the Living God. This fundamental Truth, the Fathers suppose to be the Rock on which the Church is built, and against which the Gates of Hell should never prevail. Now this signifies nothing to prove, that St. Peter is hereby constituted the Infallible Judge of all matters of divine Faith. So that by their own Rule of Interpretation, this Text makes nothing for their purpose.

2. Tho' we should suppose, that our Blessed Saviour here speaks of St. Peter's person; yet 'tis evident, that he is not hereby constituted the sole infallible Judge in matters of divine Faith.

For there is no Authority here ascrib'd to St. Peter, but what is elsewhere ascrib'd to the rest of the Apostles. If our Saviour here calls St. Peter the Rock on which he will build his Church, on the account of this excellent Confession of his Faith; so all the Apostles and Prophets, are said elsewhere to be the Foundation on which the Church is built, Christ himself being the chief corner Stone. Eph. ii. 20. The same Power of Loosing and Binding, which he here gives to St. Peter he elsewhere gives to the rest of the Apostles, Matth. xviii. 18. If he here gives St. Peter the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, so does he elsewhere give it to all his Apostles, when he constitutes them Stewards in his House. Nay, tho' we should suppose (as some learned Expositors do) that this Expression imports the peculiar Privilege that St. Peter should have of first preaching the Gospel both to Jews and Gentiles; this signifies nothing to prove his being constituted the supreme infallible Judge of all Controversies in Religion. Had the Disciples understood these words concerning such a transcendent Privilege conferr'd on St. Peter, how came they afterwards to raise any such dispute among them, who should be greatest; nay, how comes our Saviour to retract this Privilege by forbidding any such dominion among them? Matth. xx. 25. how comes it that no such marks of St. Peter's peculiar Privilege (as sole Infallible Judge of Controversies) appear in that Council of the Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren, at Jerusalem (which some so vainly pretend to be the Model of what they call General Councils)? why does St. Peter himself challenge no such Privilege in his Epistles? nay, why does he disclaim any such Lordship over God's Heritage? 1 Pet. v. 3. Why do none of the rest of the Apostles take any notice of it, nor once urge their Converts to a submission to St. Peter's Infallible Judgment, and that in order to the silencing of all disputes among them? nay, why does St. Paul so far forget his Duty, as to withstand and rebuke this pretended Prince of the Apostles to his Face, without paying any due deference to his superior Character and unerring Judgment. Gal. ii. 11.

But farther to make good this Argument:

2. They must farther prove, That St. Peter is to have a Successor in this Power of judging all Controversies, and in this privilege of Infallibility in every succeeding Age.

But how to prove this, they are at an utter loss. For our Saviour here saith nothing of any such matter. St. Peter's Doctrine as well as that of the other Apostles, may remain the stable Foundation and impregnable Rock on which the Church is built to the end of the World; tho' that Apostle have no Successors in his pretended Infallibility in every Age. Because those Sacred Records wherein his and their Doctrine is contain'd, have been, and shall be, preserved in the Christian Church to the end of the world. Nay, since no Authority is here ascrib'd to St. Peter, but what is elsewhere ascrib'd to the rest of the Apostles; if we suppose him to have continual Successors therein, there is the same Reason to make the same Supposition concerning the rest of the Apostles; and so we must instead of one conclude, that there are Twelve infallible Judges in matters of Faith in every Age. But where shall we find them? how comes St. Peter alone to delegate an Authority to his Successor which was not peculiar to himself, but common with him to the rest of the Apostles? why were they so grossly negligent of the Church's Interest as to leave none in their place, who should have the same Power of binding and loosing as they had; and who should be the Foundation on which the Church is built in very successive Generation? nay, how comes St. Peter never once to mention any Successor, to whom he bequeath'd his vast Power and Privilege? how come the rest of the Apostles to be so entirely silent concerning theirs? or if St. Peter alone had the Privilege of appointing a Successor, why do none of the Apostles tell us who he was? why does not St. John do it, who wrote after St. Peter's death, and who could not be ignorant of a matter of so great consequence; and who could not but know, that it was a matter of the highest moment to leave upon Record if it had been true? why does he never once direct the Churches of Asia to quash the Heresies growing among them, by having recourse to St. Peter's Successor as the Living Oracle, whom the Church in every Age was bound to consult? there is therefore not only no Proof of St. Peter's constituting any Successor, in his pretended infallible judicial Power, but all imaginable strong presumptions against it.

But this is not all; for the Defenders of the Papal Infallibility

3. Must farther prove, That the Bishop of Rome is the Successor, to whom St. Peter has actually delegated his infallible judicial Authority.

And how shall this be prov'd, when neither this passage, nor any other in all the new Testament so much as once mention the Bishop of Rome? why be any more than the Bishop of Jerusalem, of Cesarea, or Antioch? for in all these Places the Apostle Peter did undoubtedly preach the Gospel of Christ. How comes then the Bishop of Rome to arrogate this singular Privilege to himself, of being St. Peter's sole Successor in all his glorious Powers and Pre-eminence? the sum of what they have to say to such puzzling Questions as these, is no more than this: That there is a very uncertain and doubtful Story (for that is the best that can be made of it, for I might more justly call it a most improbable one) That St. Peter died a Martyr at Rome; and therefore, all his Authority and Infallibility is to the end of the World entail'd on, and will descend to every one that does but get and keep possession of what they call the Episcopal See, or Chair, there, even tho' they be the vilest Monsters of wickedness that ever breath'd on the face of the Earth. (For such many of his pretended Successors have been by the Confession of their most partial Historians, to whom they must yet suppose his Authority delegated, or else the Line of Succession is utterly extinct and gone.) And can any man that is not given up to strong Delusions, think this Argument of any force to support so vast pretensions as these? Was there ever so

mighty

mighty a Superstructure rais'd upon such a Quicksand rather than a Foundation? but to compleat the Jest, (for an Argument I cannot call it) St. Peter must first be degraded from the Dignity of an Apostle, and by dying at Rome become the Bishop of that particular Church; and then the Bishop of that Church is by this lucky Accident to be advanc'd from being the Bishop of that particular Church, to be the Head and Judge of the Universal Church. An Argument altogether as ridiculous, as if because the Primate of Ireland should happen to die in some particular Parish, the Parson of that Parish should from thence-forward pretend, that the Metropolitan Power is for ever entail'd on him, and all his Successors in that Parish. And yet such a senseless, absurd Pretension as this, is all the Foundation that the Papal Infallibility and Supremacy, as St. Peter's Successor, stands upon.

I shall only add one Argument more, and that is an Argument, *ad Hominem*, that should for ever silence all Pretensions from this Text to Papal Infallibility; and that is, that if the Pope be, in this Text, constituted by Christ St. Peter's Successor, and the Infallible Judge of Controversies, then his Infallibility is a Fundamental Article of the Christian Faith, and all those must be guilty of Heresy that believe it not. And what then will become of the Gallican Church, (not to mention many more in the Roman Communion that are of the same mind) who do not believe the Papal Infallibility at all? for they assert the Superiority of a Council above the Pope. And if this Privilege of Infallibility belong to the Church at all, it must belong to those in whom the supreme Authority in the Church is lodg'd. To what purpose then do they offer an Argument to convince us, the force whereof is not acknowledg'd among themselves? or how can we be Hereticks for denying what others disown as well as we, who pass for good Catholics among themselves?

And sure if this text prove not the Pope's Infallibility, it can much less prove that of a General Council, when there is not one Syllable in it that has any sound that way.

But a late Popish writer (suppos'd to be Father Nery) challenges us to shew him any Text in Scripture more plain and evident to prove any thing else, than this does the Infallibility of the Church. To which purpose he thus argues,

“ If the Gates or Power of Hell (for they are both the same) shall not prevail against the Church, surely then it shall not fall into Error. For there are but two ways of prevailing against it, viz. By destroying all the Members that compose it, as to their Temporal Being, or by corrupting their Souls with Error. That the Gates of Hell have not prevailed as to the former, our own Being is a sufficient Evidence. And that they shall not as to the latter, methinks a sober Man ought to be content with the assurance of Christ's Promise.

Answer, I need do no more to expose the Weakness of this Argument than to make the following Remarks upon it.

1. Whereas he tells us, *There are but two ways by which the Gates of Hell may prevail against the Church*, viz. *Either by destroying all the Members that compose it as to their Temporal Being, or by corrupting their Souls with Error*; I can easily shew him a third way, and that is by corrupting their Souls with Vice and Wickedness. And therefore if there be any force in his Argument, this Promise of Christ is as great a Security to the Church against the prevailing of Damnable Wickedness as of Damnable Error. And to secure the Church from the one is as necessary as to secure it from the other.

2. I would desire the Author to tell us, what he understands by that Church to which this Promise of Christ is made.

If he understand either a Pope, or a General Council, he must bring us some other proof, that the Church, in the Language of Christ, or his Apostles, is to be understood in this sense. The Church cannot here be understood of the Pope, because 'tis distinguish'd from St. Peter, whose Successor the Pope pretends to be. It cannot be understood of a General Council, for there was no such Church then in being, nor for some Ages after; nay, (as I shall shew afterwards) there never was any such thing at all.

If he understand by the Church the diffusive Body of such as are the Disciples of our Blessed Saviour thro' the World. I would again enquire, does he mean, all those that are the sincere Disciples of Christ, and consequently the true Members of his mystical Body, (which we call the Church Invisible) or all that make an External Profession of the Christian Faith (which we call the Visible Church).

If he mean the former, I must farther enquire, whether he supposes, that our Saviour, by this promise, secures all his sincere Disciples from all Errors in Doctrine whatsoever, or only from all Fundamental and Damnable Errors? if from all Errors whatsoever, 'tis notorious, that if this be the Meaning of the Promise, it never was fulfilled. All true Christians are no more secur'd from lesser Errors in Judgment, than from sinful Imperfections in Practice. If he mean the latter, that they are only secur'd from all damnable Errors, what signifies this to prove their absolute Infallibility in all matters of divine Faith, or the Obligation that we are under to pay an absolute and blind Submission to their Judgment in all their Determinations? and after all, since the Church in this sense is invisible; since no Man can without omniscience distinguish between sincere Christians and pretended ones; since true Christians, as distinguish'd from hypocritical Professors, make up no distinct Society, have no visible Tribunal to which we can address ourselves for the Decision of all Controversies in divine Faith. What signifies all this to the proving an Infallible Judge on Earth, that is suppos'd to be a living Oracle, whose Voice we must all hear, and whose Decisions we must submit our Judgment to. For we must already certainly know, what the true Doctrine of Christianity is, before we can so much as conjecture who are the Members of this Invisible Church. And after all, we can never certainly know, whose Faith is sincere and unfeigned, unless we could penetrate into their hearts.

If he mean by the Church, all that make an External Profession of the Christian Faith, then either this Promise secures the Infallibility of all such, or at least of the Major part of them. If it secures the Infallibility of all such, then there cou'd be no such thing as Damnable Heresies in the Christian Church at all; (which is contrary to matter of fact). Nay, then all professed Christians are infallible alike. Nay, on this supposition, this Infallible Judge is confounded with those for whom he is to judge. For to say, that all Christians must submit to the infallible Judgment of the universal Church is the same thing, as to say, that they must submit to their own. Nay, if this Argument be good, all professed Christians are of one mind already in matters of divine Faith, and 'tis impossible they should be otherwise. If this Promise secure the Infallibility of the major part, then has this Promise fail'd of Accomplishment. For contrary Doctrines even in the Fundamentals of Christianity have had at different times the Majority of Votes in the Christian Church, as in the Case of Arianism, that once had the far greater part of Bishops to espouse it. Now we must not put such a sense on this Promise of our Blessed Saviour as supposes him to have fail'd in the performance of it. Nay, I may add, that if the Majority of Numbers, in the Christian Church carry this Infallibility along with them, the Romish Church must no longer

* See Modest and True Account of the Chief Points &c. p. 41.

longer pretend to it; since those that reject her Communion are far more numerous than those that embrace it.

If then we should grant, That our Blessed Saviour has here promis'd, *That the Power of Hell shall not prevail against his Church*; all that we can understand by it, in consistency with plain Experience in Matter of Fact, is, That our Saviour would always preserve a chosen People in the World, that should own him for the Christ the Son of God, and adhere to the Essentials of Christian Faith and Practice, in opposition to all damnable Errors and Wickedness. And this we grant to be true. But this Concession signifies nothing to the establishing any Visible Body, or Society of Men, as infallible Judges of the Christian Faith to all the rest of the Christian World; and much less to the proving, That this Privilege of Infallibility is entail'd upon any particular Churches in the Eastern or Western Division of the old Roman Empire, or in any other part of the World. Our Blessed Saviour may have even among those different Communions such sincere Disciples, as adhere to the Essentials of Christianity, in Faith and Practice, tho' most of them should be over-run with a mixture of very dangerous Errors and Corruptions. But,

3. After all, *This Promise of Christ to his Church has no manner of reference to this Privilege of Infallibility.*

These words of our Saviour do indeed contain the Promise of a Blessed Immortality to all that, by a practical Faith, own him for the true Messiah and the Son of God, but they signify no such thing as the making 'em infallible Judges in all Matters of Divine Faith. For the words should be render'd the Gates of Hades, or the unseen state of the Dead *οὐρανίου κόσμου*. Now tho' that Phrase do frequently occur in the Septuagint throughout the Old Testament, from whence our Saviour here borrow'd it, it never signifies any thing more than Death. The Place or Receptacle of the Dead being compar'd to an House, and Death represented as the Gates that lead to it. So that these words of our Saviour import no more, than a Promise of Eternal Life to his Church (i. e. to his Church as consisting of sincere Believers, and distinguish'd from all Hypocritical Pretenders to the Christian Faith). So that from hence to infer, that our Saviour has constituted an infallible human Tribunal in his visible Church, to preserve it from Error, is wholly alien from the obvious Sense and Intention of his words, which was only to assure all his sincere Disciples of an happy Immortality. For the Gates of Hades, do neither, in the Language of any Sacred nor Prophane Writer, signify the Power of Heresie or Error, but only Death.

Others of the Romish Writers, and especially those that plead for the Infallibility of General Councils, lay great stress on those words of our Blessed Saviour's, *Matth. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18. Moreover if thy Brother shall trespass against thee, Go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every word may be establish'd. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; But if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be to thee as an Heathen Man and a Publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.*

To this it might be sufficient to answer, That our Blessed Saviour is not here speaking of Articles of Faith, but of Matters of private Offence. Now in these Matters those of the Romish Church do not pretend to any Infallibility at all: Nor think the Command of bearing the Church obliges us to believe any such thing.

But there needs no more to shew, how absurd the Argument is, which those of the Romish Church draw from thence, than to desire 'em to resolve us, *What Church they here understand.* If they understand a particular Church, (or a Provincial or National one) then

if this Passage prove any thing, it proves every such particular Church to be as infallible as that of Rome pretends to be. If they understand the Catholick or Universal Church, then in the Case of private offences, every offended Brother, if he cannot gain his offending one, must go and tell the Universal Church. But how is this possible? How shall he send intelligence to all the Christians throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America? How shall he assemble 'em together? Or gather their Suffrages and Votes? Nay, if we should allow 'em to interpret the Words, not of the Church Diffusive, but of what they call the Church-Representative (i. e. a General Council), How shall every offended Brother observe our Saviour's Rule? Must he tell such a General Council, when there is no such thing in being? Or if there were, must every such offended Brother bring his Complaints to them from the remotest part of the World? Or shall they be oblig'd to the impossible Task of bearing all such Complaints? Nay, if we make the Pope himself the Church, must every aggrieved Christian travel with his Complaints against his obstinate Brother as far as Rome? 'Tis evident then, that their Interpretation of these words renders our Saviour's Advice most impracticable and absurd. His Advice may indeed be follow'd among the Members of a particular Congregation; but not among those of the Universal Church. And therefore to interpret the words concerning the latter is not only groundless but ridiculous.

Others of 'em plead the Promise of Christ made to his Apostles, of sending his Holy Spirit to guide 'em into all Truth, *John xvi. 13.*

Answer. Tho' we should allow, that our Saviour here promis'd to his Apostles the unerring Direction of his Holy Spirit, in delivering his Doctrine to the Christian Church, it will by no means thence follow, That any particular Pastor, or Bishop, or the Majority of such, have the same unerring Guidance in every Age. Even those of the Romish Church must renounce any such Inference, when they consider how vastly Arrianism once spread in the Christian Church, and how entirely it carried the Major Vote in several successive Councils, and some of 'em as numerous as any that they falsely call General ones; especially when they remember, that Liberius, one of their own Popes, concur'd with them. But there is not the same Necessity of the unerring Conduct of the Holy Spirit to the Pastors of the Church in succeeding Ages, since the completing the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, as there was before. If any pretend to it, they should produce such Credentials as the Apostles did, I mean that of Miracles. But after all, if this Text do annex this Privilege of Infallibility to the Majority of Pastors in the Christian Church, then the Pretensions of the Romish Church to it are overthrown. For the Majority is against them.

Others of them alledge such Passages as mention the Office of Christian Pastors, and the Duty of their Flocks, as Proofs of such an Infallible Authority in the Church.

And I need do little more for refuting these Arguments, than to recite them.

Thus because they suppose the Church to be call'd by the Apostle Paul, *The Pillar and Ground* (or *Buttress*) of Truth, they conclude her to be Infallible.

Answer. We must still repeat the Question, What they mean by the Church? If they mean All Christians thro' the World, Then they are all Infallible alike. And where then is the Tribunal that all must be suppos'd to submit to, when all are made Judges? If they mean the Bishop of Rome, or a Council headed by him; What probable Proof can they give us, That the Apostles so much as thought of them in this Passage? For there is no shadow of probability in it. But why may not the Church be call'd the Pillar, or Buttress, of Truth, to signify the Obligation that lies on all Christians to support it? And what Proof is that of their Infallibility?

But after all, 'tis most reasonable to suppose, That the Apostle does here call *Timothy* himself, and not the Church, the Pillar and Ground of Truth. For he compares here the Church to an House, and Timothy to a Pillar and Buttress in it, whom therefore he here advises to behave himself suitably to that Character. So that if the Apostle's words prove any one Infallible, 'tis Timothy. And what signifies his Infallibility to the Bishops of Rome, or their Councils, or to the Church of Rome more than that of *Ephesus*, that wou'd have a better pretence to it from this Passage. But the Apostle is not speaking of what Timothy was, but of what he and all other Teachers shou'd be, viz. Pillars and Buttresses (i. e. Defenders) of Truth. Again, Because Christian Flocks are oblig'd to obey their Spiritual Guides, Heb. xiii. 17. And our Saviour tells his Apostles, That he who hears them hears him; And he that rejects them rejects him, Luke x. 16. Thence they infer, That there must be a Living Infallible Oracle in the Church, whom all are bound to hear and obey.

Ans. If this Argument be of any force, it proves much more than they intend, because the Duty of Obeying their Spiritual Guides concerns all Christian Flocks towards their Pastors; and consequently if this Argument be good, it supposes all of 'em to be Infallible alike. But the Truth is, all such Duties on the Peoples part suppose that Pastors on their part answer the Obligations of their Office and Charge. They are to be heard and obey'd so far as they follow their Masters Instructions, and deliver his Truths and Laws, and no farther. And 'tis then, and then only, That to reject them is to reject Christ himself. But this does by no means secure all Christian Pastors, or even the Majority of 'em, from all Errors in matters of Divine Faith; nor does it oblige their Flocks to receive whatever they deliver with an Implicit Faith. Nay, their Flocks have a just Right to use the same Liberty of their private Judgment, in reference to the Doctrine of their Pastors, that the Bereans us'd in reference to that of the Apostle Paul himself, when they search'd the Scriptures to judge from thence, whether his Doctrine were conformable to them; See Acts xvii. 11. They might altogether as well argue, That the Scribes and Pharisees were Infallible, because they sat in the seat of Moses; and our Saviour requires his Disciples to observe and do whatever they commanded them, Matth. xxiii. 2. But as these words of Christ must be understood, of observing whatever those Jewish Doctors commanded in Conformity to the Divine Law, and not of whatever they commanded under the pretence of Oral Tradition; so must we understand his Precepts of obeying our Spiritual Guides under the same Restriction and Limitation.

Others of 'em argue for the Church's Infallibility from the Promise of Christ, at the end of his Commission to the Apostles, That he wou'd be with them to the end of the World, Matth. xxviii. 20. From hence one of their late Writers thus reasons, 'If Christ continues with his Church to the end of the World, can it be imagin'd that he wou'd suffer it to fall into Error, since we cannot suppose him to have any other business to continue with it, than to preserve it from that?'

Ans. The perpetual Presence of Christ is here promised to the Apostles, and to all those Ordinary Pastors and Teachers that shou'd succeed them in Teaching others to observe what he had commanded. But if this Promise secur'd all such Ordinary Pastors and Teachers from Errors, no such Ordinary Pastors and Teachers cou'd fall into any Errors and Heresies at all. And so all of them must be rendered Infallible. How then shall we reconcile this Promise of Christ with the Truth of Matter of Fact? Nay, if this Promise be made to the Universal Church, (i. e. to all Professed Christians) then All of them are rendered alike Infallible. Why then do the Papists that are but a small part of the Catholick Church engross this Privilege?

And how absurd is it to put such a sense upon our Saviour's Promise, as common Experience shews the palpable Falseness of? Our Saviour does not therefore here promise to preserve all Ordinary Pastors and Teachers from Erring, (much less all Christians) but to assist 'em in their sincere Enquiries after Divine Truth, and while they deliver his Truths and Laws, to accompany the Publication of 'em with the assistances of his Holy Spirit and Grace, in order to their being efficacious on the Souls of all that receive them with an humble and sincere Mind, to defend them in the faithful discharge of their Duty, or support them under sufferings for it. But he no more promises to preserve all such Teachers from all Error, than from all Pride, or Passion, or Inordinate Love of Secular Honours and Interests, that are the usual fruitful Source of Errors in Religion. This Promise therefore supposes in such Pastors their unprejudic'd Enquiry after Truth, and Integrity in embracing and publishing it; but does by no means assure us, That all such Christian Pastors shall be thus upright and unbiass'd. 'Tis only a Conditional Promise, and those only can claim the benefit of it, who do faithfully teach what Christ has commanded, and no farther than they do so. And what signifies all this to this Pretence of Infallibility?

But what need I insist on answering particular Passages of Scripture, when the Doctrine of such an Infallible Judge of Controversies is incapable of any such Proof at all? For let the Guides of the Romish Church produce as many Texts as they please, I wou'd only enquire, What is it that these Texts are alledg'd to prove? Is it to prove, That there is some Infallible Judge or other in the Christian Church, from whose Exposition alone the true sense of the Scriptures must be deriv'd? Here I must then again ask, How shall I know, that this is the real sense of these Texts, and that they do assert such an Infallible Judge? If they tell me, that they are so plain and clear in themselves, that I need only impartially consider 'em to be satisfied concerning this Truth. (Tho' by the way I have shewn that nothing can be more false than this Pretence) Then it follows, that they may be as plain and clear in delivering all other necessary Articles of the Christian Faith; and so the Necessity of such an Infallible Expounder and Judge is overthrown. But if I cannot know that this is the real sense and meaning of these Texts till this Infallible Judge tells me it is, then am I brought into this absurd and ridiculous Circle, viz. I must believe, There is such an Infallible Judge of Controversies, because the Scriptures say, There is such a one; and I must believe the Scriptures say, There is such a one, because this infallible Judge tells me so. The short of which is, I must take this pretended Judge to be Infallible, on his own Word; whereas the Truth of the Matter is, that I must first from the Scriptures themselves learn, what are the Essential Doctrines and Precepts of the Christian Religion, before I can so much as know What the Christian Church is, and Who can justly claim to be any part of it.

But before I dismiss this Head, it will not be improper to take notice, that we have not only the bare silence of the Holy Scriptures concerning any such Infallible Judge, to justify our rejecting this vain Pretension of the Church of Rome; but we have many things suggested therein that are plainly inconsistent with any such Supposition. The Holy Scriptures, in asserting their own perspicuity and clearness in all matters necessary to Salvation, do in effect disclaim the Necessity of any such Infallible Human Judge.

Again, our Blessed Saviour has forbid any Pretensions to such an Absolute Judicial Authority in his Church, when he forbid his Apostles themselves to affect so much as the Title of Rabbi, or Master, telling them, They had only one Master (of their Religion) viz. Himself, Matth. xxiii. 10.

And accordingly the Apostles themselves (who if any might pretend to this Authority and Privilege) do openly

openly disclaim this proud Pretension. *We have* (saith the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians: 2 Cor. i. 24.) *no Dominion over your Faith.* The Apostle Peter charges all succeeding Pastors (and it were to be wish'd that his pretended Successor had better observ'd his solemn Charge) against usurping any such Dictatorship, forbidding 'em to act as *Lords over God's Heritage*, 1 Pet. v. 3.

And whereas the Patrons of the Romish Infallibility do on all occasions exhort the Laity to submit to what they call the Judgment of the Church; (i. e. of the Clergy) and caution 'em against trusting their own Eyes or Judgment in matters of Divine Faith; We see that the Apostles, quite contrary, call upon 'em, *Not to believe every Spirit, but to try the Spirits*, 1 John iv. 1. *To prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*, 1 Theff. v. 21. The Apostle Paul tells 'em, *That if either he, or an Angel from Heaven preach'd any other Gospel, they were to account them accursed*, Gal. i. 8. Nay, he commends the Bereans for what those of the Romish Church take for a mark of an heretical Disposition, viz. *For searching the Scriptures to know whether his Doctrine were consonant thereto*, Acts xvii. 11. Now any one may see, how improper and dangerous these Advices were, on supposition that there had been an infallible Judge of Controversies, to whose Definitions, in matters of Divine Faith, all Christians ow'd an absolute Submission. Any one may see, how much surer and shorter way it had been to have sent 'em to such an unerring Oracle to have learn'd the Truth from his Mouth, than to send them to search it out themselves in the Holy Scriptures. The Guides of the Romish Church give very different Advice to their Profelytes, and very suitable to their own Principles.

We see then there is no Evidence from Scripture of any such infallible Judge of Controversies, that can claim a *Dominion over our Faith*; but the clearest and strongest Presumptions to the contrary.

But this is the least part of the Charge I have to bring against this Doctrine, For I now come,

II. To shew, *That the asserting such an infallible Judge and Tribunal on Earth, in matters of Divine Faith, is a false and pernicious Principle that subverts the Foundation of Christianity.*

And this is not the only Instance wherein the Principles of Popery are subversive of Christianity.

You have in the Discourse of Transubstantiation justly shewn, That that Doctrine destroys all the Evidence we can have of the Truth of the Christian Religion, or indeed of any Divine Revelation at all.

Their Invocation of Angels and Saints, and Worship of Images, have reviv'd that Pagan Idolatry, which it was the great Design of the Gospel to extirpate.

Their False and Fabulous Miracles have done all that is possible to weaken the Credit of those true Miracles, by which the Gospel was confirm'd at its first Publication.

And I have the same Observation to make, concerning this Doctrine of an human, infallible Judge of Controversies in the Church, that the Supposition of it has effectually decided the grand Dispute between us and the Jews against our blessed Saviour himself.

To clear the force of this Argument, I must premise, that those of the Romish Church do all along argue for such an infallible Judge of Controversies, from the absolute Necessity of such a Judge to end all Disputes in Religion, and to preserve the Divine Truth in the Church to the end of the World. And they suppose the Necessity of it to extend to all Ages. Nay, they themselves do argue for the Necessity of such an unerring Judge of Controversies in the Christian Church, from the Constitution of such a one in the Jewish. And accordingly they allege those Passages in the Old Testament that seem to require an absolute Submission in the Jews to the Judgment of their High Priest, and their Sanhedrim, (or supreme Council) as a Proof of the like absolute Submission due from all

Christians to this infallible Judge, which they suppose to be set up in the Catholick Church. Thus those celebrated Authors, Bellarmine, Beccanus, Melchior Canus, Gretzer (not to mention many more) assert, 'That all the Jews were bound to stand to the Judgment of their High-Priest, and Sanhedrim, whatever it was, and to take that for the Law of God which they taught to be so.'

But we need not in this matter be beholden to their free Confession; because 'tis evident, that the Jews had as plausible Texts for the Infallibility of their Church, as the Papists can allege to prove the Infallibility of the Christian Church.

Do the Papists allege Christ's Command to us to hear the Church? and telling his Disciples, *That he who heard them heard him, and he who rejected them rejected him?*

I shall not now repeat what I observ'd before, how ridiculous it is to apply the former of these Passages to the Universal Church; I shall only shew, that these words are not near so clear a Proof of an infallible Judge in the Christian Church, as those remarkable words of Moses are, *That such an infallible Judge was set up by God in the Jewish Church*, Deut. xvii. 8, 9, &c. *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in Judgment, between Blood and Blood, between Plea and Plea, &c. being matters of Controversie in thy Gates, Then shalt thou arise and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall chuse; And thou shalt come to the Priests, the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those days, and enquire, and they shall shew thee the Sentence of Judgment. And thou shalt do according to the Sentence which they of that place, (which the Lord shall chuse) shall shew thee; And thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee. According to the Sentence of the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the Judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do. Thou shalt not decline from the Sentence which they shall shew thee to the right hand or the left. And the Man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken to the Priest that stands to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the Judge, even that Man shall die, and thou shalt put away the Evil from Israel. And all the People shall hear and fear and do no more presumptuously.* (And, by the way, 'tis obvious what Triumphs the Romish Church would make, had they any such Text as this to plead for an absolute Submission to the Judgment of a Pope, or a General-Council, and to justify their severity against such as reject their Decisions.)

Again, did our Blessed Saviour promise to his Apostles his Holy Spirit to guide 'em into all Truth? So did God promise to put the Spirit of Moses upon the seventy Elders, Numb. xi. 17.

Did our Saviour promise to be with his Church for ever? So had God said of Zion of old, *This is my Rest for ever, and here will I dwell*, Psal. cxxxii. 13, 14. So 2 Chron. vii. 16. And there were manifold Promises of his perpetual Presence with his People at Jerusalem.

Do they allege the Apostle's Command to christian Flocks to obey their Rulers, following their Faith? So might the Jewish Church plead, *That the Priest's Lips were to preserve knowledge, and the people were to seek the Law at his Mouth*, Matth. ii. 7.

Did our Saviour promise, *That he would build his Church on a Rock, and the Gates of Hell should not prevail against it?* So had God promis'd, *That his Covenant with the Priests and Levites and Ministers should be as perpetual as Day and Night*, Jer. xxxiii. 20, 21. So had he declared, *that his Mount Sion (the Jewish Church) should not be mov'd but abide for ever.*

^a De Verb. Dei Interpr. lib. 3. c. 4.
Controv. lib. 1. c. 5. nu. 62.
^d Def. Bellarm. lib. 3. c. 4.

^b De Jud. Oper. lib. 6. p. 510.

So that the *Jewish Church* had, from these and the like Promises altogether, as specious a Pretence to Infallibility as any can allege in behalf of the Christian Church; nay, a far better pretence than the *Romish Church* ever had.

Having premised this, I now come to the Argument I would draw from it. We read in *Mark* xiv. 53. *That our Saviour was led away to the High-Priest, and that with him were assembled the Chief-Priests, and Elders, and Scribes.* The *Jewish* was then the only visible Church in the World. (And that is what the *Romish Church* can with no manner of reason or modesty pretend unto.) Now here was the visible Head of the visible Church, viz. the High-Priest. Here were the undoubted Representatives of it, the Chief-Priests, and Elders, the supreme Council of their Church and Nation, in whom the highest Authority was lodged, and to whom this Privilege of Infallibility did belong (if it belong to the visible Church-Catholick at all). Here comes before them a Controversy of the highest Importance and Moment imaginable, viz. *Whether our Lord Jesus was the Christ, or Messiah?* (that seed of *Abraham* in whom all Nations were to be blessed; that son of *David* that should inherit his Throne, that Saviour of the World whose coming the Prophets had foretold, and the Body of the *Jewish Nation* then expected?) They propose the Question to our Lord himself; *Art thou the Christ the son of the Blessed?* To which he answers, *I am.* (Nor is this the first time that they had his Case and his Pretensions under Consideration as we may see from *John* vii. 45. — x. 22.) But here they come to a final decisive Sentence concerning him, which upon mature deliberation they unanimously agree in. This great and important Truth, which our Saviour then made an open Confession of, [viz. *That he was the Christ*] they adjudged to be *Blasphemy.* The High-Priest proposes the Question, *Ye have heard the Blasphemy, what think ye?* And they all condemned him to be guilty of death, *Matt.* xiv. 64.

Here then we find all the Ingredients of what those of the *Church of Rome* account an *Infallible Tribunal* in the *Visible Church.* Here is the High-Priest; here is the *Jewish Sanhedrim* that were incomparably more the true Representatives of the *Jewish*, than ever any pretended General Council was of the *Christian Church.* Nay, if the Majority of the Peoples Votes and Consent could signify any thing to make them more infallible, here was the Concurrence of the *Church-Diffusive*, with the Judgment of the *Church Representative* and the Head of it. For the Body of that unbelieving Nation approved the Judgment of their *Sanhedrim.* Our Blessed Saviour having among them only a few (and those but obscure and inconsiderable) Persons for his Disciples and Followers. If then this Doctrine of the *Papists* concerning the Infallibility of the *Church* be true, this Fundamental Article of our *Christian Faith* is no better than *Blasphemy.* The *Christian Religion* is no better than a pernicious Heresy. The Author of it was justly put to Death as a *Blasphemer* and *Deceiver.* And his Followers were no better than *Rebels* against the *Church's Authority*, whom therefore she justly condemned as *pestilent Hereticks.*

And now shall we make that Doctrine (viz. of the *Church's Infallibility*) an Article of the *Christian Religion*, that so manifestly overthrows the very Foundation of it? That so openly justifies this condemning Sentence past on the Son of God? That overturns that grand Truth on which the *Christian Church* is built? That brands all the Followers of the Blessed Jesus for as notorious *Church-Rebels* and *Hereticks*, as ever the *Church of Rome* accounted those to be that disown her Authority and reject her Decisions? Here the matter is brought to a short issue, either this great cause of *Christianity*, or that of *Papery*, must fall to the Ground. Either the *Visible Church* has no such perpetual infallible Tribunal on Earth,

or else our Saviour himself stands justly condemned at their Bar.

The Force of this Argument is so clear and strong, that it has tempted some of our Adversaries to use strange and detestable Language concerning this Sentence of the *Jewish Sanhedrim.* It made *Melchior Canus*^a say, *That this Action of theirs was indeed contrary to Christ, but their Sentence was most true and profitable, yea, a Divine Oracle.* And *Harding*^b tells us, *That the arts of that Council were wicked, but the Sentence whereby they condemned Christ was just and true.* We see, in this Instance, what desperate Shifts a wretched Cause will drive it's Defenders to. For if the Sentence of the *Jewish Sanhedrim* was just and true, then was our Saviour a *Blasphemer* for pretending to be the *Christ the son of God*, and deserved to dye for that *Blasphemy.* And what then must we think of his Religion and his Followers?

I know but one plausible Evasion that can be used to avoid the force of this Argument. And that is, That the Miracles of Christ did justify his Followers in refusing to submit to the judgment of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*; and this extraordinary Evidence of his divine Mission, did sufficiently warrant their embracing his Doctrine, tho' condemned by the supreme Authority of the then *Visible Church.*

But that this is but a vain Evasion will easily appear, if we consider, That Miracles alone, abstractedly considered, were no sufficient Evidence of his divine Mission. God himself had required them, *If any Prophet should rise up and work signs and wonders to draw them thereby to Idolatry, not to hearken to him.* *Deut.* xiii. 1, 2, 3. Now those who had then the Government of the *Visible Church* in their hands, and in whom this Privilege of Infallibility is supposed to be lodged, had seen and considered these eminent Works of Christ, and had adjudged them to be false Miracles, not performed by a Divine, but a Diabolical Power, even by the Assistance of *Beelzebub the prince of Devils.* And therefore if the People owned an absolute Submission to their Judgment as infallible, they ought to have look'd on these Miracles as no convincing Poof of his being the true *Messiah*, and were bound to reject his Pretensions, notwithstanding this seeming Evidence of a divine Mission. For who could be supposed more capable to judge of the Characters that belonged to the true *Messiah*, and of the Truth or Falshood of his pretended Miracles themselves than this unerring Tribunal of their Church? We may see what apprehensions they themselves had of the matter, when they rebuked the Officers that refused to bring our Lord to them with that Language so sutable to the Principles of the *Romish Church,* *Are ye also deceived? Have any of the Rulers or the Pharisees believed on him? But this people* (q. d. this ignorant Laity) *that knows not the Laws are accursed,* *John* vii. 47, 48, 49.

Nay, the *Jewish Sanhedrim* wanted not some specious Arguments to allege for their rejecting our Blessed Saviour, notwithstanding his Miracles; and such as seem unanswerable according to the current Doctrine of the *Church of Rome.* The *Romish Church* reckons *Oral Traditions* of equal Authority with the *Holy Scriptures.* Now the *Jews* had three Traditions in their Church concerning the *Messiah*; one was concerning his temporal Kingdom and Reign; the second was, that *Elias the Thibbrite* was to appear personally before the coming of their *Messiah*; and a third was, that the law of *Moses* was to be perpetually binding, and the *Messiah* should enforce the Observance of it upon the *Gentiles.* (And to these I might add a fourth, that no Prophet should arise out of *Galilee.*)

Now since none of these Traditions of their Church agreed to our Blessed Saviour; and, since according to those of *Romish Church*, an equal Reverence is to be paid to the unwritten Traditions of the Church as to the written Word, the *Jews* had a plausible Pretence to

^a Oper. lib. 5. c. ult. p. 283.

^b Against Jewel. Apol. c. 6. Div. 3. par. 6.

reject our Saviour notwithstanding his Miracles. And these Miracles (according to the current Doctrine of the *Romish Church*) could be no sufficient Ground for the Laity among them to oppose the Judgment of their Church in this point declared by the Mouth of her supreme and infallible Tribunal. Nay, if the Head and Representatives of that Church could err in so important a matter as this; if in such a capital Point as this (on which their own Salvation, and that of all that adhered to their Judgment depended) they did so fatally mistake the *Christ of God*, and the *Saviour of the World*, for an *Impostor* and *Blasphemer*, all their Boasts of an infallible Authority are at an end.

The Controversy is then brought to a short issue; either our Blessed Saviour was no better than a Blasphemer, or this pretended infallible Tribunal of the visible Church is overthrown.

I now proceed farther,

III. To shew, *That the zealous Assertors of this supreme, infallible, human Tribunal, this living Judge of Controversies in the visible Church, entertain such contradictory Opinions concerning it, as render this Opinion as useless and insignificant as 'tis false and pernicious.*

And sure never were the Builders of *Babel* of old more confounded in their Language, than the great Defenders of this infallible Tribunal are in their's, when they are put to it, to tell us who this unerring Judge of Controversies is? The Confusion and Contrariety of their Answers to so plain a Question, would put one in mind of that *Vial poured on the seat of the Beast, that rendered his kingdom full of Darknes*, Rev. xvi. 10.

If there be in the visible Church-Catholick such an infallible Tribunal, such a living and unerring Oracle of Truth, and Judge of Controversies, sure this grand Privilege and Authority is not a meer Castle in the Air; We may come to some certain knowledge in whom this supreme Authority is vested, and to whom this glorious Privilege, of Infallibility does belong.

They tell us indeed in general, that this Infallibility is lodged in the Catholick Church. But what signifies all this when they never once tell us, what they mean by the Catholick or Universal Church.

The Universal Church may be considered, either as measured by the unerring Judgment of God; or by the charitable, but fallible, Judgment of Men.

The Catholick or Universal Church, as measured by the unerring Judgment of God, includes all that believe the necessary Articles of the Christian Faith, and sincerely obey the laws of Christ. All that are regenerated and animated by his Holy Spirit, sincerely consent to the Baptifmal Covenant, and are begotten to the living hope of the Heavenly Inheritance. These are the mystical Body of Christ. To them all the glorious Promises and Privileges do belong, that have any necessary Connexion with eternal Salvation. And (if that will do the Church of *Rome* any Service) we freely grant, that the Members of this Catholick Church (tho' liable to many lesser Errors, yet) never actually err in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, at least while they continue such. But then this Catholick Church is invisible with respect to that sincere Faith and Holiness, which constitute Men the Members of it. And they are not distinguishable in our Eyes from that vast multitude of Hypocrites that make a Profession of the same Faith and Holiness, and live in the same external Communion of the visible Church. And therefore since these true Saints make up no external collective Body, or Society, apart by themselves, but are mixed with the Hypocrites (as the sound Wheat is mixed with blasted Ears and with Tares in the same Field) they can have no peculiar visible Tribunal of their own to be the Seat of Infallibility. And there is no Appeal can be made to them, as a distinct Body for deciding any Controversies in Religion, by us who cannot penetrate into their Hearts.

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For the Catholick Church, as measured by a Judgment of human Charity, it must include all that make an external Profession of believing the necessary Articles of the Christian Faith, and obeying the laws of Christ. Now this is that visible Church in which those of the *Romish* Communion suppose this infallible human Tribunal to be erected.

But here we must enquire, what those necessary or essential Articles of the Christian Faith are?

Now if that which is commonly called the Apostle's Creed, does contain all the necessary Articles of the Christian Faith; (as the antient Fathers did with an unanimous Consent declare it did) * nay, if the Apostle's Creed as explained by the *Nicene* be allow'd to contain a sufficient Summary of those necessary Articles, then we must suppose this Infallibility to be lodged in that Body of professed Christians who declare their adherence to the Apostolical or *Nicene* Creeds. But what shall we understand by all this? Is it, that all particular Christians that profess to receive those two Creeds are thereby constituted infallible Judges in matters of divine Faith? No, this is what those of the *Church of Rome* do not pretend to assert. Or is it, that the Majority of those who profess to receive those two Creeds are infallible Judges to all the rest? No, this they will by no means allow. For then the *Greek*, and all other Eastern Churches, all those in *Ethiopia*, nay, all the *Protestant Churches* themselves, will come in for a share of this Infallibility; and that would utterly ruin the Pretensions of the *Romish Church*; which, tho' the far minor part, are yet resolved to monopolize this glorious Privilege to themselves. Besides, these *Eastern*, and *Southern*, and *Western Churches* (that make up no part of the *Romish* Communion) have no common Tribunal set up among them to refer their different Tenets in Religion to the Decision of; they have no living Oracle, whom either all or the Majority of them owns and appeal to as the Arbiter of their Faith. Nay, whereas the *Romanists* pretend a perpetual necessity of such a living Judge in every Age, there has been no such infallible Judge owned by the Majority of the *Christian Church* for these thousand Years. To what purpose then is all this noise about such an infallible Tribunal in the *Catholick Church*, when the major part of the Christian World knows nothing of it, and own no such Judge at all?

The Mystery of the matter is this; (and sure 'tis a Mystery of Iniquity, if ever there was any such thing) That tho' all the *Eastern* and *Southern*, and all the *Protestant Churches* do receive all the Articles of Faith, which the ancient Churches thought necessary to Salvation, yet they are no part of the *Catholick Church*. But why are they no part of the *Catholick Church*? Is the Christian Faith altered from what it was sixteen or seventeen hundred Years ago? Will not the Belief of the same Creeds give a Man as good a Title now to be a Member of the same Catholick Church as it would so long ago? Or do their peevish Separations from each other, on the account of lesser differences in Opinion and Practice, exclude them from being all Members of that Catholick Church, which is made up of all that profess the Belief of the fore-said Essentials of Christianity, and Subjection to our Blessed Lord as the only universal Head thereof? As if the Subjects of the same Prince might not have some particular Feuds and Factions among themselves, while all own his Authority. But let us say what we please, the *Romish Church* is resolved, tho' against common Sense, to engross the pompous Title of the Catholick Church to itself. They that at most can only pretend to be a Part (and who are indeed the most corrupt and degenerate part) of the Catholick Church, will, right or wrong, set up to be the whole. And you must, upon their bare word, and in defiance of all the ancient

* See Dr. Whitty's *Treatise of Traditions*.

Symbols of Christianity, take all the Eastern, and Southern, and all the Protestant Churches (to whom the *Romish* Church bears no proportion in point of Numbers) for damnable Hereticks, tho' they profess to receive all the ancient Summaries of the Christian Faith. So that unless we will renounce all Christian Charity, and, at one Blow, cut off all these Churches from any visible Relation to our Blessed Saviour; unless we will swallow this gross Contradiction of taking the *Roman* to be the Catholick Church (*i. e.* a part for the whole, a Member, and a very corrupt and putrified one too, for the entire Body); unless I say, we grant this palpable Absurdity, all dispute about the perpetual Infallibility of the Universal Church is at an end. And sure we are put upon hard Terms, when we must renounce Catholick Charity before we can embrace the Catholick Faith, or tell what it is.

But for once, let this gross Absurdity pass. If the *Romish* be the Catholick Church, sure we shall at least find the Doctors of that Church agreed, where this infallible Authority is lodged, and where this supreme unerring Tribunal is erected; that we may know whom to appeal to as the Church's living Oracle in all controverted Articles of Religion. But, alas! we are here as much at a loss as ever. For the Wisdom of that God (who is the only Lord of Conscience, and unerring Judge in matters of Religion, by his own sacred Oracles) has here so confounded the different Pretensions of those that would usurp his Throne, and lord it over his Heritage, that this infallible Authority, which they boast of, as the certain means of ending all Controversies in Religion, is itself the Subject of the warmest Controversies among themselves, and (as far as one can guess) is like to be a matter of Dispute among them, till Christ himself shall come to destroy this Man of Sin with the breath of his Mouth, and the brightness of his Appearance.

If we will believe the most numerous and considerable part of the *Romish* Church, the Bishop of Rome is this infallible Judge. He is the Church's living and perpetual Oracle, to whose Decision we must submit in matters of Divine Faith. And by our Saviour's Command of hearing the Church, we must understand the Pope, the only unerring Head of it, who (as one of them declares) carries all Truth and the whole of the Divine Law in the Cabinet of his own Breast.

But then if this Infallibility be lodged in the Pope, it seems a very natural Consequence, that all those who deny it must be guilty of damnable Herefy. For what can be a more pernicious Herefy, than to reject the Authority of the only living Oracle in the Church. But then this will fall very hard upon the whole *Gallican* Church, among whom the Papal Infallibility is no current Doctrine at all. And they would be loth to pass for Hereticks, having discovered as flaming a Zeal as any of their Neighbours for what they call the Catholick Faith. Nor dare the *Roman* Bishops brand them for Hereticks on this account, for fear of losing so considerable a part of their Dominions; especially since they are content to own the Pope's Primacy, as the Head of the Church, tho' they disown his Infallibility.

And the truth is, the Opposers of the Papal Infallibility among them produce shrewd Arguments against it, and such as the zealous Defenders of it can never be able to answer. To this purpose they allege several notorious Instances of *Roman* Popes that have grossly erred, even in the Fundamental Articles of Religion. Thus Pope *John XXIII* was charged with denying the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards of a Life to come, by no less Authority than that of one of their General Councils, *viz.* that of *Constance*. Pope *Gregory XII.* and *Benedict XIII.* were desposed as Hereticks, by the Council of *Pisa*. And so was

Eugenius IV. by that of *Basil*. And long before that, their own Historians cannot deny, that Pope *Liberius* subscribed the *Arrian* Council of *Syrmiun*. And the Pretence of his doing it out of fear will not help the matter. For besides that he declares his Subscription to the Council to be free and voluntary; who would rely on that Man's Infallibility whom either Fear or Interest could prevail on to prevaricate in an essential Article of the Christian Faith? And sure, at least, Pope *Adrian VI.* must be allowed to be an Heretick, for asserting, that a Pope might err in matters of Faith; and that several of his Predecessors had been Hereticks. For if this Pope's assertion be true, there's an end of their Pretensions to Infallibility; if it be false, 'tis then as certain, that a Pope may err in matters of Faith, if the Pope's Infallibility be any matter of Faith at all.

But besides these, we Protestants have two obvious Arguments against Papal Infallibility, that lie level to every Man's Understanding.

The one is drawn from the monstrous Wickedness of the *Roman* Popes for several successive Ages. Our Saviour gives us a certain Rule for distinguishing false Prophets from true ones, that by their fruits we shall know them. *Matth. vii. 15, 16, 17, &c.*

Now I am sure, a Pretence to Infallibility, in Matters of divine Faith, is every way equivalent to a Pretence to Prophetick Inspiration. For this Infallibility is no natural, or acquired, but a supernatural Gift. Now let us consider, what a Character their own Historians give us of the *Roman* Popes. 'Tis well known, that *Genebrard*, speaking of the ninth and tenth Ages, tells us, * *That the Roman Popes were fallen from the Virtue of their Predecessors; being Apostatical rather than Apostolical.* Nay, *Baronius*, their great Flatterer, could not forbear thus freely to utter his thoughts, *That ugly Monsters were thrust into the Papacy, that it was daubed with Dung, infected with stink, defiled with filthiness, and followed by these Persons with a perpetual Infamy.* And again, *ad Ann. 912.* *At Rome the most powerful and sordid Whores did rule, at whose Wills the Sees were changed and Bishops made; and, what is horrid to hear and not to be mentioned, their Gallants were thrust into St. Peter's Chair; false Popes, who are not to be written in the Catalogue of Roman Popes, but only for the marking out of those Times.* (Let me only observe, by the way, that for all these hard words, if these very Monsters were not true Popes, their Line of Succession is broke.) But, alas! the matter was not much mended in the succeeding Ages. For it were endless to reckon up all those Popes whom their own Historians brand for Incest, for Sodomy, for Adultery and Fornication, for Simony, for Witchcraft, for Murder, (even that of poisoning their Predecessors) for insatiable Covetousness, for Perjury and Perfidiousness, for Luciferian Pride, and embroiling all Europe in Wars to support their haughty Pretensions, and, above all, for an incurable Aversion to the Reformation of the grossest Abuses in their own Courts, when all Europe complained of them. Now when we consider these hideous Characters given of the generality of their own Popes, even by those Historians that have been zealous Advocates for their pretended Authority, we cannot but stand amazed, that ever so strange and stupid a Thought should enter into the Minds of Men, as to take such Monsters of Villany and Wickedness for infallible Judges in all matters of divine Faith. We read indeed of *Holy Men* speaking as they were moved by the *Holy Ghost*. But can we ever think that the Holy Spirit should guide those infallibly into all Truth, whom their Lusts hurried into all manner of abominable Vices? Strange, that the unerring Light of divine Truth should perpetually shine in their Heads, whose Hearts and Lives were the Sink of all Impiety and Pollution! That such Incarnate Fiends should be the living Oracles of God!

* Gen. Chron. lib. 4. ad Ann. 901.

+ Bar. Annal. ad Ann. 900. Sect.

and that the divine Spirit should be obliged to preserve those from all Error, whom the infernal Spirit had filled with all Wickedness! This is a Paradox indeed which those may believe who pin their Faith upon the Priest's Sleeve, but will never enter into the Thoughts of any that have not willfully closed their Eyes against all means of Conviction.

The other Argument is drawn from the notorious Ignorance of Roman Popes. All the world knows, that the Popes are not ordinarily chosen, with respect to their Learning or Capacity, any more than with respect to their Piety or Virtues; but by the Interest of *Papish* Princes, or their Art to manage the Factions among the Cardinals. Accordingly nothing is more usual than for the Election to fall upon those that are far better versed in Ecclesiastical Policy and their Canon-Law, than in the Holy Scriptures. And therefore such Popes are wholly at a loss, when any Controversies in Divinity are brought before them. Thus it was with Pope *Innocent X.* when, through the importunity of the *Jesuits*, he was prevailed upon to interpose his Judgment about the Writings of *Janfenius*; he plainly confessed, that he understood not those Matters; For (said he) *I am a Canonist, but no Divine.* * And the same *Pope* gives the like account of his Predecessor *Clement VIII.* *That after he had both heard the same controversy debated by the best Divines, and had studied it himself, he knew not what to determine in it; but thought it most advisable to impose perpetual Silence on both the contending Parties.* And yet these very Popes that so ingenuously profess their own Ignorance, and that dare hardly meddle with such thorny Questions in Divinity, for fear of pricking their own Fingers with them, must be deemed the infallible living Oracle of the Church; and the unerring Judges of those Articles of Religion, which they own they never studied or understood.

And we need go no farther than the Instance I just now mention'd to shew, how little the Pope's Infallibility is regarded in the *Romish Church* itself. For when Pope *Innocent X.* was prevail'd on, by the unwearied Sollicitation of the *Jesuits*, to condemn the Five Propositions suppos'd to be in *Janfenius's* Book, did his Decision put an end to the Controversy? Nothing less. For the Followers of *Janfenius* pretended, That the Pope mistook the true Sense of *Janfenius's* Propositions, and therefore his Decision proceeding upon a mistake in Matter of Fact (*viz.* the true Sense of that Author) was no way obligatory to them. And why should we take him for an infallible Expositor of the true Sense of the inspired Penmen of the Bible, whom themselves suppose capable to mistake the Sense of any other Theological Writer? How shall he unerringly decide all Religious Controversies in the Church, that may mistake the true Sense of the Propositions laid before him to be approv'd or condemn'd by him?

But tho' the *Roman* Pope may err, perhaps we may find this infallible Authority lodg'd in those they call General Councils. And here we may expect to meet with that living Oracle and unerring Judge we are in quest of. For here the *Gallican Church* pretends the Seat of Infallibility to be found.

But then it must be consider'd, That if the Infallibility of a General Council be an Article of Faith, the generality of the *Roman* Popes, and the far greater part of the *Romish Church*, are all Hereticks. For General Councils are reckon'd fallible at *Rome*; and their Decisions and Decrees are reckon'd to derive all their Infallibility from the Approbation of the Pope, that living Oracle of the Church there.

And they want not shrewd Arguments to justify their Doctrine of the Fallibility of General Councils. To this purpose they justly allege those *Arrian* Councils at *Arimini* and *Syrmium*, which were far more numerous than that at *Nice*, and yet determin'd in favour

of the *Arrian* Cause. So that if General Councils have this Privilege of Infallibility, the *Arrian* Creed has a much better Authority to plead than the *Nicene*. Besides, they allege the frequent Contrariety of the Decisions of General Councils in matters of Faith, that are so obvious to all who are in the least acquainted with Church History.

But we Protestants have an untoward Objection against their constituting General Councils the infallible Judges in all matters of Divine Faith, *viz.* That the Asserters of this infallible Tribunal in the Church, plead for the perpetual Necessity of it in every Age, because they reckon it the necessary Remedy against all Errors and Heresies. But how can that be, when there was no such thing as what they now call a General Council ever heard or thought of, for above three hundred Years in the Christian Church? When the calling of such a Council depended on a meer unforeseen Accident, *viz.* the Advancement of *Constantine* to the Imperial Throne. Nay, how can we suppose the perpetual Necessity of such a General Council, when there has often been none for above two hundred Years together? And 'tis now above one hundred and fifty Years since the last that assum'd that Name, *viz.* that of *Trent*. And as far as we can judge of the Intentions of the Popes that are to succeed, by the Inclinations of their Predecessors, we are like to see no such thing as one of their General Councils for as many Years yet to come. And can we think this grand Privilege of Infallibility (so necessary as they pretend for the security of the Christian Faith in every Age) to be lodg'd in a Thing that does not exist at all, and no Man can tell whether it ever will exist again? Must this perpetual living Oracle be dumb for so many Ages together? Must it depend on the meer Pleasure of Popes, or Princes, whether it shall ever speak again at all? The Decrees of past Councils are as liable to be misinterpreted and misunderstood as the Holy Scriptures, and there is the same need of an infallible Expositor to assure us of the Sense of the one as of the other. So that to place this Infallibility in General Councils runs 'em upon the same Inconveniencies they would pretend to avoid, by denying, That the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Scriptures, is the infallible Judge of Controversies. A Council that is long since past and gone, and may never be conven'd again, for any thing we can foresee, is no living and perpetual Judge.

There are indeed some others of the *Romish Church* who seem desirous to compromise this matter; and therefore would place this Infallibility neither in the Pope alone, nor in a General Council alone, but in both together; and accordingly they suppose the Decrees of General Councils to be infallible, when confirm'd by the Bishop of *Rome*.

But this Opinion is liable to the same Objection as the former, that there has been no Pope and Council in Conjunction this 150 Years, and probably we may wait many more before we shall see such a Show again. And what then becomes of this living Oracle, this perpetual Judge of Controversies in the Church? To what Tribunal must we in this Age appeal, if any new Controversies in Religion be started? The Church has now no such Tribunal, and we know not, whether it will have any more such to the end of the World. And what then is become of its boasted Infallibility?

But this Opinion of placing the Infallibility in a Pope and Council together, is (if possible) an absurder Pretence than either of the two former. Thus, for Instance, the Council of *Trent* drew up several Decisions in matters of Faith; and, at the Conclusion of their Session, they presented them to the Pope for his Confirmation. Now I would demand, When the Council had formed their Decrees, were they infallible in their Decisions or no? If they were, then the Council alone is infallible. But this the Pope and the greater part of the *Romish Church* will by no means own.

If

* See St. Amour's Journal, &c. part iii. c. 12.

If they were not, then how comes the Pope's Approbation to render them infallible when the Pope himself may err? How comes the Council never to gain Infallibility till they have lost their Existence? Nay, how comes the Pope, that is supposed to be fallible in his own Decrees, to be infallible in confirming the Decrees of others? As if he could be infallible in seeing with other mens Eyes, who may be deceived in seeing with his own?

Besides, this Pretension is entirely destroyed by the contrary Decisions of Popes and Councils when in Conjunction, and that in reference to this Capital Point of Supreme Infallible Authority. For we have in two General Councils, and both headed by Roman Popes, (*viz.* that of *Basil* and *Constance*) the Superiority of a Council above the Pope declared. And I am sure, wherever the Supreme Authority is lodged, this Privilege of Infallibility must according to them follow it. And yet by two other Councils, and those headed by Roman Popes (*viz.* that of *Florence* and the last *Lateran* Council) the Superiority of a Pope above a General Council is declared. Now where to place this supreme infallible Authority is, among them, the most important matter of Faith, being (as they suppose) absolutely necessary to all Certainty in the Christian Religion. And yet in the Decision of this grand Point, a Pope and General Council have actually erred, unless contradictory Assertions can both be true. Nay, all these four Councils I have mentioned, with the Popes that headed them, have agreed in rejecting this Conceit of this Privilege of supreme and infallible Authority being divided between them. All agree, it must be either in the Pope, or in (what they call) a General Council.

And these miserable Confusions have of late driven many of their modern Writers to a new shift, and a very desperate one, of placing this Infallibility neither in a Pope, nor in a General Council, but in the Diffusive Body of those they call *Roman Catholics*. And this Infallibility they ground not on any supernatural Privilege, but on the Certainty of oral Tradition; *i. e.* They wisely suppose, that the Memory of all their Ancestors in all Ages have been so far infallible, and their Honesty and Sincerity so absolutely uncorrupted, that they have handed down all the Articles of Faith, which the *Romish* Church now holds, from Father to Son, without any Mixture or Corruption for these 1700 Years. But sure in this, we may appeal to common Sense, whether ever there was a more wild and ridiculous Supposition, and more contrary to certain Matter of Fact? If oral Tradition be so infallible a way of Conveyance, how was it possible for the *Nicene* Creed to prevail in one Age, and the *Arrian* to obtain so universally in the succeeding one? How was it possible in the *Greek* Church for one Council to declare the worship of Images unlawful, and another so soon to determine the quite contrary? How frequent were the contradictory Decisions of such pretended General Councils? And how plain a demonstration is every Instance of this kind against this pretended infallible Certainty of oral Tradition. And indeed the Pretence is as ridiculous, as if they should tell us, that there is no need of our Statute-Books, because the Memories of our Judges and Lawyers will more infallibly convey the knowledge of our Laws, without any alteration or corruption, to all succeeding Ages.

But there lies an untoward Objection against this pretended infallible Certainty of oral Tradition; that the *Eastern* and *Southern* Churches have the same pretensions to it, as the *Latin* or *Romish* Church; and consequently they have the same Claim to Infallibility. But if the *Romish* Church reject their Claim, and tell us, that oral Tradition has failed among them; (as it most certainly has, if ever all the Articles of the *Trent* Creed were the Faith of the Universal Church) then this pretended Certainty of oral Tradition is over-

thrown; and we have the same reason to conclude, that oral Tradition has failed among themselves.

We certainly know, that oral Tradition did thus fail among the *Jews*, handing down Errors instead of Truth, and the meer Precepts of Men instead of the Commands of God. And yet they were the only visible Church, and if the Certainty of Tradition could any where be relied on, it might among them. But since it so grossly misled them, how much more may we presume it has done those of the Church of *Rome*; when we consider all the new Articles she has added to the ancient Creeds, and the prodigious difference between her present and her ancient Rituals.

And after all, I would only ask the Authors of this opinion, where is the Tribunal of this Diffusive Church Catholick? Where did they ever meet to declare their Judgment? How shall we make any appeal to them in the controverted Articles of Religion, or come to know their Decisions concerning them? Here I am afraid, we must be sent back to a Pope, or a Council, again, and must, right or wrong, take their Decisions for the Judgment of the Catholick Church. And so we are but just where we were before.

In a word, we see that after all this noise about an infallible Judge of Controversies, and a living Oracle in the Church, even those that pretend to it cannot to this day agree, who it is. They have the Spirit of Infallibility among them, but they cannot tell in whom it resides. Whom one Party sets up in this Sovereign Tribunal, another pulls down. So that we must leave themselves to agree first, to whom this Infallibility belongs; and it will be then time enough to hear the Decisions of this infallible Judge, provided he first prove the Truth of so vast Pretensions.

I shall conclude this Head, with a short Remark on Father *Nery's* admirable Evasion to solve these perplexing Difficulties.

'To illustrate this matter (saith he *) let us propose a familiar Example; if I should ask, where the Lord-Mayor of *London* is at this time; and some should tell me, he is in his own House; others, not in his own House, but somewhere in *London*; and others, neither in his own House, nor in *London*, but in *England*: I would willingly know, whether these three sorts of People do not all agree that my Lord-Mayor is in *England*. Certainly they do, because the assent of the two former is necessarily implied in the latter.

'In like manner, tho' some say, the Pope is infallible; others, not the Pope alone, but together with a General Council; and others, neither Pope nor Council alone, without the Concurrence of the Diffusive Body of Christians; yet all concenter in this, that the Diffusive Body of Christians is infallible. The Doctor then is very much out, when he saith, they know not where this Infallibility is, tho' they are sure they have it.

I need do no more to shew the Weakness and Absurdity of this Evasion than to tell the Author, that he has proposed his example wrong. For the Question should have been, Who is Lord-Mayor of *London*? Now, what would the Authority of a Lord-Mayor signify to end all Differences in the City, if one Party say, *John-a-Nokes* is Lord-Mayor, another, that *John-a-Stiles* is Lord Mayor, and a third Party set up a third Person: Would not any wise Man desire them to agree among themselves who is Lord-Mayor, before they call on others to be subject to his Authority? Would their all agreeing that they have a Lord-Mayor among them, signify any thing to the ending those Controversies that are to be decided by his Authority?

Or to bring the Matter nearer to the Dispute before us; let us suppose, that the City of *London* should claim such a Sovereignty in Civil and Criminal Causes, as some Cities in *Holland* and *Germany* enjoy. What

* *Modest and True Account*, p. 67.

would

would this Claim signify, if they could not agree, who was vested with this Sovereignty: If one Party placed it in the Lord-Mayor alone; another, in the Court of Aldermen; another, in the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen; another, in none of the former, but in the Common-Council. Would their all agreeing in the general Claim of such a Sovereignty signify any thing till they could agree in whom it was vested? Would the Notion of such a Sovereign Tribunal be of any use to decide Causes, till they could agree, Whom to place in it?

The Case is the same here, The Church of Rome pretends to Infallibility among them. The Pope claims it to himself. But his Claim is rejected by a great part of those of his own Communion. Those called General Councils claim it as their Privilege. Their claim is rejected by most of the *Roman Bishops*, and by the Majority of those of that Communion. Some conjoin them in that Privilege. But their Opinion is rejected by all that place it in the diffusive Body of Roman Catholics. And this last Party found this vast Privilege upon a quite different Bottom, viz. Not any supernatural Gift; but the Certainty of oral Tradition. All do indeed agree, That they have Infallibility among them; but how can this Gentleman have the face to pretend, That they are agreed in whom to place it, when every one of these distinct Claims is rejected by so great a part of their own Communion? We may justly invert his Argument; If the Pope be not infallible, a Council cannot make him so; if a Council be not infallible, the Pope's concurrence cannot make them so; if the diffusive Body of Roman Catholics be not infallible in themselves, their Concurrence with the Judgment of a fallible Pope, and a fallible Council, can never render their Decisions infallible. So that their vain Pretensions to Infallibility are evidently destroyed by themselves.

I now proceed,

IV. To shew, That were there any such infallible Tribunal in the Catholick Church, the Church of Rome would have the least Pretension of any other to engross it to themselves.

The Truth is, If any such Privilege, as that of Infallibility, belonged to the Universal Church, it were most reasonable to place it in those they call General Councils. I say in those they call General Councils. For after all the Noise of them, there never yet was any such thing as a truly General Council in the Christian World. The most General were those call'd by the *Roman Emperors* before the Division of the Empire. But 'tis evident that their Mandates did never reach to the Extra-Imperial Churches, who had therefore no Invitation to send their Representatives to them. And can any Man that knows how far Christianity had then spread thro' the habitable Earth, ever imagine that two hundred and fifty or three hundred Bishops, were capable to make a true Representation of the Judgment of all Christian Churches within and without the bounds of the vast *Roman Empire*? Such a Number of Divines are few enough to give any tolerable Representation of the Judgment of all the Christians in one large Kingdom. How unreasonable then is it, that they should pretend to do it for the whole Christian World? And how come they to pretend to represent the Judgment of the Laity, that never deputed them for any such purpose? And truly none that impartially reads the Management of Debates in the most celebrated of those Councils, (as particularly the first four Councils that assume the Name of General ones) and observes the Contentions and Heats, the Animosities and Passions, the notorious Ignorance and Unskilfulness, that appears in their so often mistaking nominal Controversies for real ones, would ever dream of any such thing as the

Spirit of Infallibility residing among them, and directing all their Decisions.

But since the Division of the *Roman Empire*, and the Separation of the *Greek* and *Latin Church*, there has been no such thing as looked like a General Council. Nay, in the present State of the Universal Church, 'tis impossible there should be any such thing at all. A Council composed of as many Divines as are capable of giving any true Representation of the Judgment of all the Christian Churches in *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*, could not so much as be called and meet together, without the concurrent Agreement not only of all Christians, but of many Infidel Princes and States, about the Time and Place of their Assembly. And can any Man in his Senses ever expect they should ever come to such an Agreement? I shall start no Difficulties at present about the long Voyages and Journeys that the designed Members of this truly Oecumenical Synod must take, or how their great Charges shall be born. I shall only observe, That when they are met they would be far too numerous to compose one Assembly; they would not so much as understand any one common Language to manage their Debates in; and we might probably as soon expect Regularity and Concord in the Builders of *Babel*, after the Confusion of Tongues, as hope for any order in their Debates, or Harmony in their Judgments, as to the Matters in difference among themselves. So that a truly General Council is a meer imaginary thing that never did ye exist, and the Attempt of calling one is evidently impracticable.

But for the late Councils, which those of the *Romish Church* call General ones, they are no better than the Cabals of a corrupt and degenerate Sect, and the most of them notoriously enslaved by the *Roman Bishops*. I need only instance in the celebrated Council of *Trent*, whose Decisions are the present Standard of the *Romish Faith*. An Assembly chiefly composed of such *Italians* as were the pensioners of the Court of *Rome*; and they were so far destitute of any true Freedom of Debate, that the Court of *Rome* at the first made themselves Masters of all their Debates, by getting that Clause pass'd, *That nothing should be debated but what the Popes Legates proposed*. A Clause that made the Council often loudly complain of their being enslaved to the Court of *Rome*. But all in vain. For the Grievance was never redress'd, nor the Clause revoked till the Synod was breaking up, and there was no farther use of it. And no impartial Man can read the History of their Proceedings, (whether in *Father Paul* or in *Cardinal Pallovincini* himself) without clearly preceiving, that instead of the Holy Spirit's presiding among them, the Court of *Rome* did, with a thousand Artifices, with all the exquisite turns of human Policy, with Bribes and Pensions, with Flattery and Menaces, turn and wind that Assembly at their own pleasure, formed all their Decisions for them, and eluded all Attempts that struck at the Authority of the Popes, and the notorious corruptions of their Courts, and baulked all the designs of such a Reformation as all *Europe* groaned for. And after all, the Pope that confirmed their Decrees made himself yet more fully Master of them, by reserving the Interpretation of them to his own Court. And yet this packed Convention (consisting chiefly of the Pope's sworn Vassals) that had no other Inspiration than what came by the Couriers from *Rome*, all Christians thro' the World must take for infallible Judges in matters of Religion. On their Authority we must believe, *That we ought to bow down to Images*, in opposition to the plain Language of the second Command; *That the Laity are not oblig'd to receive the Cup in the Lord's Supper*, tho' our Saviour has expressly said, *Drink ye all of it*. Upon their Authority, we must (in defiance both of Scripture and common Sense) take Divine Service in an unknown Tongue to be most expedient for the Edification of the People. Upon their Decision,

Decision, we must digest all the Absurdities of *Transubstantiation*, and that stupid Contradiction of the *Romish* being the universal Church. Upon their Authority, we must take all their most trifling Decisions to be necessary Articles of Faith, and all the Christian World that refuse to subscribe them for damnable Hereticks. And would they persuade us that such a Council cannot err, when their Errors in these Decisions (and many more) are so gross and notorious. Nay, could any Assembly of Men have fallen into such palpable Errors, unless God had in just Judgment left them to a Spirit of Blindness, and given them up to strong Delusions? Methinks I cannot compare their pretensions to Infallibility to any thing else, than to a company of infected Persons shut up in a Pest-House, that should confidently pretend all others to have the Plague, and themselves to be the only sound Men, when the Plague-Sores are all the while visible upon them to every one's Eyes but their own. The wise God seems to have permitted their running into such uncommon and manifest Errors, to render the Vanity of their proud Pretensions to Infallibility the more conspicuous to the Christian World.

How comes then the *Church of Rome*, that of all other Christian Churches, has made the most notorious Defection from the Simplicity and Purity of the Christian Religion, and whose Councils have of all others had the least shew of Liberty in their Decisions, to engross this Privilege of Infallibility to themselves?

To make good this extravagant Claim, The fore-mentioned *Author of the modest and true Account*, &c. undertakes to prove, *That the Congregation of the Faithful in Communion with the Bishop of Rome, and no other, is the Catholick Church.* *

One would think that such a Proposition should at first view appear to be in the highest Degree *Schismatical* and *Uncharitable*. 'Tis therefore worth our while to observe, how he goes about to prove it. To that purpose he lays down these four *Principles*, as he calls them,

1. *That in the Catholick Church there is, and shall be, a continued succession of Bishops, Priests, and Teachers, from Christ to the End of the World.*
2. *That there is but one Catholick Church.*
3. *That one Communion, as well as one Faith, is essential to the Being of one Church.*
4. *That whoever separates from, or is Excommunicated by, the Church, for the obstinate Denial of any Article of the Faith which the Church professes, cannot be justly called a Member of the Church.*

For the *second Principle*: We shall let it pass.

Let us now see, how he proves and applies the rest to make good his uncharitable Conclusion.

For the *first Principle*, he brings no other Proof of it, than from *Eph. iv. 11, 12.* where the Apostle tells us, *That Christ gave some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers.* Now all that this Text proves, is, That besides the extraordinary Officers employed for the first Plantation of the Christian Church, our Saviour designed there should be a Succession of those ordinary ones of *Pastors* and *Teachers* in it. So, that if by *Bishops, Priests, and Teachers*, he means the same as the Apostle does by *Pastors* and *Teachers*, it will be allowed him, That our Saviour instituted the Office of such *Pastors* and *Teachers* for the perpetual use of his Church, if that be all he means by this continued Succession.

And now let us see, what he would hence infer. 'Tis, in short, *That according to this Principle, the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches are destitute of the least pretence to the Name of the Catholick Church.*

Answer, If he mean, that they have no pretence to be the universal Church, 'tis granted, they never were guilty of so monstrous and senseless Uncharitableness as those of the *Romish Church*, in engrossing the

Name of the *Catholick Church* to themselves. But why may they not pretend to be a Part of it, and the soundest and most uncorrupted Part of it, among whom our common Christianity is restored to incomparably greater Purity than in the *Eastern Churches*, and much more than in the *Romish Church*? And what has this Gentleman to say against this Pretence?

To disprove this pretence, he tells us, "They have neither lawful Pastors, nor lawful Mission, nor right Ordination, which cannot be given without the Imposition of a Bishop's Hands; and consequently not the least pretence to the Catholick Church." To this purpose he represents some learned Divines of the Church of *England* as reasoning thus, "No Man can be called a Christian without being baptized; Baptism can only be conferr'd by such as have Authority to administer the Sacraments; no Man can have this Authority but by lawful Ordination. And this cannot be conferred without Imposition of Hands by lawfully ordained Bishops. Bishops, these Sects own they have not; consequently nor true Baptism nor Christianity."

Answer, If by Bishops be meant the Pastors that have the oversight of Christian Flocks, (such as the Bishops of the Church of *Ephesus* mentioned *Acts xx. 28.* Or those of the Church of *Philippi*, *Phil. i. 1.* Or those described in *1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. 1.*) All these Churches whom he thus most uncharitably excludes from the Catholick Church, have such Bishops; and among them the Sacraments are administered, and Ordinations are performed by the Imposition of the Hands of such truly scriptural Bishops. And so the Foundation of this mighty Demonstration, by which he would unchristian all those excellent Churches, is no better than a most notorious Falshood.

If by Bishops he means *Diocesan ones*, to make good his Argument, he has these three things to prove, which he is so wise as never once to attempt.

- I. That this *Diocesan Episcopacy* is of Divine Right and Institution.

For if the Distinction between Bishop and Presbyter, as two different Orders and Offices, be only owing to Ecclesiastical Institution, then the want of such Bishops can at most be no more than the Breach of an human Order; and nothing can be more absurd, than to assert, That the Violation of such an human Order does exclude those from the Church of Christ that believe all the essential Articles of the Christian Faith, and sincerely obey the *Laws of Christ*. This is no less arrogant Presumption than to equal the canons of Men with the *Laws of Christ*. Now this Author either does, or should understand, that the wisest and best of the Fathers never ascribe this difference of Order between Bishop and Presbyter to any other Original than human Institution. And the generality of the *Papist* School-men maintain the same Opinion. Nor do the *Roman Popes* themselves own the Divine Right of *Diocesan Episcopacy*. Nay farther,

II. He must prove also, That tho' *Diocesan Episcopacy* were of Divine Right, yet that the Observation of this point of Order, that relates to the Form of Church-Government, is essential to the Being of the Catholick Church.

i. e. He must prove, That the Gospel of our Saviour lays so great stress upon the Authority of *Diocesan Bishops*, (tho' it no where so much as expressly mentions them) that *Subjection to Christ himself* (by a sincere Belief of his Doctrine and Obedience to Laws) will entitle no Man to the Blessings of his everlasting Covenant without a Subjection to such *Diocesan Bishops*. And if this be true, the Author would do well to tell us, in what Bible he finds the tenor of such a Christian Covenant, for we cannot meet with it in ours. Perhaps he may find it in some oral Tradition lodg'd in the Breasts of such as the learned Mr. *Dodwell*.

Again

Again he must farther prove,

III. That the Line of *Episcopal Succession* has been *uninterrupted* ever since the Apostle's time.

And if his own, and all other christian Baptism, and consequently their *Title to Christianity* must be called in Question, till he has proved that his Baptizer was *ordained by a lawfully ordained Bishop*, and that Bishop consecrated by a lawfully ordained Bishop, and so on till he comes to the Apostle's Age; I am afraid he will find it a difficult task to prove, that there is a Christian, or a Church in the World. And if he run to the Line of the *Romish Church*; I am sure, if the want of all the Qualifications which the Apostle requires in a christian Bishop, if any kind of Immoralities, if *Simony*, or any other Crime he can easily name, can incapacitate a Man for the Episcopal Office, their Succession has been, of all others, the most notoriously interrupted. And is not this admirable Doctrine, to make every Man's Right to Christianity as doubtful as such an uninterrupted Succession? Is not this as ridiculous as if they should tell us, that our Food will not nourish us unless dispensed by such a particular hand? Is not this making a Mitre, and Lawn-sleeves, and a shaven Crown, as necessary to Salvation, as *Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*? And do not such wretched Principles, as these, give too far an handle to those that thence take occasion to reproach our common Christianity as meer Priestcraft? That such a poor Bigot as Father *Nery* should espouse them is no great wonder; but that such Pretenders to Learning as Mr. *Dodwell*, and others, should use such senseless Arguments as these to unchurch all the Reformed Churches, is a great scandal and reproach to reformed Christianity. But this Author is extremely in the wrong, if he insinuate these to be the common Sentiments of the Church of *England*. And how well the Papists reward such degenerate Protestants, as Mr. *Dodwell* and his followers, will appear in what follows.

His third Principle is, *That one Communion, as well as one Faith, is necessary to the Being of one Church.* (I suppose he means one catholic Church.)

Here our Author would have done well to have explained what he means by one Communion. If he mean Communion in our subjection to one supreme Head of the Church, our Lord Jesus Christ; in our belief of the same holy Scriptures, nay, of the same Summaries of the christian Faith that were known to the three first Ages; in the substance of the same Worship which the Gospel institutes, and in Charity to all those that agree with us in the same Essentials of Christianity, so far there is one Communion in the catholic Church. But then the *Lutheran* and *Calvinist* Churches, the Church of *England*, and all those Eastern Churches whom he would condemn, have all these Marks of that one Communion. But if by one Communion he mean, Communion in subjection to such a pretended vicarious Head of the Catholic Church, as the Bishop of *Rome*, or in all the unscriptural (or even doubtful) Articles of Faith that are superadded to Christianity, or in all the pompous Rites that have been superadded to the plain and simple Institutions of the Gospel; or, in a word, in any thing beyond the Essentials of Christianity, we deny that any such one external Communion is necessary to the Being of the catholic Church. Nay, those do of all Men render their Relation to the catholic Church most questionable, who make such Communion as this necessary to it, and who renounce all christian Charity towards those that refuse to communicate with them, in these corrupt Additions to our common Christianity. Nay, if one external Communion be essential to the Being of one catholic Church, then in all those innumerable Schisms that have happened in the christian Church (nay in the *Papish* Church itself) to the dividing their external Communion, the one or other of

the contending Parties have ceased to be a Part of the catholic Church. And does Father *Nery* think; that; upon the Authority of the Author of the *Cyprianick* Age we will admit of a Principle that in every Age must unchurch the far greatest part of the Church catholic? What a load of Guilt must then lie upon those that necessitate this different external Communion by their sinful and unwarrantable Impositions? And how heavy does this Charge fall upon the *Romish* Church? For if this Principle be true, then the culpable Author of such Schisms cut off their own Relation to the catholic Church. And if those be the culpable Authors of Schisms in the christian Church, who impose any sinful Terms of Communion, then the *Romish* Church, that is of all others the most guilty of it, is no Part of the catholic Church. So that these rash, excommunicating, damning Sentences, like overcharged Guns, do but recoil on those that would level them against others.

His fourth Principle is, *That whoever separates from, or is excommunicated by, the Church, for the obstinate Denial of any Article of the Faith which the Church professes, cannot justly be called a Member of the Church.*

And in pursuance of this Principle, this Author excludes the *Greek*, and all other eastern Churches; and the Church of *England* (whom he brands both as heretical for renouncing the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, and as schismatical in her separation from that Church).

Answer, If by the Church he here means the universal Church, there is no doubt but that he that separates from the universal Church, by renouncing any Essentials of the Christian Faith, and is excommunicated on that account, can be no Member of the universal Church.

But what signifies this to the case of all those Churches whom this Author so rashly and blindly excludes from the catholic Church? For the *Greek* Church and the Church of *England*, I must desire him to tell us, what essential Article of the Christian Faith they renounce, that is received by the universal Church? Do they not receive the Holy Scriptures, and all the Summaries of the christian Faith that were known in the three first Centuries; nay, the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* Creeds themselves? What then is this universal Church which they separate from, or are excommunicated by? If he mean, they separate from the Church of *Rome*, and are excommunicated by her, is not this a notorious begging of the Question, and taking for granted what he should first have proved?

But if he mean whatever Doctrines have once very generally spread and prevailed in the christian World, tho' they are so far from being essential Articles of the christian Religion, that they are no better than corrupt Additions to it, that in this Case for any particular Persons or Churches to refuse to embrace those corrupt Additions when imposed, and to adhere to uncorrupted Christianity in opposition to them, and to continue doing so tho' excommunicated by the Imposers, is such a crime as will exclude Men from the catholic Church; If, I say, this be his Meaning, he could not advance a more notoriously false Proposition. This is so far from being true, that if the Majority of the Clergy and Laity in the christian Church, should agree never so fully in advancing any new Articles of Faith unknown to the holy Scriptures, (and much more if contrary to them) and should presume to make the owning them necessary Terms of christian Communion, and to excommunicate all that will not herein concur with them, they are hereby guilty of the most heinous Schism. And tho' I will not say, that they hereby utterly cut off their own Relation to the catholic Church, because they may retain the Essentials of Christianity, and may not discern the Evil and Danger of these corrupt Additions; yet they, of all Men, have the least pretence to engross this Title of the catholic Church, and render their own Relation

to it far more doubtful and questionable, than their's that adhere to uncorrupted Christianity, in opposition to such rash and blind *Anathemas*. That the latter are a part of the catholic Church is unquestionable; unless we will suppose, that our blessed Lord will disown Men for adhering to the Purity of his own Gospel, and for rejecting such Doctrines as bear no stamp of his Authority, or are contrary to his own Revelation. But for the former, no doubt our blessed Lord will disown such corrupt Additions to his Gospel, and will regard the Endeavours of imposing them upon all the christian World, and the excommunicating of all that dissent from such Impositions, as a pernicious and arrogant Usurpation of his Authority, who is the only Master of our Religion, and who alone can claim a Dominion over our Faith. Such rash *Hereticks* and *Anathematizers* may indeed run a great hazard of damning themselves, by their insolent Presumption and gross Uncharitableness. But 'tis not in their power, by such blind *Anathemas*, to damn all that reject their corrupt Additions to the ancient *Creeeds*.

And this is the real case in reference to the *Romish Church*. She excommunicates the *Church of England*, and all other Protestant Churches, for not receiving all the Articles which the *Trent Creed* has added to the Apostolical. And, on the same Account, she excommunicates the eastern Churches. Now if all those Articles wherein she differs from them be meer Additions to our common Christianity, and very corrupt ones too, the Rejection of them can never exclude any of those Churches out of the catholic Church. On the contrary, the imposing them is a most unwarrantable Usurpation, and the true culpable Cause of all the Separation that ensues. And to separate from such Errors is not a renouncing the Communion of the catholic Church, but a necessary means to restore the true and genuine Terms of catholic Communion, which ought to be no other than the Essentials of Christianity. For 'tis in those alone we must ever expect to see any universal Agreement among Christians. And till the Reliques of Papal and Patriarchal Pride, and the Spirit of Imposition be banished out of the catholic Church. We must expect there will be a multiplicity of external Communions in it, on the account of such Impositions, tho' there be but one Communion with respect to the Essentials of the christian Religion. And those that place that one Communion in any thing more than the Essentials of Christianity, do but, under the name of catholic Communion, give a deep wound to that necessary branch of it, catholic Charity; and, by their blind Attempts to unchurch all others, go a great way towards unchurching themselves. And as the *Romish Church* has above all others gone the farthest towards renouncing catholic Charity, as well as corrupting the christian Faith and Worship, so she has rendered her own Relation to the catholic Church the most doubtful of any other whatsoever. So that if the privilege of Infallibility did belong to the catholic Church, she would have the least Claim to any share of it.

I now proceed to the

Fifth and last Head, viz. *That the Church of Rome's having made use of this Pretension of Infallibility, to justify all the Cruelties she exercises against those that dissent from her Decisions, has thereby furnished us with a new and demonstrative Argument against the Infallibility she so confidently pretends to.*

That the *Romish Church* does account all *Papish* Princes obliged to exterminate all those whom she condemns as *Hereticks* out of their Dominions, is manifest from the Determination of the fourth *Lateran Council*, under *Innocent III.* that decrees the Excommunication and Deposition of all *Papish* Princes

that neglect the doing it when 'tis in their power. A Council which the late Author of the *true and modest Account*, &c. tells us "has all the Marks and Characters that the most *Oecumenical Council* ever had, "containing near 1200 *Prelates*." * This Doctrine is the only Ground that can justify the proceedings of the Inquisition-Tribunal. And the *Romish* Bishops have acted consonantly to it, in so often exciting *Papish* Princes to exterminate *Hereticks*, and in applauding them for those Massacres and Butcheries of their own subjects, which have been acted by their authority, in order to the extirpation of *Hereticks*.

And to this I may add, the Doctrine of the Council of *Constance*, which has so great Affinity with it, viz. *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*.

Now let us a little enquire, how consonant these Doctrines are to the Gospel of our blessed Saviour.

For the former Doctrine, viz. That 'tis not only lawful, but the Duty of Princes and temporal Lords to exterminate *Hereticks* out of their Dominions, even so great a Duty as that the continued Neglect of it deserves Excommunication, let us compare it with our Saviour's Declaration in a parallel Case. The *Samaritans* were both *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*. They were *Schismatics*, having forsaken the Temple at *Jerusalem*, where God appointed all their publick Sacrifices to be offer'd, and erected a Temple on mount *Gerizim*, in opposition to it. They were *Hereticks* and *Idolaters* that erred in matters wherein their Salvation was concerned. For our Saviour tells them, *Ye worship ye know not what, for salvation is of the Jews*, John iv. 22. And whereas the *Romish Church* exercises her Cruelty against pretended *Schismatics* and *Hereticks*, chiefly for refusing to receive the pretended *Vicar of Christ*, these *Samaritans* refused to receive our blessed Lord himself; (see Luke ix. 53, 54.) and yet when the Disciples were, upon that great provocation, for calling to God to send Fire from Heaven to consume these *Schismatics* and *Hereticks*, that refused to receive our blessed Saviour himself, he was so far from approving their Zeal (tho' they had the Example of *Elias* to countenance it) that he sharply rebuked them, and told them, *They knew not what manner of spirit they were of, for the Son of Man was not come to destroy the lives of men, but to save them*. And sure he that would not allow his Disciples to call for fire from Heaven, would much less allow them to kindle destructive flames on Earth to consume even *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* themselves. He that came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, will never approve their Doctrine and Practice, who think themselves obliged to sacrifice many thousands, nay, millions, of Lives, by bloody Massacres and merciless Inquisitions to their flaming Zeal against what they call *Schism* and *Heresy*. (And O! then how dreadful is the aggravation of their guilt herein, beyond what words can express, if those sufferers, whom they destroy under the Notion of *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, be the real Members of Christ, and the sincere Professors of uncorrupted Christianity!) All that our Saviour allows to be done towards those that refuse to hear the Church, is to account them as *Heathens* and *Publicans*. Matth. xviii. 17. (i. e. to exclude them from christian Communion.) And even here the Church that excludes them must take great care, that it be only for such Offences and such Impenitency in them as by the tenor of the Gospel will exclude them from Heaven. Otherwise, they must not think, that the great God will be only the Church's Lictor to execute her excommunicating Sentence, whether it be right or wrong. 'Tis only the crimes of those obdurate Sinners which they retain on Earth that shall be retained in Heaven. But to exclude men from christian Communion, is a quite different thing from cutting their Throats, or roasting them alive. To treat *Infidels* and *Heathens* themselves at that rate would be no better than Murther and Cruel-

ty. And the Apostles themselves do herein tread exactly in our Saviour's Steps. All that St. Paul would have done even to a self-condemned Heretick, after the first and second Admonition, is, to reject or avoid him. Tit. iii. 10. (i. e. to shun his familiar Converse, to disown his pernicious Doctrine and Practice, and to disclaim any Communion with him therein.) But this is a very different thing from embroiling our hands in his Blood, or condemning him to the Flames. Nay, the same Apostle recommends to the Servant of the Lord a far different Carriage towards those that oppose his Doctrine, that he should be patient, and in meekness instruct such gain-sayers, if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth. 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. But 'tis hard to reconcile this notion of Meekness and Patience to the new French way of Conversions by missionary Dragoons, and their brutal (or rather infernal) Barbarities, or the elder way of an Inquisition-Tribunal.

I would not hereby insinuate, as if all those called Roman Catholicks did cordially approve such monstrous Cruelty; or that all Popish Princes do indeed think themselves obliged in Conscience to exterminate all Hereticks out of their dominions when 'tis in their Power. I believe in many of them, our common Christianity (not to say Humanity itself) gives them some abhorrence of such Barbarity. Nay our Adversaries themselves seem so far ashamed of it, that tho' in the late Persecution of the French Churches they actually put this Doctrine in practice, and their King was applauded for doing it by one of the best of their Popes, Innocent XI. as if he had gained immortal Honour thereby, * yet they did at the same time take all imaginable pains to persuade the World, that they used no other methods than those of Mildness and Persuasion, to reduce the Calvinistical Hereticks into the Bosom of the catholick Church. Infomuch as the French King, in his infamous Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, publishes in the face of the World, That the generality of his Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion had freely returned to the Catholick Church. Nay, those very new Converts, whom by all imaginable Torments they compelled to renounce their Religion, were obliged to sign such a Form of Abjuration, wherein they declared their Renunciation to be free and voluntary. All this plainly shews, that they were ashamed of the barbarous Methods which they really used, but were resolved to cover their unchristian and inhuman Cruelty by the most abominable Falshood, and to come up to both the Characters of him, that was a Liar, as well as Murderer, from the beginning.

But for all those of the Romish Church who truly detest such cruelties as these, towards those they call Hereticks, I would desire them to make this obvious, but just, Reflection upon the Doctrine and Practice of the Romish Church. If it be not lawful (and much less a Duty) for Temporal Princes and Lords to exterminate Hereticks; if this be a false and pernicious Doctrine, contrary to the Gospel of Christ, and highly reproachful to the christian Name; then we have here one clear and convincing Argument more against the pretended Infallibility of the Roman Church. For this is really the Doctrine of the Romish Church, declared by one of her most numerous General Councils, and stands upon the same foot of Authority as Transubstantiation itself. And I need not tell the World, how consonant their Practice has been to it for several Ages (where-ever they could do it safely). Nay, their Inquisition-Tribunal is a standing Demonstration of their adherence to it. And so is it their Doctrine, that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, if the Council of Constance be of any Authority with them (or that of Trent, which owns the Council of Constance

for one of their General Councils). Now if the Roman Catholicks (as they affect to be called) own these Doctrines, and think themselves obliged to act pursuant to them, then we know what we are to expect from them whenever we come under their Power, viz. That they think themselves bound in Conscience to exterminate and destroy us whenever they are able. And tho' they should give us never so solemn Assurances to the contrary (such as those of the Edict of Nantz) they are not obliged to keep their Faith with us, whenever they can safely break it. If they disown these two Doctrines (which are in themselves so odious and detestable, and such an indelible Scandal to our common Christianity) then the Dispute about their Church's pretended Infallibility is at an end. For those two Councils, of Lateran and Constance, were as much General Councils, and their Decrees are as truly obligatory on all of the Romish Communion, as the Council of Trent and their Decisions. Nay, if we may reckon the Doctrine of a Pope and Council the more infallible for its being generally received by the diffusive Body of Roman Catholicks, I know of none that has met with a more general Approbation, if we may judge of their Doctrine by their Practice. And sure those must be abandoned to strong Delusions indeed, that can take that Church for infallible that has by her Doctrine so openly authorized Cruelty and Perfidiousness, or the Breach of the 6th and 9th Commandments. And the Truth is, when we view the Romish Church thundering out her rash Anathemas against all that dissent from her most notorious Corruptions in Doctrine, and Worship, and Practice, nay from her most frivolous and trifling Decisions, and pronouncing them incapable of Salvation; when we behold her expressing as merciless Cruelties to Men's Bodies, as gross Uncharitableness to their Souls; when we see her raising Croysadoes to massacre all that reject her Authority and Decrees, and setting up Inquisition Courts to rack and burn pretended Hereticks; when we see her vastly out-doing the Cruelties of Pagan Persecutions, and drenched with the Blood of several millions of such Sufferers, and her Clergy applauding all these inhuman Barbarities as so many laudable Acts of catholick Zeal; after all this, to believe this Church infallible would be as senseless a mistake, as to take savage Violence for Meekness, barbarous Cruelty for godlike Love, and incarnate Fiends for the Vicars of that blessed Jesus, who was the merciful Saviour of the Bodies as well as Souls of Men.

Having thus shewn the Absurdity and the pernicious Consequences of this Claim which the Romish Church lays to Infallibility, I shall close this Discourse with a few obvious Reflections thereon. And,

I. If this Claim be groundless and false, then we may infer, what an unsufferable height of Pride those are guilty of, who unjustly arrogate this infallible Authority to themselves.

And as none have been more forward in their Claim than the Bishop of Rome; so under pretence of it they have treated the blessed God and his sacred Word with the utmost indignity and contempt. The lively Oracles of God, are in the Church of Rome but a dead Letter. But 'tis the living Oracle at Rome that must give them their Life and Sense. Nay, so cheap and low is the Authority of God speaking in his Word, that this pretended Judge has declared unwritten Traditions to be of equal Authority with the written word (and of those Traditions to be sure he pretends to be the chief Depositary). Nay, he claims a Power of dispensing with all Laws, divine as well as human. And what can be a more genuine Character than this,

* 'Tis observable, that the French King and that Pope had violent Contests before; but as Herod and Pilate were made friends when Christ was to be put to Death, so both these agreed in the destruction of the poor Protestants of France.

of the man of sin sitting in the temple of God, and exalting himself above all that is called God, and worshipped? 2, Theff. ii. 4. And how shall we reconcile these arrogant Pretensions with that Child-like Humility which our blessed Saviour recommended to his Disciples, (and to St. Peter as much as any of the rest) when he so severely rebuked them for that ambitious Dispute among themselves, *who should be greatest?* (see Matth. xviii. 1, 2, 3, 4. compared with xx. 25, 26, &c.)

II. We may hence infer, of how pernicious influence this false Principle is, to harden those of the Romish Church in their most notorious Errors and Corruptions.

For while this Principle prevails among them, that this Privilege of Infallibility belongs to the catholick Church, and they are the catholick Church, they are hereby fenced against all means of Conviction by the Charm of this powerful Delusion.

For their Popes and Prelates, and dignified Clergy, we have a clear demonstration from the proceedings of the Council of Trent, how vain it is to expect from them any Reformation of those gross Abuses and Corruptions in Discipline, which themselves acknowledged and complained of. For tho' all owned the necessity of a Reformation, yet none could agree where to begin it. The Princes and Prelates were willing to reform the Court of Rome (the chief Spring of those grievous Disorders). But that Court found out the Artifice to fet them by the Ears together, by putting the Embassadors of Princes on demanding a Retrenchment of the exorbitant Power of the Prelates, and putting the Prelates on demanding a Retrenchment of the Power of Princes in Ecclesiastical Affairs. So that after all Europe had been long waiting for a Reformation, they found themselves miserably disappointed. For excepting a few inconsiderable Regulations, the reforming the most scandalous Abuses was referred back to the Court of Rome itself, whose Interest it was to continue them.

And for the Doctrine of that Church, 'tis now so fixed by the pretended Authority of that Council, that there is no hope of their retracting their most palpable and pernicious Errors without renouncing this glorious pretence of Infallibility. And till the Peoples Eyes are open to see this grand Cheat and Delusion, they are proof against all attempts for their Conviction. The miserable Profelytes of that Church are entirely hood-wink'd, or rather have voluntarily put out their own Eyes, to trust the infallible Conduct of their Clergy. They have tamely abandoned themselves to implicit Faith and blind Obedience. They are (as 'tis said of Issachar) *like an Ass couching under the Burden* of all the Impositions that their Clergy lay upon them. And partly through contented Ignorance, partly through the dread of a rigorous Inquisition, and chiefly through the suitableness of their Religion to the vitious propensions of human Nature, by contriving an easy way to Salvation, and partly also through the tremendous Judgment of God upon them for their want of Love to Truth, they are *given up to strong Delusions to believe a Lie*. They are among the blind, that are *led by the blind*. And till they come to discover this grand Imposture, there is little hope of recovering them to the acknowledgement of the Truth.

III. We may hence see the absolute necessity of restoring the Holy Scriptures to their just Authority, and the Author of them to his sovereign Empire over the Consciences of Men.

Our Adversaries themselves cannot deny the Holy Scriptures to be written by divine Inspiration. And for what other end can we suppose them to be written, but to make us *wise to Salvation, and thoroughly furnished to every good Work?* And why should we suppose them

insufficient to attain their end without the help of an infallible human Judge? Cannot the infinitely wise God express his mind as plainly as Men? And what tho' those sacred Writings are liable to be wrested by Men of perverse Minds? Are not the writings of Popes and Councils liable to the same Abuse? Have the Decisions of the Council of Trent put an end to all Controversies among themselves (such as those between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, the Dominicans and Franciscans, not to mention those that relate to the Seat of Infallibility itself)? Do not the contending Parties each wiredraw the Decisions of that Council to countenance their own Doctrine? Nay, why should we suppose, that God has provided any more effectual Remedy against the Errors than against the Vices of Men. For the latter are equally destructive of their Salvation. The Scriptures are as sufficiently plain in pointing out to us the necessary Articles of our Faith, as the necessary Rules of our Practice. And we are as inexcusable if we disbelieve the former as we are in violating the latter. Nay, if there be a necessity of such an infallible Expositor of the Bible, why has he not long since published an infallible Commentary upon it, to prevent all future as well as silence all present Disputes about the Sense of it?

Let us then acknowledge no Master in Religion but the blessed Author of it. Let us hear the great God speaking to us in his own living Oracles. And we are sure, where those have free leave to speak, the false Oracle at Rome will soon be struck dumb. Where that bright Lamp shines, the black Mists of Papal Ignorance and Delusions will vanish and disappear. And of this the Romish Bishops and Clergy are so aware, that they have used all possible means to wrest the living Oracles of God out of the Peoples hands, that they may more blindly receive their contrary Decisions. All that have lived in those Popish Countries where the Inquisition is kept up, know how rare a thing it is to meet with a Bible in the vulgar Tongue. Nay in this Kingdom 'tis deplorable to think, in how few Families of those called *Roman Catholics* the word of God is ever read by them in a Language they understand. Every one must needs observe the visible Design and Tendency of all this to raise the Authority and rivet the Domination of the Clergy, and to confirm the Laity in a blind Submission of their Judgments to that of their Priests.

It should therefore, on the contrary, highly recommend the reformed Religion to us, that 'tis grounded on the Holy Scriptures the only solid Foundation of a truly divine Faith. We need no other Lamp to our feet, or Light to our Paths, but the holy Law of God. We embrace no Articles, as necessary to Salvation, but what are clearly revealed. We own no other Lord over God's heritage but him that bought it with his own precious Blood? We yield up our Consciences to the Dictates of no meer Man, but to his who is unerring Truth itself, and to whom this glorious Privilege of Infallibility (strictly taken) does alone belong. *Let God be true, but all Men Lyars*; Rom. iii. 4. They may deceive and be deceived, but he cannot. Let us bless him that has restored our Consciences to their true and manly Liberty. We can (in consistency with our Principles) imitate the Example of the noble Bereans in searching the Holy Scriptures daily, and bringing the Doctrines even of our Teachers themselves to that only unerring Standard and Test of revealed Religion. Let us then stand fast in this Liberty wherewith our blessed Saviour has made us free. Let us receive no Doctrines in Religion but what carry the Evidence of divine Revelation, and no Laws as obligatory to the catholick Church but what bear the stamp of his Authority, who is the only Law-giver to it.

And while we do this, we need not regard the proud Anathemas of those that arrogate an infallible Authority to themselves. We need not fear their rash

damnatory

damnatory Sentence, according to whose Principles the Son of God stands justly condemned at the Bar of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*. If their Predecessors called him a *Blasphemer*, 'tis no wonder that their Successors brand us for *Hereticks*. But both they and we must stand or fall by the Doom of an higher and truly infallible Judge. All inferior Pastors and Flocks must be accountable for their Faith and Practice, not to the *Romish* Bishop and his Court, but to our blessed Saviour, the only universal Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls. And 'tis not the Decrees of Popes and Councils, but his Gospel that shall be the Rule of final Judgment. In the mean time, while they so rashly exclude us from the catholic Church, and pronounce us incapable of Salvation, Let us pity their deplorable Ignorance, and pray for the deluded *Profelytes* of the *Romish* Church, that their Eyes may at length be opened to see how grossly their pretended infallible Teachers have caused them to err.

And now, S I R if this short Discourse may be of any use to dispose those of the *Romish* Communion to read your excellent Treatises concerning these three Principal Heads of Doctrine, that are controverted between them and us, with a more impartial Attention, I shall attain my End in the Publication of it. I heartily wish your judicious and pious Endeavours for their Conviction may be attended with great Success; I am, with all sincere Respect,

Reverend S I R,

Your very Affectionate Friend,

and Servant in our common Lord,

J. BOYSE.



A P P E N D I X

CONCERNING THE

Pretended Sacraments

O F

PENANCE and EXTREME UNCTION.

TO these foregoing Discourses, concerning Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, and Image-worship, I have upon second Thoughts judged it needful to subjoin, by way of *Appendix*, some short Remarks on those two noted Sacraments of the *Romish Church*, viz. *Penance* and *Extreme Unction*.

For their pretended Sacrament of *Penance* I shall briefly lay down the Sum of what the Council of *Trent* teaches concerning it.

They distinguish between Repentance as a Virtue, and as a Sacrament. Repentance, as 'tis a Sacrament, (they tell us) does indeed include Contrition as one part of it. But it also includes Confession of Sins to the Priest, and such Satisfaction to the Justice of God, by the way of *Penance*, as the Priest thinks fit to enjoin; and on the Priest's part it includes his Absolution. The three fore-mentioned Acts of the Penitent they make to be the matter of this pretended Sacrament, and the Priest's Absolution to be the Form of it.

Concerning Contrition, they distinguish between perfect Contrition which flows from Love to God (and therefore includes a real Change of Heart and Life) and imperfect Contrition, (or Attrition as they call it) which raises from the Consideration of the Turpitude of Sin, or most commonly from the fear of Hell. And accordingly, that on the one hand, they deny that our Reconciliation with God can be ascribed to that perfect Contrition, without this Sacrament of *Penance*, or at least the Desire of it. And on the other hand they assert, that tho' this imperfect Contrition, or Attrition, without the Sacrament of *Penance*, would not put a Man into a justify'd State; yet it does dispose a Man for receiving Absolution in this Sacrament of *Penance*. i. e. tho' of itself it cannot put a Man into a pardoned State, yet it can and will do it by the help of the Priest's Absolution.

Concerning Confession, that Council determines, ' That all Christians are obliged to confess to the Priest all their mortal Sins, even the most secret of them. ' Nay, they recommend the Confession of what they call their venial Sins, as highly useful. And in the Confession of their Sins they require an exact Enumeration of all Circumstances, as far as they can recollect them. And whoever deny this Confession to be instituted by Christ, and by divine Right necessary to Salvation, they anathematize, or curse.

Concerning Satisfaction, they teach, ' That tho' God, for Christ's sake, forgives the eternal Punishment due to Sin; yet every Man must make Satisfaction to divine Justice for the temporal part of the Punishment due to it, either by such Punishments as God inflicts, or such *Penance* as the Priest enjoins, or such voluntary *Penance* as the Person imposes on himself.' And such *Penance* consists of such painful good Works as are more than we are obliged by the divine Law to perform; (and therefore called works of Supererogation) such as Alms, Fasting, saying over so many Prayers; and several bodily Austerities, such as wearing Hair-cloth, disciplining themselves with a Whip, &c.

Concerning Absolution, they teach, ' That tho' it be a dispensing a Benefit that is not our own, yet 'tis not a bare Ministry either of preaching the Gospel or declaring Men's Sins to be forgiven; but 'tis a judicial Act in which Sentence is pronounced by the Priest as a Judge. Nay, this judicial Power of Absolution they ascribe to wicked Priests themselves. And they denounce their Anathema against those that deny this.

And thus we have a Sacrament made up of Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction, on the Penitent's part, and Absolution on the Priest's.

For

For the Doctrine of the reformed Churches, I need only give this brief Account of it.

They distinguish between that secret Repentance which is transacted in the Court of every Man's Conscience, in which we have to do with God alone; and that Profession of Repentance which we are obliged to make before others. And that Profession is either more private, in case of personal Injuries and Wrongs done to others; or more publick, in case of such publick and scandalous Offences, whereby a Man brings a reproach on his christian Profession, and by his Example endangers the Infection of others. In this latter Case, we own that a Man should, in order to the repairing the injured Honour of Religion, and the preventing the contagious Influence of his evil Example, make a profession of his Repentance, not secretly to the Priest, but openly in the face of the Church. But neither of these Cases concern auricular Confession to a Priest. They do also own, That it may be expedient for a Man under any great Trouble of Conscience, in which he cannot resolve his own Doubts, to consult his Pastor, or any other judicious Christian, and so far to own his guilt as may enable them to pass a satisfactory Judgment concerning his Case, or give him Advice suitable to it. But this implies no Obligation on any Man to confess all his secret Sins whatever, with all their various Circumstances, to any Priest whatsoever. As to secret Repentance, they assert, that it cannot be sincere unless it flow from the Love of God, and include a real Change of a Man's Heart (turning it from the Love of Sin to the Love of God and Holiness) and unless it produce unfeigned Purposes and Endeavours of actual Amendment of Life. And without such Repentance the Absolution of all the Priests in the World will never put a Man into a state of Pardon and Peace with God. And since no christian Pastors know the hearts of Men, their Absolution can only be ministerial and declarative, not judicial and decisive. For the Doctrine of satisfaction to the Justice of God for the temporal part of the punishment due to Sin, they look upon it as many ways absurd and dangerous. Partly, as founded on a prouder, erroneous Conceit of Works of Supererogation, partly as injurious both to the plenary Satisfaction of Christ, and to the Extent of Divine Mercy in our Forgiveness. And upon the whole, they look upon it as no better than a senseless and ridiculous Folly, to turn such a jumble of unscriptural Practices, as auricular Confession, human Satisfaction, and priestly judicial Absolution, into a Divine Sacrament, when there is nothing in all this parallel to those federal Rites of Christian Religion, which we call Sacraments, such as Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

Now against these Doctrines and Practices of the *Romish Church*, I shall offer the following Arguments to the serious Consideration of all the Members of that Church.

I. There is no Foundation for them in the Holy Scripture.

'Tis a strange degree of Presumption, for their Councils to make this secret Confession of all mortal Sins to a Priest necessary to Salvation; when they cannot produce one Command, nor one Precedent for it, in all those sacred Writings.

We indeed read of *Joshua's* requiring *Achan* to give glory unto God by confessing his guilt. But the Confession was to be made not in the Ear of any *Jewish* Priest, but in the Face of the Congregation. See *Jesh. vii. 19.* 'Tis Confession to God, and not the Priest, that *Solomon* recommends, *1 Kings viii. from ver. 35. to 50.* And 'tis Confession to God, not a Priest, that *David* practised, *Ps. xxxii. and l.* It was upon secret Confession to God that the *Publican* returned to his House justified, *Luke xviii. 13.* And 'tis upon such penitent Confession to him that *St. John* assures us of his Forgiveness, *1 John i. 8.*

'Tis true, indeed, we read, that those that were baptiz'd of *John* confessed their Sins. But that Confession of Sins was antecedent to Baptism, (which is the true sacramental Rite, in which an express Renunciation of Sin is indeed requir'd of all adult persons) and therefore belongs not to any pretended Sacrament of Penance. Nor do we read of this confession of Sins being particular, which, considering the numbers he baptiz'd, is highly improbable. Nor was that Confession made secretly to *John*, but in the face of the Assembly met on that occasion of receiving his Baptism.

We read also in *Acts xix. 18. of many that believed, who came and confessed and shewed their deeds.* But that this has no relation to auricular Confession to a Priest is manifest, if we consider their magical Arts are the only Deeds they confess'd. Their Confession was not secret to *St. Paul*, but publick. For to testify their abhorrence of those detestable Deeds, they brought their (Magical) Books and openly burnt them. Nor was the design of their Confession to procure priestly Absolution from *St. Paul*, but to glorify God, who had, by his Gospel, turned them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living God.

We do also find, that *St. James* enjoins Christians to confess their faults to one another, *James v. 16.* But that this Text gives no countenance to auricular Confession is hence evident, that the Advice is directed to private Christians. And therefore if it prove any thing to the purpose of auricular Confession, it proves every private Christian to be a Priest. This Confession relates to private Offences and Wrongs, and is therefore to be made to the offended Party, not to the Priest. And as this Text does not oblige us to confess all our secret Sins whatever to one another, so much less can it oblige us to confess them to the Priest, who is not so much as mentioned in the Text.

And there is as little Ground in the Holy Scriptures for human Satisfaction to Divine Justice, to be enjoind by the Priest to all Penitents.

What tho' *Daniel* exhort *Nebuchadnezzar*, to break off his sins by righteousness (for so the Original should be rendred) and his Iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, *Dan. iv. 27.* These words contain no more than an Exhortation to serious amendment of Life, in order to our obtaining pardon from God, but do not suppose those Duties to be Works of Supererogation, much less ascribe any such Virtue to them as that of satisfying divine Justice.

Solomon does indeed tell us, *That by mercy and truth, iniquity is purged*, *Prov. xvi. 6.* But if by Mercy and Truth, there be understood the Mercy and Truth of God, this signifies nothing to prove human Satisfaction, but rather proves the contrary. And if by Mercy and Truth we understand these Graces in ourselves, they are commanded Duties, not works of Supererogation; and the utmost that the words can import, is, that they are Conditions requisite to our obtaining divine Forgiveness, but that by no means implies their being satisfactory to divine Justice.

John the Baptist does indeed urge those that came to his Baptism to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, *Luke iii. 8.* But this only implies such genuine Effects of true Repentance that might manifest the Sincerity of it. Not such works as God never commanded, much less such as could make any Compensation to his injured Justice.

God is indeed often said to remove his Judgments upon Men's Humiliation, and Fasting, and Prayer. But then there is a vast difference between such Means as are appointed and required by God, to dispose us for his Mercy, and render us meet Objects of it, and such Works as are capable to satisfy his Justice. As particularly, Humiliation, and Fasting, and Prayer, are Duties actually enjoined to all offending Sinners; and therefore are neither works of Supererogation, nor can on that Account be satisfactory.

Much

Much less have we one Instance in all the Bible of any, either *Jewish* Priest, or Christian Pastor, either imposing such *Penance* on any Penitents, or of enjoining it under any such proud conceit of Men's making any Compensation to divine Justice thereby. The inspired Pen-Men only required Men to flee to the infinite Mercy of God, through a Mediator, with that sincere Repentance, which was their commanded Duty, and necessary to make them meet Objects of divine Forgiveness.

And for the Argument drawn from the power of remitting and retaining Sins given to the Apostles, 'tis far from warranting any Priest to enjoin such human Satisfaction: For if it did, this gross Absurdity would thence follow, that they should remit and retain the Sins of the same Person at the same time. They would at the same time remit the Sins of the Penitent by Absolution, and yet retain them, by requiring Satisfaction to divine Justice for them. Whereas these two are contradictory. The Text plainly supposes no Man's Sins remitted and retained at the same time; much less remitted as to some part of the Punishment, and retained as to the other.

And for judicial Priestly Absolution, if it have any Foundation in the Holy Scriptures, it must be in these remarkable words of our blessed Saviour, *John. x. 22, 23. Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained.* Now if this Passage do not prove any such thing as judicial Priestly Absolution, we may justly conclude that no other does.

To show that it does not, I would first compare this with those other Passages wherein Christ gives, for Substance, the same Commission to his Apostles.

That in the Evangelist *Matthew* runs thus, chap. xxviii. 19, 20. *Go ye and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and teaching them to observe all things whatever I have commanded you, &c.*

That in the Evangelist *Mark* runs thus, chap. xvi. 15, 16. *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature; he that believes and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believes not, shall be damned.*

That in the Evangelist *Luke* runs thus, chap. xxiv. 46, 47, 48. *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things.*

Now from hence I argue, if our Blessed Saviour in that Passage recorded in *St. John*, gave his Apostles no other, or larger, Commission and Power, than in the Passages recorded by the three other Evangelists; then he gave them no other Authority to remit Sins, than what is ministerial and declarative. *i. e.* To assure all true Penitents in his Name of divine Forgiveness, and to seal the Promise of divine Forgiveness to all true Penitents by Baptism. For 'tis evident, that all the other Passages of the other Evangelists, which deliver the same Commission, import no more than this: They empower them in his Name to publish Salvation to all that believe, and Remission to all that repent; and by that sacred Rite of Baptism to invest them in this Privilege, on Supposition, that they be truly such believing Penitents as they profess themselves.

If it be pretended, that these words of the Evangelist *St. John* import any higher power than that of ministerial or declarative Remission, then they must imply such a judicial Power, as supposes their Sentence to be always valid and decisive, on whomsoever it is pronounced. If so, then either this judicial Power was peculiar to the Apostles, or not. If peculiar to them, no Priests have any thing to do with it. If it was not peculiar to them, but to be transmitted to all Priests in every succeeding Age; then it will follow, that every Priest has it in his power to absolve those whom the Gospel condemns. And consequently, that

our blessed Saviour has given them a power superior to his own, even of counteracting and reversing his own Rule of final Judgment. For if the Priest's power be not merely declarative, but judicial, it must secure all those from eternal Punishment whom they absolve. Now either the Priest has an infallible Knowledge, whether those that confess to him are sincere Penitents, or he has not. To say he has, were to ascribe to him the incommunicable Privilege of the Blessed God, the only searcher of Hearts. If he has not, then he may mistake an hypocritical Penitent, for a sincere one; and consequently absolve him upon a feigned Profession and shew of that Repentance which he really has not. And consequently he may by this Sentence of Absolution, secure an impenitent Sinner from that eternal Condemnation to which he is by the Threatnings of the Gospel obnoxious.

And in this Case I would enquire, whose Sentence shall at last be ratified and stand? The Sentence of Christ that has excluded all impenitent Sinners (whatever hypocritical Profession they make) from divine Forgiveness? Or the Priest's that has upon mistake given many of them judicial Absolution? If the Priest's Sentence be ratified, the whole Tenor of the Gospel-Threatnings is false. And the Priest has it in his power to absolve those whom our Saviour has said he will condemn, and consequently the Priest can annul and reverse the Sentence of the universal Judge himself. If Christ's own Sentence shall be ratified, then it is evident, that the Priest can absolve none but the truly penitent, nor will any penitent Sinner be damned tho' he should deny him Absolution. And consequently his power of Remission cannot be judicial and decisive, and absolutely secure this great Benefit to all whom he absolves. It can only be ministerial and declarative, conveying this Benefit only on supposition of Men's being by sincere Faith and Repentance entitled to it, according to the Tenor of the Promises of the Gospel. And of how pernicious consequence their pretending to such a judicial power is, to the deceiving and damning millions of Souls that rely upon it, I shall have fuller occasion to shew, when I come to consider, on what Terms they dispense their pretended judicial Absolution.

Having thus shewn, that the matter and form of this pretended Sacrament are unscriptural; I now add,

II. That this pretended Sacrament of *Penance* has no Foundation in primitive Antiquity, and is but a gross Corruption of the Discipline of the ancient Church.

Those of the *Romish* Church are wont to boast much of catholic Traditions for those Doctrines and Practices, which they can find no Evidence for in the holy Scriptures, and particularly for this. Whereas there is scarce any one Instance wherein they have more notoriously deviated from, and depraved the Practice of the ancient Church.

In the primitive Church, when any Christian had relapsed into pagan Idolatry, or committed any such heinous Crime, as Murder, Adultery, &c. They were publicly excluded from the communion of the Church, and were not re-admitted to it upon any slight Profession of their Repentance, but were obliged to give such external Signs of it as might render that Profession credible. Thus these Penitents were wont to stand at the Church-Doors, in a Garb and Posture and Carriage that might express their just Shame and Humiliation, begging the Prayers of the faithful, and earnestly soliciting to be admitted to the Church's Communion. These external Marks of Repentance were called canonical satisfactions, (because certain Rules were prescribed whereby they were continued for a longer or shorter time in the State of Penitents, according to the Degree of their heinous Crime.) But the Design of this canonical Satisfaction was not at all to compensate the wrong done to the Justice of God for the temporal Punishment due to Sin, but to evidence

dence the Sincerity of their Repentance to the satisfaction of the Church, to whose Communion they desired to be restored to deter others from the like Crimes, and to remove the Scandal thereby brought on Christianity, by manifesting that it gave no allowance to such enormous Sins. And these *Canons* were at first screw'd up to so great Rigour, that Offenders were usually kept some years in the state of Penitents, and no Absolution usually granted in Case of a second Relapse.

But now in the *Romish* Church this sacred Discipline is wholly perverted and depraved.

That Confession of Sins, and Declaration of Repentance, which the Primitive Church required only in Case of open and scandalous Crimes, is now turned into a confession of all Sins called mortal, (even the most secret of them) in order to the subjecting the Consciences of the Laity more entirely to their Priests. Only to reconcile the Laity the better to this new Slavery, That publick Confession which should be made in the face of the christian Church, by such as have given publick Scandal thereto, is turned into auricular Confession to the Priest. And instead of those external Signs, whereby such Penitents were to testify the Truth of their Repentance to the Satisfaction of the Church, a new kind of Satisfaction came in, consisting in pretended Works of Supererogation, whereby Penitents were supposed to make a Compensation to divine Justice for the temporal part of the punishment due to their Sins. And these Satisfactions are now to be enjoined at the arbitrary Pleasure of the Priest. Nay, whereas the Church always required such evident signs of Repentance, in order to the Penitent's obtaining publick Absolution. Now the Priest absolves the Penitent first, before he has performed the *Penance* that is enjoined. And that publick Absolution, whereby such Penitents were restored to the Communion of the Church, (and which was accompanied with their joint-Prayers for divine Forgiveness) is now turned into the private Absolution of the Priest, which is pretended to be a judicial Act, whereby he frees the Penitent from the temporal punishment due to Sin. Such a strange Medley of palpable Corruptions of the antient Discipline goes up to make this their pretended Sacrament of *Penance* (or Repentance). Nay, whereas in some Cases the Rigor of those penitential *Canons* was relaxed, where the Repentance of the Offender was remarkable, and that Relaxation was called by the name of Indulgence: This has given the rise to a new Corruption. For the Satisfaction that was to be given to the Church, being changed into a pretended Satisfaction to the Justice of God for the temporal part of the punishment due to Sin, the *Romish* Church has pretended to a Power of granting such Indulgence as shall discharge a Man in whole or in part, from the temporal punishment due to Sin. This Practice of giving Indulgence was first begun by the *Romish* Bishops, and they were bestowed on such as espoused their Quarrels against their Enemies. And their Doctrine being not then so refined as 'tis now, the Popes usually blundered so far as to promise not only Remission of all Sins, but an eternal Reward to all that fought in their Cause. This practice being taken up by the Popes, private Bishops were willing to assume a share in this power; and hence when they had a Church to build or repair, or other pious Work to carry on, out came an Indulgence to pardon Men the Seventh, Fourth, or Third, part of their Sins, according to the Degree of their charitable Contribution. But the Bishops of *Rome* finding how beneficial these Indulgences were, resolv'd to keep the Keys of this Treasury in their own Hands. And to that purpose *Innocent III.* in the Council of *Lateran*, Can. *LXII.* decrees, "That in the dedication of a Church, (tho' there were several Bishops together, they should not grant an Indulgence above a Year, nor a single Bishop above 40 Days."

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But tho' the Popes tied the hands of other Bishops they tied not their own; but were too wise to let others have the managing so rich a Stock, as brought in such an incredible Harvest of Wealth from the Sins of the credulous Laity. And that there might appear some suitable Fund for these Indulgences, they pretend a Treasury in the Church, made up partly of the redundant Merits of Christ, and partly of the superfluous Satisfactions of the Saints, which they tell us may be applied to those that want them. And the despoiling of this rich Treasury, to be sure, is chiefly reserv'd to the *Roman* Bishops. And whereas it might be objected, That if these Indulgences could secure a Man from the temporal Punishments due to Sins, then it might be expected that a plenary Indulgence should secure a Man from all those Afflictions of Life which they reckon a part of that temporal Punishment (whereas all the Indulgences all the Popes can give, are no Security from a Fit of the Gout or Stone).

To obviate this scurvy Objection, and to keep up the Credit of Indulgences, they have very conveniently set up the Doctrine of Purgatory, where Men that had not fully satisfy'd Divine Justice in this World, are suppos'd to satisfy it in the next, by enduring Pains equal to those of Hell (in degree, tho' not in duration) till they are releas'd by Masses and Indulgences. So that tho' Indulgences can do a Man no service in this World, where our Afflictions are real, yet they can do wonders in that imaginary Place of Torment in the other World. And thus a senseless and erroneous Opinion is advanced, to support the Credit of a most shameful Practice, that long gave a publick Scandal to the Christian World, till at last the apparent cheat of it opened men's Eyes, and prepared the Way for a glorious and happy Reformation. I have insisted the longer on this, only to shew, To what wretched purposes this Doctrine of human Satisfactions has served, which those of the *Romish* Church make a part of this Sacrament of *Penance*. Upon the whole, they must be entire Strangers to the practice of the antient Church, who can see any real Conformity in this *Popish* Sacrament of *Penance* to it. Their gross Deviation from it, and Depravation of it, being so notorious in the Instances I have mentioned.

I now add,

III. That this pretended Sacrament of *Penance* makes that necessary to our obtaining Forgiveness from God, which he never made so.

On what Terms a gracious God is willing to forgive, is evident from the Tenor of his Promises. Now 'tis the Language thereof, *Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and turn to the Lord, and he will have mercy on him, and to our God, and he will abundantly pardon.* Isa. iv. 7. *Repent and be converted that your sins may be blotted out,* Acts iii. 19. &c. *If we confess our sins, I John i. 9. (i. e. to God) he is faithful and just to forgive us our Sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that thro' this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.* Acts xiii. 38, 39.

Now if these Promises be true, then all believing Penitents are assured of divine Forgiveness, having complied with the Terms on which it is offered.

But how can this consist with the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church concerning this Sacrament? When a penitent Confession to God will not serve without a Confession to the Priest? And when our sincere Repentance itself still leaves us under an Obligation to satisfy divine Justice, for all the temporal Punishment that our Sins have deserved? How comes such a Confession to the Priest to be necessary to divine Forgiveness, when 'tis never once mentioned in the Bible,

E. c. c.

never

never so much as enjoined or recommended, and much less made a necessary Condition of Pardon from God? Nay, since they suppose, that God insists, notwithstanding our sincere Repentance, upon a Satisfaction to his Justice for the temporal Punishment due to Sin, why do they not leave him to exact it himself? Where has he given the Priest any Power to demand it, and enjoin what *Penance* he pleases for that End? How comes the Priest by an Authority to retain those Sins as to any part of their Punishment which God has promised upon our Faith and Repentance fully to remit? As if Satisfaction were due to the Priest as well as him. What unsupportable Arrogance is this; first, to impose without any divine Warrant, a most grievous and unreasonable Yoke upon the Consciences of Men, and then make their Submission to it a necessary Condition of divine Forgiveness! As if it were in the power of the *Romish* Clergy to prescribe to the Almighty himself on what Terms he shall receive his offending Creatures into Favour? And we must be beholden for his Pardon to their judicial Absolution! Nay, (as I shall more fully shew under the next Head) they have made their arbitrary Terms more necessary to our Forgiveness, than the Conditions which God himself has prescribed. For according to them, we may be pardoned without that true Repentance which the Gospel requires; but we cannot without that auricular Confession and Priestly judicial Absolution which the Gospel never enjoined, tho' the *Romish* Church has. But this leads me to the main Charge I would bring against this pretended Sacrament of *Penance*, viz.

IV. This Doctrine tends to the deceiving and damning millions of Souls, by encouraging them to depend on the Priest's Absolution for divine Forgiveness, without that sincere Repentance which the Gospel makes absolutely necessary to obtain it.

The Gospel never promises Forgiveness on lower Terms than Faith in a Mediator, and Repentance towards God. This Repentance cannot be sincere, unless it turns the Bent of a Man's Heart from the predominant Love of Sin, to the predominant Love of God and Holiness, and do engage him to unfeigned Purposes and Endeavours of universal Obedience to the divine Commands. And this is what those of the *Romish* Church call perfect Contrition that springs from the Love of God. The Council of *Trent* were aware, that where there is such a perfect Contrition, or sincere Repentance, the promises of the Gospel do secure God's Absolution to the true Penitent. And then the Priest could have nothing to do but to declare those absolved whom God hath absolved before. And consequently the Priest's Absolution can be only declarative, not judicial (as many of the *Papish* Divines had before the sitting of that Council publicly taught). But if something less than this perfect Contrition, or true Repentance, will dispose a Man for the Priest's Absolution, and that Absolution be judicial and decisive, and such as God himself will always ratify, then the Priest's power of Absolution is of vast consequence, and can put those into a pardoned and justified, State who fall short of that true Repentance which the Gospel requires. And from hence came the Opinion (as Doctor *Stillingfleet*, the learned Bishop of *Worcester*, well observes *) that Attrition (*i. e.* such a sorrow for Sin as arises from the consideration of the turpitude of it, or from the present fear of Hell) with Absolution, was sufficient, without that perfect Contrition which true Repentance does necessarily include. And those (as that judicious Author observes) do not well understand the Council of *Trent*'s Doctrine concerning the Sacrament of *Penance*, who deny it. For in the fourth Chapter, concerning Contrition, they distinguish between perfect and imperfect Contrition. Perfect

Contrition they suppose to flow from a real Hatred of Sin and Love to God. This perfect Contrition they own does reconcile a Man before he actually receive this Sacrament of *Penance* (*i. e.* before the Priest's Absolution). But then they pretend (tho' very falsely) that our reconciliation with God is not to be ascribed to this Contrition without a desire of this Sacrament, which they say, is included in it. But what if a Man fall short of this perfect Contrition, or sincere Repentance? For the Relief and Encouragement of such, they add, That for that imperfect Contrition, or Attrition, because it usually arises either from the consideration of the turpitude of Sin, or from the fear of Hell and Punishment, if there be not a purpose of going on in Sin, and it be accompanied with hope of Forgiveness, then the Synod declares, That tho' without this Sacrament it could not of itself bring a Man into a justified State, yet it does dispose him for obtaining the grace of God in this Sacrament. And to this purpose they alledge the Example of the *Ninevites*, who being terrified at the Preaching of *Jonah* repented and obtained pardon.

Now 'tis evident, that many thousands have this imperfect Contrition or Attrition, who fall short of true Repentance. Many under convictions and pangs of Conscience are ashamed of their Sins, and are under some fears of eternal Vengeance due to them; and under these terrors they are so far from any present purpose of persisting in their Sins, that they take up some present Resolutions of forsaking them; (Which is more than that Council supposes necessary to Attrition) and yet after all, as soon as these pangs are over, their Terrors vanish, their good purpose are forgotten, and their goodness proves only as the morning-cloud, and the early dew that soon goes away. Hof. vi. 4. So that the Council might very well say, that this imperfect Contrition (or Attrition) could not of itself bring a Man into a justified State. For God has no where promised Pardon on the condition of such Attrition. But if their doctrine be true, the Priest's Absolution can effect what God's promise could never do. For this bare Attrition disposes a Man for obtaining the Favour or Grace of God in this Sacrament, by virtue of the Priest's Absolution. Now we know, that according to the seventh and eighth Canons of that Council, concerning Sacraments in general, all their Sacraments are supposed to confer the Grace signified by them to all that rightly receive them, and that by the virtue of the *opus operatum*, or the external Administration. And they here assert, all that bring Attrition to be rightly disposed for the Grace that is to be conferred by this Sacrament of *Penance*, which is no less than forgiveness of Sins and reconciliation with God.

And for the example of the *Ninevites*, which the Council alledges to countenance this abominable Doctrine, 'tis nothing at all to the purpose. For either the *Ninevites* had perfect Contrition or true Repentance, and then they were on the account thereof truly reconciled to God; or else they had only this imperfect Contrition, or Attrition, as the Council here plainly supposes (and which, as I have shewn, falls short of true Repentance). If they had only the latter, then all the benefit they derived from it, was only the averting that temporal Vengeance they were threatened with; but by no means their reconciliation with God, and Absolution from eternal Vengeance. Now we know, that God has upon an external Humiliation, which falls short of true Repentance, forbore to execute his temporal Judgments, even on those that have still remained exposed to his eternal Vengeance. As in the Case of *Abah*; see 2 Kings xxi. 29.

Upon the whole, if such bare Attrition dispose Men for the Grace that is to be conferred in the Sacrament of *Penance*, and the Priest's Absolution can re-

* The Council of *Trent* examined and disproved by *Catholic Tradition*, p. 90, 91.

store such to that Reconciliation with God, which the Gospel promises only to the truly penitent; then indeed, 'tis no wonder that those should be desirous of the Priest's Absolution, and so willing to rely on it, who are unwilling to come up to the uneasy terms of that true Repentance which the Gospel prescribes. What Man almost is there so stupid, but upon review of his Sins feels some Motions of shame and fear of eternal Punishment, and that does not under those pangs take up some purposes of Amendment. And if these be sufficient to restore him to the favour of God without any real Change of Heart and Life, then what necessity is there of any *Renovation of our Nature, or Reformation of our Lives?* 'Tis but for the pretended Penitent under the next Terror, or pang of Conscience, to run with his Confession to the Priest, and obtain his Absolution, and do the external *Penance* he enjoins, and all his past scores are cleared. And this *toties quoties*. Who then would be concerned to mortify his Lusts, and abandon his sinful Course, and practise all the strict rules of an Holy and Heavenly Life, who has so much easier and shorter a way before him, as that of Attrition, Confession, Absolution, and Satisfaction? No Man, according to this Doctrine, runs any greater hazard of Damnation, than so short a warning as gives him no time to send for a Confessor, and obtain his Absolution. No wonder that this Doctrine should be so generally embraced by those that live ill, and yet desire to die well. 'Tis so suited to the Inclinations of corrupt Nature, that he must be a very perverse Wretch that would desire an easier way to Heaven than this. And 'tis rather to be admired, that every wicked Man is not of this Religion, than that so many are tenacious of it. And what is the natural tendency of their asserting the Priest's Absolution to be judicial, but to encourage all their Profelytes to rely upon it? If it be always valid, scarce any of those called *Roman Catholics* can be damned. And yet if persisting in a wicked Life can secure their Damnation, as few of them, in comparison, are like to escape it as any other Denomination of Christians whatever. If the Priest's Absolution be not valid, but on supposition of the Penitent's perfect Contrition or sincere Repentance; then how many millions are gull'd with false and delusive Hopes, and depend for their eternal Salvation on a meer broken Reed? And how plainly is this corrupt Doctrine of their Council chargeable with all these pernicious consequences of it, to the deception and ruin of innumerable Souls! How plainly does this Doctrine subvert the Gospel of Christ! What a fatal Opiate does it prove to stupify the Consciences of wicked Men, in very few of whom this Attrition is not to be found, and whom 'tis supposed, by virtue of the Priest's Absolution, to put into as truly a pardoned and justified State, as the most sincere Repentance could have done! And to believe such Doctrine as this does indeed argue Men to be given up to strong delusions to believe a Lie. For 'tis as certainly a Lie as that the Gospel itself is true.

V. Their Doctrine concerning this Sacrament has given rise to a vast number of corrupt and superstitious Practices, and is wholly calculated for the purposes of Ecclesiastical Tryanny and Avarice.

For their Doctrine of auricular Confession (and that of all Sins called mortal, even the most secret of them) being absolutely necessary to Salvation, what an intolerable Yoke does this lay upon the Necks of the poor Laity! What a degree of Blind-

ness and Infatuation does it argue in them that they have ever been brought to submit so tamely to it!

^a What is the Tendency of it, but to enlarge and establish the Authority of the *Romish* Clergy, by enslaving the Consciences of the Laity to them, and making them Masters of the secrets of all Families; Nay, of the Courts of Princes themselves? They have hereby an admirable Pick-Lock to open the Cabinet of every Man's Breast, and view all the privacies of his Heart and Life. Besides their Doctrine about it tends to involve the Consciences of their Profelytes in miserable perplexities, to distinguish between mortal and venial Sins, and to know when they have sufficiently rifled their Consciences, by enumerating all the particular Circumstances of their secret Sins. And particularly, as they have brought all Sins against the seventh Commandment into the number of mortal Sins, so none that read all the curious Cases which their Casuists so nicely examine, and all the Questions they direct a Father Confessor to propose to his Penitent concerning them, but must be easily convinced what an advantage is hereby given to *Licentious* Priests (and all their Priests are far from being Saints) to insinuate into and corrupt those of the weaker Sex, who are generally observed to frequent the Confessionals much more than the Men. It were easy from History to illustrate this Truth with innumerable Instances of this kind. 'Tis sufficient to observe, that their gravest Authors do loudly complain of it, and represent their Confessional as the very School of Impurity, in which (as *Camus* particularly observes^b) *The manner of sinning was learned rather than that of confessing or repenting.* ^c *Erasmus* laments this unhappy Effect of auricular Confession in his time. And this grievous Inconvenience of it has occasioned two Bulls, the one of Pope *Pius IV.* A. D. 1591. the other of Pope *Gregory XV.* 1622. The former is levelled against many Priests in *Spain*, that took the Advantage of auricular Confession to solicit Women to Leudness. And the latter confirms the decree of Pope *Pius*, extending it at all other parts of the *Romish* Communion. And a *Escobar*, in his Commentary on those two Bulls, gives a lamentable Account how generally Confessions have been made use of to this vile and abominable purpose. I might cite a great Number of other unsuspected *Papish* Authors who make the same Complaint; but the Inconvenience of the thing speaks itself. To have such Scenes of secret Impurity opened to them can be no pleasing Entertainment to any modest and virtuous Priests; and to others, it may be too grateful, and carry too strong Incentives for them to resist. So that it were much safer to take away auricular Confession, than to propose such ineffectual Methods to prevent the gross Abuses which so naturally flow from it. And then for the Priest's Absolution, 'tis scarce imaginable what a blind Devotion the Laity pay them on this Score. And no wonder that those keep their Consciences in so absolute and blind a Slavery, whom they regard as the Judges, by whose Mouth their decisive Sentence of Absolution must be pronounced.

But above all, their Doctrine of human Satisfaction has been the most fruitful Source of innumerable Superstitions. 'Tis this which (as I have shewn) has brought the scandalous Cheat or Indulgences into so general Credit and Repute. 'Tis this kindled the imaginary Flames of Purgatory, and to this day keeps up the superstitious Dread of them. 'Tis this keeps up the price of those private Masses, that are

^a Cardinal Bellarmine was so sensible of this, that he makes the Laity's tame Submission to it one of his Arguments to prove the divine Right of it. As if it were any new or strange thing for cunning Priests to impose unreasonable and grievous things on the Consciences of the credulous Laity, when they had done their utmost to bewitch them. So did the Heathen Priests persuade poor Parents to sacrifice their Children to their Idols. So did the Jewish Priest bind grievous burdens, and hard to be born, on the Shoulders of Men. So did Mahomet oblige his Followers to the painful Rite of Circumcision, and to a perpetual Abstinence from Wine.

^b Relect. de Penit. c. 6.

^c Exhonor. T. 5. p. 128, 129.

^d Tract. de Confess. c. 11. in Exordio & passim.

said for the Redemption of miserable Souls there. Nay, 'tis this Doctrine that gives the *Romish* Priests, and especially their religious Orders, the Advantage of using a thousand Artifices to draw Offerings from the credulous Laity, on pretence of one device or other to alleviate those imaginary pains, or hasten their speedier Release from them. And then for the conceit of these pretended Works of Supererogation, (which they suppose satisfactory to the Justice of God) as it swells their religious Orders with excessive Pride, on pretence of their great stock of Merits this way; (and on that Account heightens the Veneration paid them by the ignorant Laity;) so it greatly tends to corrupt their Notions of true Religion, which they place far more in the observance of human Traditions, in needless, and often ridiculous, Austerities, than in the substantial Duties of Piety, Justice, Charity, Sobriety, and heavenly Mindedness. And hence we see with what nauseous stuff the Lives of their pretended Saints are filled up, which tends only to give all wise Men such an Idea of the christian Religion, as renders it rather foolish and contemptible than truly great and venerable. As if Hair-Shirts, and Ropes, and Whips, and a ridiculous fantastical Garb; as if senseless cruelty to our Bodies, and even Nastiness itself, were the greatest Instruments of Piety, and truest Exercise of the highest Devotion, and signified much more to commend us to the great God, than *loving him with all our Heart and Soul, &c. and loving our Neighbours as ourselves.* Now nothing tends more to deprave Men's Notions of the christian Religion, than to place the very height and perfection of it in such works as the Author of it never once commanded, and such as signify nothing to make us the wiser or better.

How little do such consider that excellent and noble Description of it, given us by St. Paul, when he tells us, *That the kingdom of God stands not in meats and drinks, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,* Acts xiv. 7.

Having enlarged beyond what I first designed on the pretended Sacrament of Penance, I shall only subjoin a few short Remarks on that other pretended Sacrament of *Extreme Unction.*

For this Rite of *Extreme Unction*, the Council of Trent asserts it to be a *true and proper Sacrament, especially instituted for those that are a dying, and to cleanse them from all the reliques of Sin, and to convey pardon to them.* And they curse all that deny this, or say, that this Ceremony belonged only to the gift of Healing.

The matter of this Sacrament must be oil of Olive, and that consecrated by the Bishop on a certain day, and with a Form of words that looks much more like a magical Charm than a divine Mystery; * nay, to make the Charm more effectual, it must be nine times blessed, thrice with an *ave sanctum oleum*, thrice with an *ave sanctum chrisma*, and thrice with an *ave sanctum balsamum.*

With this Oil the Council of Florence ordains, that the Priest anoint the seats of the five Senses; the Reins, as the seat of Concupiscence; and the Feet, on the account of their executing what the Mind resolves.

The Form of this pretended Sacrament they place in those words pronounced by the Priest. *By this holy Unction, and by his most pious Mercy, God forgive thee, whatever thou hast offended by thy seeing, &c.*

Now that we have no divine Warrant for this pretended Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*, will appear on these following Considerations.

1. We never read in Scripture of this Rite of

anointing with Oil being used, but in the Exercise of the miraculous gift of Healing.

There are but two Passages wherein 'tis so much as mentioned. The one is, that in St. Mark vi. 13. *And they cast out many Devils, and anointed with oil many sick persons and healed them.* The other is, that in St. James v. 14, 15. *Is any man sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he hath committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.* Now the Council of Trent may be as liberal of their Anathema's as they please; but they can never make any, that impartially consider and compare these two Passages, believe, that this Rite of anointing with Oil was used on any other Occasion, but that of exercising this miraculous gift of Healing. Nor was it always used in the exercise of that Gift itself, but that it was an *Appendix* of that Gift is manifest from both these Passages, those that were anointed, in St. Mark, are said thereupon to be healed; and those whom St. James requires the Elders of the Church to anoint, he supposes those Elders to offer the prayer of Faith for their Recovery, and assures them such prayers of Faith should be answered by the sick Person being raised and restored by God. And that St. Mark and St. James speak of the same *Unction* is owned by the Council of Trent, who tell us, *This Sacrament was instituted by St. Mark, commanded and published by St. James.* And hence it plainly follows, that if St. Mark mentions no anointing but in order to healing the Sick, St. James can be understood of no other. And accordingly Cardinal Cajetan freely owns, on that passage of St. Mark, "That the Apostles used anointing for healing only, not for any sacramental use. And on that of St. James, he ingenuously declares, that St. James's words speak nothing of sacramental *Unction*, but rather of that which was used in healing the Sick. The Text (as he observes) does not say, *is any man mortally sick? But is any man sick?* And it affirms the recovery of the sick Person to be the Effect of the anointing, and speaks only conditionally of his Forgiveness, &c.

2. Nothing therefore can be more groundless than for those to use this Rite who have no such miraculous gift of Healing.

The anointing with Oil, in St. James, was to be accompanied with the prayer of Faith for the recovery of the sick Person, even such prayers of Faith as had a promise of God's Audience and Acceptance, in the raising the sick Person, and it was only to be used in that Case. But the *Romish* Priests do not pretend to offer up any such prayer of Faith for the raising of sick Persons, nor do they so much as pretend, that their recovery is the ordinary Effects either of their Prayers, or of their Faith in offering them.

And this leads me to add,

3. That 'tis yet more senseless and absurd to use this Rite, where they are so far from expecting the sick person's Recovery, that they rather look upon his Case as desperate and hopeless in that respect.

St. James's anointing, was used with an Eye to and Expectation of the sick person's Recovery, and, when they could by the instinct and direction of the spirit of God, pray in the particular belief of it. But the *Papish Extreme Unction* is not to be administered, but where the sick Person is thought to be in a dying condition, and past any ordinary hope of Recovery. 'Tis therefore called *Extreme Unction*, and asserted

* I exorcise thee, O unclean Spirit, and all Incubation of Satan or Phantom, in the name of the Father, &c. that thou depart from this Oil, that it may be a Spiritual Unction to corroborate the Temple of the living God, that the holy Spirit may dwell therein, in the name, &c.

by the Council of *Trent* to be the Sacrament of the Dying. And 'tis accompanied with no prayer of Faith for the sick Person's Recovery, and no believing Persuasion concerning it. From whence it undeniably follows, that their *Unction* and that in St. *James* cannot be the same; since their's is never used for the main, nay, the only intent and purpose for which his is enjoined. Nay, their *Unction* is then only to be administered, when 'tis supposed that the great End of that recommended by St. *James* is not to be expected.

From hence it also follows, that this Rite of anointing being only used in the gift of Healing, was but temporary, and the use of it to expire, when the exercise of that Gift ceased. And accordingly we have no such intimation concerning the perpetual use of it, as concerning the use of Baptism, which is to be celebrated *to the end of the world*; Matth. xxviii. 19, 20. or of the Lord's-Supper, which is to be administered *till Christ's second coming*, 1 Cor. xi. 26.

And for the practice of the ancient Church, the learned *Daillé* has so fully proved the *Popish Extreme*

Unction to have been unknown till about the 12th Century, that I shall refer the Reader to his Treatise of *Extreme Unction*, that desire to be informed concerning the Rise of it.

And for all these superstitious Ceremonies used in preparing the Matter of this Sacrament, and in the Administration of it, as there is no pretence of divine Institution for them, so they look so like magical Tricks and Charms, that Men cannot offer a viler Indignity to the christian Religion, than to debase it by such scandalous Fopperies as these. 'Tis the Glory of the christian Religion, that the sacred Rites which the Gospel enjoins, are plain and simple, as well as few, and carry the manifest stamp of divine Authority on them. And to load it with a vast number of uselefs, and phantastical, and heathenish Rites, is like daubing an exquisite natural Beauty with Paint; Christianity shines with the truest Lustre when it appears in its own native Simplicity. This Meretricious Pomp and Pageantry does as much blemish and sully its true Glory, as painting the Windows obscures the Light.



S O M E Q U E R I E S

Offered to the Consideration of the People called

Q U A K E R S,

Particularly of those in the QUEEN'S County.

QUERY I. Since all the christian Churches in the *East*, and all the *Western* Churches, both *Papish* and *Protestant*, whatever other differences they have, do yet all agree in the Articles of the Creed, commonly called the Apostles Creed, and own them as undoubted Principles of the christian Religion; *Query*, whether the People called *Quakers* own them or not? If they do not, what pretence have they to the name of Christians? If they do, why are they guilty of so monstrous Uncharitableness as to confine Christianity to their own narrow Sect? Nay, why do they give all Christians so great occasion to suspect that they do not, by denying such Articles of that Creed, as *Christ's ascension and sitting at the right hand of God, and coming thence to judge the quick and the dead, and the resurrection of the body*, in that sense in which all Christians in every Age have understood them? (of which more afterwards.)

QUERY II. Whether the *Quakers* by asserting the entire sufficiency of a light within common to all mankind, do not thereby overturn the necessity of a supernatural Revelation; plead the Cause of *Deism* in Scripture-phrase, and set the infidel World upon a level with the christian Church?

QUERY III. Whether the *Quakers* by denying the Holy Scriptures to be the primary Rule of Faith and Practice, and asserting the Spirit (or Light within) to be so, do not plainly prefer what they suppose to be the Dictates of the Spirit to themselves, before its Dictates to the Prophets and Apostles, which are recorded in those inspired Writings? And consequently ascribe a greater authority to their own Speeches and Writings, than to those of the Prophets and Apostles? And whether this be not the true Reason of their never reading the Holy Scriptures in their Meetings, tho' they often read the Writings of those they call their Friends? And whether this Principle be not the highest Assault that can be offered

to those inspired Writings? Nay, whether it be not worse than that doctrine of Popery that makes the *Romish* Church the only infallible Judge of the Sense of the Holy Scriptures? For that spirit of Infallibility which the Papists ascribe to their Popes, or pretended General Councils, every Quaker ascribes to himself; and both set up their Judgment above that of the Prophets and Apostles.

QUERY IV. Whether the promised Assistance of the holy Spirit to true Christians in all Ages, be for the revealing new Truths and Duties not contained in the Holy Scriptures, or for enabling them to believe and obey those already revealed? If they assert the former, then *Query* whether this be not parallel to the *Papish* Doctrine of oral Tradition? And by what Rule shall we distinguish divine Inspiration from diabolical Delusions? And, how shall such as pretend to divine Inspiration, for the Discovery of such new Truths or Duties, convince others of it, since they have no Miracles, nor extraordinary Gifts for their Credentials as the Apostles had? If the latter be true, then where is the need or use of that immediate objective Revelation they so confidently pretend to? And how plainly do their unwarrantable Pretensions to it derogate from the Sufficiency and Fulness of the Holy Scriptures, as if they were not by the ordinary subjective Illumination of the holy Spirit able to *make us wise to salvation, and thoroughly furnished for every good work*? See 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.

QUERY V. Since the *Quakers* talk so much of the Light within, and direct all men to it, we may justly enquire, whether themselves are agreed what they mean by the Light within? For since they assert it to be a Substance, as distinct from our Souls as our Souls are from our Bodies, it must be either a created or an uncreated Substance.

If it be a created Substance, then why does *George Whitehead* affirm the Light within to be divine and uncreated, and to be the divine Essence itself? And

^a See R. Barclay's *Apol.* on the head of the Scriptures.

^b Barclay's *Apol.* p. 87.

^c *Dissertation*, p. 13. why

why does *George Fox*, jun. affirm it to be the eternal God? Why does *William Pen* give it so often the Epithet of Eternal? And why does *Robert West* require us to pay divine Worship to it? For if the Light within be only a created Substance, then all those expressions are horrible Blasphemy, and ought to be censured by them as such.

If the Light within be an uncreated Substance, then 'tis God himself, and if so, how comes *George Barclay* to tell us, 'That 'tis not the proper Essence and Nature of God precisely taken, which is not divisible into Parts and Measures (as they suppose the Light within to be) as being a most pure and simple Being, void of all composition and division. But it is a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible Principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells, a measure of which divine and glorious Life is in all men as a seed, which of its own nature invites and inclines unto God?' Nay, if the Light within be God, how comes the same *R. Barclay* to call it the Vehicle of God, and the spiritual Flesh and Blood of Christ? How comes he to suppose this uncreated Substance to be capable of Growth and Nourishment? Nay, how comes he to assert it to be the immediate Principle by which we pray to God or praise him? Can God's own uncreated Essence be the Principle in us that prays to and praises himself? Nay, how comes *George Keith* (while an approved Writer among the Quakers) to assert, that the Light within is of a middle Nature between the Nature of God and the Nature of Man? For if the Light within be an uncreated Substance and consequently God, all these Expressions are manifest Blasphemy, and some of them downright Nonsense. What then shall we think of those that after all their Noise of the Light within, are themselves involved in such contradictory Opinions about it, that some take it for God, and some for a Creature? And whether soever Opinion they follow, they run into the guilt of Blasphemy, either by ascribing the incommunicable Perfections of God to a created Substance, or by ascribing palpable Imperfections to an uncreated One. And what Evidence have they from Scripture of any intellectual Substance distinct from God, Angels, and the Souls of Men?

If it be objected, that Christ is called the Light that enlightens every man that comes into the world. John i. 9.

Answer, The utmost that these Expressions can be reasonably supposed to mean is, that Christ is the Author of all that intellectual Light and Knowledge that Mankind enjoys; partly, as we derive our intellectual Powers themselves from him, by whom (as the Apostle tells us) *All things were created whether visible or invisible*, see Col. i. 16. Partly, because 'tis through the interposal of his Mediation, that any notices of Good and Evil are preserved in our lapsed Nature; and chiefly because he is the Author of supernatural Knowledge to all that enjoy it, even unto Gentiles and Jews without distinction. And what signifies this to the making the Light a Substance in us distinct from our own Souls, and such as they are not agreed whether it be God or a Creature, a finite or an infinite Being?

QUERY VI. Since they deny the Soul of Man to be the immediate Principle of any Religious Actions, and assert this distinct Substance within us to be the Principle of 'em (which they call the light within). How evidently do they hereby subvert the Scriptural Notion of Regeneration, and of Spiritual Wor-

ship? They subvert the Scriptural Notion of Regeneration. For according to *George Barclay*, Regeneration is the growing up of this new Substance in us, that is as distinct from our Souls as our Souls are from our Bodies. But the Scriptural Regeneration implies a renewing Change wrought by the Holy Spirit in our own Souls themselves, whereby our own Understandings are savingly enlightened, our own Wills are renew'd, and our own Affections rais'd and elevated to the Things above; and, in a word, our own Souls renew'd to the Image and Likeness of God. So the spiritual Worship, which the Scriptures require, consists in those honourable adoring Thoughts of God, and those devout Inclinations and Affections towards him; which by the Assistance of the Holy Spirit are excited in our own Minds and Hearts, by our contemplation of his Works and his written Word. But the Spiritual Worship of the Quakers requires a Cessation of all the Acts of our own Souls, (which they condemn as Will-Worship) and is performed by the Light within as the immediate Principle, i. e. by a Substance entirely distinct from our own Souls, and which our Souls are but the passive Instruments of. Now if this distinct Substance be God; then, according to them, *God in us worships himself*. And to assert this, is both Blasphemy and Nonsense. If this Substance be a Creature, then the Notion of Spiritual Worship is, that another Being in us, (and that as distinct from our Souls as our Souls from our Bodies) worships God for us. And how can the Acts of another Creature render us, who are but passive in the whole matter, either acceptable to God or rewardable by him? Or how can we according to this Notion be properly said to worship God at all? And, Query, whether all this be not borrowed from the senseless mystical Divinity of Popish Writers?

QUERY VII. Whether those that assert the Blood of Christ to be no more than the Blood of another Saint. Who deny our Redemption from Death and Hell to be the Effect of that material Blood which he shed upon the Cross (i. e. of the Sufferings which he there endur'd in our Nature) who deny the Man that suffered at Jerusalem to be Christ? And who accordingly reproach us with feeding upon the Report of a thing done many hundred years ago, who deny that Christ ascended with the same Body that rose from the dead, who deny that Christ's glorify'd Body in Heaven is of an human Nature, who deny that Christ has any other Body than his Church, who deny that Christ has a personal Being at the right hand of God, who deny that Christ shall visibly come at the last day to judge the quick and dead, who tell us that those are like to be deceiv'd that expect that Christ's second Coming will be a Personal Coming, do not plainly subvert those fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, viz. Christ's bearing our Sins in his own Body on the Tree; his redeeming us by his precious Blood; his giving his Life a ransom for ours; the Resurrection of his human Body; his ascending with it into the highest Heavens, his appearing there in our Nature in the presence of God as our Mediator and Advocate; and his visible appearance and coming to judge the quick and dead? And whether those who deny such essential Doctrines of the christian Religion have any just Title to the name of Christians? Let the Quakers then either openly renounce and censure these pernicious Opinions of their chief Writers, or else they must give us leave to censure them as notoriously fallen from the Faith once delivered to the Saints.

QUERY VIII. Since tho' all Christians own

^d Hicks's Dialogues, p. 53. the City of God, p. 130, &c.

^k See Barclay's Apol. 11th Prop.

ⁿ Edw. Burroughs Trumpet &c. p. 17.

^o G. Whitehead's Apol. p. 33

^c Damnable Heresies discovered.

^b See Barclay's Apol. at large on the Head of Worship.

ⁱ S. Eccl. Letter to R. Porter.

^m Barclay Apol. passim. Pennington's Quest. p. 25.

^p G. Whitehead, Christ ascended p. 17, & 8.

^f Barclay's Apol. p. 67, 68, &c.

ⁱ See Barclay's Apol. on the Light within.

^m Barclay Apol. passim. Pennington's Quest. p. 25.

ⁿ G. Fox great Mystery, p. 250.

^o Id. p. 23. And nature of Christ, p. 29.

the Resurrection of the same Body for substance; yet they also own, there will be a mighty change in it, with respect to those Qualities that shall suit it to the heavenly Regions, and to the Operations of our perfected Spirits there. (and that conformably to such passages of Scripture as these, 1 Cor. xv. throughout. 2 Tim. ii. 18. 2 Cor. v. 10. John v. 28, 29. Acts xxiv. 15, &c.) How can those Quakers pretend to believe that great Article of our christian Religion, who violently oppose this Doctrine? Who expound the clearest passages of Scripture that speak of the resurrection of the dead, even all those in 1 Cor. xv. of a spiritual and myssical resurrection from the death of sin to a life of righteousness, (i. e. of a resurrection already past)? Who deny the Resurrection of the same numerical Body? Who reproach it as a carnal Resurrection, and censure it to be as absurd a Doctrine as that of Transubstantiation, and fitter for Mahometans than Christians to expect?

If it be objected, that the Apostle Paul distinguishes between a natural and spiritual Body, and asserts the Resurrection of no other than a spiritual Body?

Answer, What the Apostle asserts is, That that which is sown a natural (or animal) is raised a spiritual Body, i. e. That that Body which was here in its present constitution and qualities suited to this animal Life, shall be raised with very different qualities, and such as are suitable to its Union with a glorified spirit. But that he means the same Body for Substance is evident, for (saith he) *this* Mortal (pointing at his own Body, for nothing else was Mortal in him) shall put on immortality, and this corruptible shall put on incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. The same Body that is sown in corruption, dishonour, and weakness, shall be raised in incorruption, glory, and power, 1 Cor. xv. 43, 44. 'Tis our vile bodies that shall be fashioned like to Christ's glorious body, Phil. iii. 21. And indeed our Bodies can never be truly said to be raised from the Grave if nothing of their former Substance remain. A new and numerically different Body cannot be said to rise again. Nothing can arise but that which fell, nor be quickened again but that which was dead. Every one must receive at the last day the things done in his body, 2 Cor. x. There will indeed be a marvellous Change made in our Bodies by his Power who is able to subdue all things to himself, of which we have a simple specimen of our Lord's Transfiguration on the Mount. But to deny (as the Quakers do) the Resurrection of the same numerical Body, is to deny the scriptural Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead. And this the Apostle Paul justly calls *erring concerning the truth to the overthrowing the faith of men*, 2 Tim. xi. 18.

QUERY IX. Since baptizing with Water was not only instituted by Christ, but was, in pursuance of his Institution, practised by the Apostles, and primitive Christians, (see *Matth.* xxviii. 19, 20. *Acts* ii. 41. *Acts* viii. 36, 37, &c. *Acts* ix. 18. *Acts* x. 47. *Acts* xvi. 15, 33. *Acts* xix. 5. *Acts* xxii. 16.) and is to this day used by all christian Churches.

And since the Lord's-Supper was instituted by Christ for shewing forth his death, (by the memorials of Bread broken and Wine poured out, to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him) till his (second) coming, and was for this very end celebrated by the Apostles in the Churches which they planted (see *Acts* ii. 42. *Acts* xx. 7. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25, &c.) and is to

the same purpose celebrated by all christian Churches to this day: Query whether the Renouncing these two solemn Ordinances, which have in every Age been the publick Badges of the christian Profession, do not naturally tend to introduce Heathenism in a few generations? and do not argue those that dare herein to oppose their presumptuous folly to the wisdom of our Blessed Saviour, to be guilty of the height of spiritual Pride, since they so openly herein strike at his Authority?

QUERY X. Since Prayer is a Duty which we are under daily obligations to the practice of; and since both the Prophets under the Old Testament and Apostles under the New, who were eminently under the guidance of the spirit of God, did set apart stated times and seasons for daily Prayer (as is evident from *Jer.* x. 25. *Pf.* lv. 17. *Dan.* vi. 10. *Pf.* cxix. 62. *Pf.* xcvi. 6. *Luke* xxii. 41. *Acts* xx. 36. *Acts* xxi. 5. *Acts* iii. 1. *Acts* x. 2, 3. *Acts* x. 30.) Query how can we think those acted by a true spirit of Piety and Devotion, who under pretence of praying continually, and of praying by the Spirit, do ordinarily neither Morning, Noon, nor Night, bow their knee to God, neither in their Closets, nor their Families? As if praying continually signified seldom praying at all? Or as if the Assistance of the holy Spirit in prayer might not be always expected, whenever we seriously apply ourselves to that Duty! And Query, whether this gross neglect of daily Prayer does not tend to turn Christian into Pagan Families, or rather into Atheistical ones?

QUERY XI. Whether they that deny the locality of Heaven and Hell, do not in effect deny the eternal Rewards and Punishments of the Life to come?

QUERY XII. Whether St. Paul's Admonition to Titus chap. iii. 10. and St. John's Exhortations to the elect Lady, 2 Epi. ver. 10. and St. Jude's to all Christians ver. 3. be not justly applicable with reference to the Writers and Speakers among the Quakers, who broach such pernicious errors as these among the deluded people, so plainly tending to subvert the foundation of Christianity? And whether such vile errors when joined on the one hand with extreme Pride and Self-conceit, with gross Censoriousness and Uncharitableness in unsainting all that differ from them, with a wretched neglect of all Family-prayer, and an immoderate pursuit of the World; and yet joined on the other, with such an affected needless singularity in Speech, Garb, and Behaviour, as the Scriptures no where require, be not a palpable Instance of Satan's transforming himself into an Angel of Light? And whether the deluded People among them are not therefore highly concerned to open their Eyes, and to compare these Doctrines of their principal Writers with that of the Holy Scriptures, and to reject them if they find them manifestly contrary thereto? And whether all serious Christians should not be warned by such dangerous Errors of such as pretend so high to no less than an infallible Spirit, to hold fast the Form of sound words delivered in the Holy Scriptures, that they be not as Children tossed to and fro with every wind of Doctrine? 2 Tim. i. 13.

* See Will. Penn's *Invalid.* of J. Faldo's, &c. G. Keith's *first Narrative*, p. 149.

* Id. *Reason against Railing*, p. 134, 138. Will. Penn *Rejoined*, p. 179.

* Tho. Elwood's *Ans.* to

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